100 More Selections from this Great Series

80 Contemporary Personal Philosophies and 20 Immortals

This I Believe:

Written for and with a foreword by

EDWARD R. MURROW

RAYMOND SWING - EDITOR

"This is the second volume of THIS I BELIEVE," Edward R. Murrow writes in the foreword to this book. "It contains the personal beliefs of eighty contemporaries on this troubled and shrinking planet. It also contains twenty beliefs of what we have chosen to call immortals, men and women of the past whose statements have been drafted by the authorities best qualified to reconstruct their philosophies. These personal declarations were written for radio and are couched in the language of speech."

(continued on back flap)

$3.00

(continued from front flap)

The most widely listened-to radio program in the world, "This I Believe," is based on the idea that men and women can live better and happier lives if they decide what they want from life and that this decision is made easier by learning what others believe. The program has now become truly world-wide; its main objective, according to Mr. Murrow, is "to point to the common meeting ground of faiths, which is the essence of brotherhood and which in a sense provides the floor of our civilization."

Also available in paper edition at $1.00

These are the living men and women who state here their deepest beliefs:

Florence E. Allen
Victor Andrade
George Antheil
Louis L. Austin
Bernard Baruch
Bernard Berenson
Leonard Bernstein
Aneurin Bevan
Hector Bolitho
Frances P. Bolton
Chester Bowles
Harry T. Brundidge
Ralph J. Bunche
Ben Lucien Burman
Eddie Cantor
William S. Carlson
Carl Carmer
Harlan Cleveland
Arthur J. Connell
Henry Cowell
Sir Charles G. Darwin
Archibald T. Davison
Donald Day
Arthur Deakin
Hubert T. Delany
Elizabeth Deutsch
Paul H. Douglas
Will Durant
Martha Graham
John Gunther
Uta Hagen
Edith Hamilton
Dag Hammarskjold
Oscar Hammerstein II
Roy Harris
Joseph C. Harsch
Ella Mae Howey
Dame Laura Knight
Joseph Wood Krutch
Alfred M. Landon
William T. Maners
Mary Martin
Dr. Charles W. Mayo
Harry S. McAlpin
J. P. McEvoy
Elmore McKee
Agnes E. Meyers
James A. Michener
Robbins Milbank
Agnes Moorehead
Edward P. Morgan
Paul Scott Mowrer
John U. Nef
Alfred Noyes
Fulton Oursler
Grove Patterson
Charles H. Percy
Ralph Barton Perry
Robert B. Powers
Clarence B. Randall
Conyers Read
Philip D. Reed
Dr. Howard A. Rusk
Carl Sandburg
Margaret Sanger
Vincent Sheean
Samuel Shellabarger
Hans Simons
Margaret Chase Smith
Harold E. Stassen
Adlai E. Stevenson
William E. Stevenson
Raymond Swing
Will Thomas
Arnold J. Toynbee
Harry S. Truman
Walter White
Norbert Wiener
Charles Wyzanski
Jake Zeitlin

These are the immortals
whose beliefs are written by authorities on their lives and works:

Confucius by Will Durant
Socrates by Gilbert Murray
Dante by Domenico Vittorini
Leonardo da Vinci
by Antonina Vallentin
Queen Elizabeth I
by John E. Neale
William Shakespeare
by Ivor Brown
Benjamin Franklin
by Henry Butler Allen
Thomas Jefferson
by Claude Bowers
Simon Bolivar
Salvador de Madariaga
Michael Faraday
byWaldemar B. Kaempffert
Ralph Waldo Emerson
by Ralph L. Rusk
Abraham Lincoln by Paul M. Angle
Florence Nightingale
by Cecil Woodham-Smith
Queen Victoria by Hector Bolitho
Leo Tolstoy by Alexandra Tolstoy
Jane Addams by Winifred E. Wise
Marie Curie by Eve Curie
Will Rogers by Donald Day
Franklin D. Roosevelt
by Robert E. Sherwood
Gandhi by Louis Fischer

TIB. Business

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York • PLaza 1-2345

OFFICE OF THE
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
WILLIAM S. PALEY

June 14, 1954

Dear Ward:

My associates and I have given careful consideration to your proposal that we take over the operation of the "This I Believe" project and I am very sorry to inform you that we have decided against doing so.

I thought I would get this word to you as quickly as possible as I know it was your thought to proceed with one or more of the foundations should we not decide to take hold of the "This I Believe" activity.

I promise you that our negative decision has no connection with the strong feeling of envy occasioned by the plans for your life for the coming year, but the envy remains just the same.

Hope to see you before you get away.

Best regards,

Mr. Ward Wheelock
Ward Wheelock Company
Lincoln-Liberty Building
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

bcc: Dr. Stanton
Mr. Murrow ✓

Mr Edward R Murrow

no act

COPY

Raymond Swing:

This is confirmation of our decisions and action on Wednesday on TIB. I have discussed this with Ed both before and after.

1) In Philadelphia - both girls are off payroll July 30th. Effective August 1st, Mrs Colgan and I will have an office in Lincoln Liberty Bldg with "This I Believe" on the door. We will continue to handle all the business as previously. This Fall we'll be rushed, because in addition to the usual we have the big book promotion. This office will be continued until 12/31 when the promotion and all the albums are out and the situation has been clarified.

2) In New York - Mrs Hill terminates August 31st. She will take her remaining vacation before this time. Don Merwin terminates August 31st - he having had his vacation. But we will continue him beyond that date on payroll if he has not located a job by then.

The only remaining TIB personnel are Mr Swing and a stenographer of his choice.

I will guarantee and Help Inc will pay expenses for the above. This will not affect Mr Swing's income - but the division as arranged by Edward R Murrow will be different as of September 1st. After that time, it will be but $100 a week from Help Inc.

3) With the above set-up it is agreed that we can handle the present work and that contemplated, and that the editorial work will be continued from New York exactly as previously.

The situation is:

1) Our #12 album is ready for pressing (when Truman tape recorded which will be next week or it will be read by Raymond Swing). The newspaper series is set. Both to January 22nd.

2) We have about 25 tapes on hand and others slowly coming in that will not be used by January 22nd. We have asked no guests for about 3 months. About October 15th we will review the situation and see whether we can put out Album 13 - and if so, go after specific guests to complete it so that every guest asked gets action.

3) We have only two other obligations:

a) The International Edition - which Germany (Kristall), Britain (Hamish Hamilton) and U. S. (Simon & Schuster) say they wish to publish in '56 - the first two in the Spring and Schuster in the Fall. We have many scripts and tapes written for International use at our request - and they should be used in the book where variated and by the Voice of America on a broader scale.

COPY

COPY

Mr Swing has agreed to stay on the job and edit the International Edition and the Voice scripts, and I have agreed to finance this and to make the publishing contracts and conduct the business end.

b) The Voice of America schedule I worked out last week in fairly definite form and will put through a complete memorandum on this next week. In essence, they are going to broadcast regularly in 22 languages starting after January when we are ready. We are to review the situation with them in Washington about October 15th.

4) It has been fully agreed that publicity of the possible closing of TIB on radio and newspapers would be very hurtful to raising money and to enthusiasm on the book, radio and newspapers - so this matter is not to be discussed even intimately except where it is decided major appeals for money will be made.

I have made presentation to the Ford Foundation - through William McPeak,acting President in the absence of H Rowan Gaither Jr, at John Cowles' suggestion.

When I get back September 15th I will make every effort to get the money to continue from a half dozen chosen Foundations or individuals. It is decided we will not hawk this or widely solicit.

With $8,000 or $10,000 we can run the radio and newspaper to April 15th. This decision is needed October 15th.

With $70,000 a year we can continue on our "present basis". With $100,000 a year we can do the normal growth job as in the past.

Ward Wheelock 7/30/54

Copies - Mr Edward R Murrow
Mr W A Dunn

COPY

"This I Believe"

Prog. Bus.
T.B.B.

Presenting the Personal Philosophies of Thoughtful Men and Women in All Walks of Life

EDITORIAL BOARD
EDWARD R. MURROW
WARD WHEELOCK
RAYMOND SWING

LINCOLN-LIBERTY BUILDING
PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNA.

15 November 1954

7

Mr Edward R Murrow
CBS 485 Madison Avenue
New York N Y

Dear Ed

As agreed, I was to write the TIB situation and the request to take up with Adrian Murphy - and you and I would endeavor to see him on Wednesday or Thursday, November 17 or 18. I am available either day except lunch Wednesday.

At the Editorial Board meeting of "This I Believe" last week, it was decided that because the contributions to TIB had been severely curtailed and because we decided that we wanted no appeal for funds or charging for the service - it would be necessary to stop the radio service as given - i. e., the free albums of 78 programs of beliefs previously issued each 13 weeks. The last program of the present series in the stations' hands is Saturday, January 22, 1955.

It was decided to continue the International Edition for publication in a dozen languages in '56, to continue the Voice of America broadcasting of U. S. and foreign guests which will be stepped up to 23 languages in February, and to probably continue the newspapers once a week. Each of these calls for comparatively small expenditure.

But the free service to the 200 radio stations we can no longer pay for.

It was decided, since we had good scripts on hand which had been written in good faith and expecting broadcasting and since the program was of such proven public interest and service, that we would ask CBS to do this:

1) Run "This I Believe" in a five minute strip, six days a week, starting Monday, January 24th, and running for 13 weeks - i. e., to and including April 23rd. We would like this run twice a day if feasible - one good time and one early morning or late at night. Most of the stations now run it 2 or

☆ money.

3 times a day - and most run it 6 days a week, although some run it 5 days a week.

2) We would like CBS at the close of the broadcasting day Saturday, when the line is open to all stations, to play all 6 five minute TIB programs for the following week so that the stations can take them off and replay at their present locally scheduled times.

If CBS would agree to do this, it would be most helpful and permit us to ask further important and big guests whose beliefs we much desire - and also to broadcast all the beliefs of people we have invited - in addition to giving 13 more weeks of public exposure to the good of this program.

In addition to the above and completely separately, we wish to bring up to Mr Adrian Murphy this idea:-

We have been working for 18 months on the International Book - which will contain the beliefs of the outstanding decent men and women of the world. These will be published October 15 1956 in a dozen languages of the world - an important thing. The reception has been remarkable. The United States State Department and USIS are very desirous of this and are helping with it.

It is our intention, for financial reasons, to concentrate only on these foreign guests - and to come to CBS in May 1956 and give them the complete schedule for 26 weeks of 156 beliefs of the outstanding men and women of the world which we propose be broadcast over CBS as a public service from October 15th for 26 weeks in one or two strips of 5 minutes each on a 6 day a week basis.

We do not want commitment on this, but we would like their consideration and agreement in principle depending upon conditions and with no obligation whatsoever.

We are in the position where we have set plans to get these scripts and tapes, and they will be ready. If CBS is favorably disposed toward the idea, we would take this up specifically with them in May 1956.

Of course, the above is confidential, for the future plans for "This I Believe" will not be released until December 31st.

Ward

Ward Wheelock:C

"THIS I BELIEVE"

Report of TIB Editorial Meeting - November 11, 1954 - Union League Club of New York.

Present: Edward R Murrow, Raymond Swing, Ward Wheelock.

1) The situation previously discussed was outlined and reviewed, namely:- that funds for present type of continuance were not available, that CBS and Ford Foundation were the only two approached for funds, as decided. Both had said it was not in their field. Mr Wheelock is to take it up with Carnegie Foundation shortly.

It was agreed that the above was all that should be done - that no other appeal for funds should be made.

It was unanimously agreed that we should now prepare letters to all people or companies concerned - to be mailed December 31st - telling of the decision and plans for "This I Believe". After decisions are completed, Mr Wheelock will write these letters and present to rest of the Board the letters and plans. It was decided there would be no announcement or publicity.

2) The decision to cease U.S. broadcasting as of January 22, 1955, provided that no new source of money was found, was arrived at in our previous meeting. It was realized then that there would be approximately 30 scripts in that were not broadcast and these people would be advised of conditions and the necessary decision to terminate without using their contributions. No one has been asked since June for a script - except for the International Edition.

This was reviewed again to this conclusion:

a) Mr Wheelock would write a memorandum to Ed Murrow covering the situation and asking CBS to run "This I Believe" over their network on good time 5 or 6 times a week for 13 weeks after Album 12 is over - i.e., they to start January 24, 1955. TIB to furnish the tapes of beliefs and the opening and closing tapes, and CBS to assemble and run. We to ask them to run each ~~Monday~~ Saturday the complete week's 5 or 6 beliefs so that stations can take them off and run at the local times established.

We wish this definite, for we want to include this in our 12/31 letter to radio stations if CBS will do this.

In addition, we wish to propose to CBS our plan for the Fall of 1956 - i.e., that starting October 15, 1956 twenty-six weeks of TIB's be broadcast once a day five days a week - total of 130. These broadcasts will be the beliefs used in our International books which will be published in a

dozen languages on October 15 (including the U. S.) and consist of the outstanding, decent living, decent thinking men and women of the world plus the Immortals of all countries (about 20% Immortals - 80% current world figures).

In this latter request, we want no firm commitment, but just a discussion of desirability. Conditions in radio schedules for the network cannot be forecast this far ahead.

Mr Murrow and Mr Wheelock will take up this memo and request with Adrian Murphy on Wednesday or Thursday, November 17 or 18.

b) If the above does not work out, we will advise the 30 unscheduled guests on December 31st that at present they will not appear over U. S. air - and why.

3) Regarding newspapers - Mr Wheelock said he would pay for continuance of this, and felt that, as discussed with Mr Swing, there would be for the next 18 months a feasible schedule for editorial operation roughly as follows:

a) Use 13 scripts plus 5 (instead of 9) alternates every 13 weeks.
b) This would mean 108 scripts in 6 periods of 13 weeks - i. e., 1 1/2 years.
c) Estimated
   1. 70 scripts - previously run or from present 30
   2. 38 scripts - from the International Edition.

If this is true, there will be no new editing for the newspaper series - just the headings.

Mr Swing had not had time but would check the work involved.

If this were done, Mr Wheelock would on 12/31 tell the situation to newspapers - and probably ask additional ones if they wished to run it weekly.

4) Regarding Voice - reported their enthusiasm and insistence on starting in January or February on enlarged scale.

5) Re AFRS - WW to work out plan for them to continue if possible.

6) Re Readers Digest who are preparing article - it was decided they would not be told of plan until it is made public. Same with S&S and every one else.

7) Re school use - this was reviewed and it was felt so important that if some one contributes $10,000 to get this launched we should do it. WW will work out if money forthcoming.

8) International Edition -

Discussed in detail.

Plans at present approved.

a) WW to get contracts with U.S., Great Britain, and Germany. And then he will take up negotiations with other countries and conclude contracts. He will follow this up in Europe next summer and Fall.

b) The list we are working on was unanimously felt excellent. Mr Swing has no time to dig further for names, but if new ones can be found that justify inclusion they will be included, and we will not guarantee inclusion in the book generally - only to the few special cases where pre-eminence warrants.

c) WW and RS are following up names of guest requests they started.

d) Idea of simultaneous publication liked.

e) The variation in guests and Immortals by countries - plus the inclusion of about 15 local guests in each book - was agreed with.

9) Franklin Publications -

It was brought out that Datus Smith will meet with us in early December. We have told them that we will give them exclusively (i.e., no International Editions) any countries they wish. They wish Arabic speaking, Urdu, Bengalese, Indonesia, and probably China and Thailand. This we will confirm in December.

This operation is different from our International Edition. It contains 50% local and 50% U.S. - and its purpose fundamentally is to say "on basic things, decent men and women in both of our countries are quite similar".

10) It was decided that no more scripts would be sent out - and that a postcard would be prepared to answer fan mail.

11) The future operation of TIB - i.e., physical day by day operation - was to be reviewed by Mr Swing and Mr Wheelock. It was to be determined how best to turn over Philadelphia work to New York - probably Mrs Hill and Mrs Colgan working this out after the job to be done had been decided.

WW 11/12/54

COPY

November 26, 1954

Mr. Adrian Murphy, President
Columbia Broadcasting System--Radio
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Adrian:

The attached, I hope, correctly reports our meeting of November 17th.

Thanks for your help.

Very truly yours,

WW:MP
Enc.

CC - Mr. Edward R. Murrow

CC - Mr. Raymond Swing

COPY

"This I Believe"

Presenting the Personal Philosophies of Thoughtful Men and Women in All Walks of Life

EDITORIAL BOARD
EDWARD R. MURROW
WARD WHEELOCK
RAYMOND SWING

LINCOLN-LIBERTY BUILDING
PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNA.

MEMORANDUM OF
MEETING OF NOVEMBER 17, 1954
BETWEEN
ADRIAN MURPHY, EDWARD R. MURROW and
WARD WHEELER (Wheelock)

At TIB's request, Mr. Murphy agreed to send to all CBS Stations groups of TIB programs over their closed wire so that these programs can be recorded by the stations and played on local schedules. This will be done for the 13 weeks starting January 24th to and including April 23rd and will be done on a specific schedule which will send, perhaps, 11 or 12 programs at a time.

This will be first announced in a letter from TIB to the stations sent December 31st and later this will be confirmed by CBS.

The TIB letter of December 31st will have all details possible, which will be worked out between Raymond Swing and James Seward.

Mr. Wheelock also told of the future plans for TIB and that there is planned no U. S. Broadcasting after April 23, 1955 until the Fall of 1956. The Editorial Staff has been working for eighteen months on an International Edition with the help of the most distinguished men and women from all countries in the world. This will be continued and ready by the Spring of 1956. At that time we are going to offer 26 weeks of 6-day-a-week programs to the present stations, that is, 156 broadcasts. These will be in two books similar to our current thirteen-week schedules and will start October 15, 1956.

In the meantime, U.S.I.A. and the State Department are helping us with this project.

Mr. Wheelock asked whether, when these foreign scripts are received on tape, a CBS technician could be assigned to get these tapes in shape for the making of master records and the production of the albums. This means the addition of the foreword and the closing to the belief and the cutting of the time to four minutes and 30 seconds. It is a simple routine job. These tapes will be received over the months and the work can be done when convenient and covering 30 or 40 tapes. Many of these tapes are done and within the next year and a half there will be about 100 new tapes.

Mr. Murphy agreed to help as requested. This is also to be taken up with Mr. Seward.

WW:MP

Copies to: Mr. Adrian Murphy
Mr. Edward R. Murrow ✓
Mr. Raymond Swing

Memo to Edward R. Murrow

from Raymond Swing

I am writing this without consulting Ward Wheelock. The decision to shut down THIS I BELIEVE without any publicity was undoubtedly proper. There was a chance --- and it ought to have been good --- to find some philanthropic money to carry on with the program. So far this money has not been found.

But by being secretive about it, we are landed in a position where an issue in public relations arises. We have on hand quite a number of scripts, which if they are not aired will represent a failure on our part to fulfil our promises. And if we end in this way any hope of reviving the program would be lost. The program would pass out, not in glory (which it has earned) but somewhat ingloriously. And this would reflect on everybody, CBS, the network, the individual stations. It would reflect on you personally. I do not wish to exaggerate the harm; I only call attention that there is bound to be some.

We have gone over our assets, and we have on hand almost exactly enough scripts to complete a final 13-week album (which would be used beginning January 24.) Some of these are scripts coming in for our international edition and include big names. Some are tapes from the BBC, also good names. We are to record Dr. Einstein next week; we already have Adenauer, we have bright hopes of getting Mendes France, Eden, and one or two notable Americans.

If we could get a decision immediately, my TIB aides could slap this all together into an album, working over time, and finish on schedule, but just barely on time. You would have to record a number of introductions, I would have to read the translations of some of the foreign language texts.

Why have I waited so long to register this situation? I have hoped Wheelock would find money. He was to have seen the Carnegie Foundation people this week and an illness postponed the meeting. If the reaction there had been helpful I would not need to write this memo. But now I can wait no longer.

What I have in mind is that somehow CBS might be moved to put up the $10,000 it would take to issue the final album, and that we then should go on record that the program had run its course and was being discontinued unless private funds turned up to continue it. Then we should invite no more guests. And also we should not let down any guests.

I do not try to estimate whether the damage to CBS and all the others involved is worth more than $10,000. But I suggest that the program has had quite tangible values for CBS. These have been acknowledged by the helpfulness everyone at CBS has shown us. But further gratitude would not be superfluous. And the time left for the program, before its demise, might be enough to produce the funds for its continuance.

TJB

M

March 9, 1955

Mr. W. A. Dunn
Lincoln Liberty Building
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Dunn:

I have your letter about the coming meeting of the trustees of Help, Inc.

Mr. Murrow asks me to tell you that before the close of the year he made a contribution of $7,000. to Help, Inc. which was covered by a somewhat vague letter, as seemed advisable at the time. But he had a clear understanding with Mr. Wheelock that this sum was to cover the expenses in connection with the final quarter of the "This I Believe" domestic program. You may recall that Mr. Wheelock was intending to close down the domestic program at the end of the year. So many scripts remained on hand which ought to have been used that Mr. Murrow undertook himself to bear the cost of the final thirteen weeks (ending in April 1955) and the check about which he wrote Mr. Wheelock on December 20 was for that purpose and no other. Mr. Wheelock understood this, and said $7,000 would cover the cost.

Mr. Murrow thought maybe you might not have known about the nature of the payment.

Yours sincerely,

Raymond Swing
Editor

TDB X

June 29, 1955

Dear Joe:

I really don't know how to answer yours of June 24 having no information whatever about the future plans of Help, Inc. Our efforts to secure such information have produced no results so far.

I reckon the only thing we can do is to hold everything in abeyance including the third volume until the autumn.

As ever yours,

Mr. Joseph Barnes
Simon and Schuster, Inc.
630 Fifth Avenue
New York 20, New York

rh
cc: Mr. Swing

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, INC.
publishers

ROCKEFELLER CENTER, *630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20* • CABLE ADDRESS *Essandess* • TELEPHONE *Circle 5-6400*

June 24, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Mr. Raymond Swing
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed and Raymond:

I am enclosing with the copy of this letter which goes to Ed, four royalty statements covering payments due from us in August on four editions of THIS I BELIEVE. I have several questions to ask, the answers to which would be helpful to us:

1. We are completely uninformed about the future plans of Help, Inc., and in fact about its present status. As you know, the original arrangements were all made directly between myself and Ward Wheelock, who signed the contracts for Help, Inc. I recognize that the circumstances of his tragic disappearance may make it impossible for some time to have any legal definition of the present status of his interests. But even a tentative statement of what has happened to the enterprise, and what are its future plans would help us.

2. Mr. Wheelock and Mr. Schuster had a verbal understanding on the publication of a third volume in this series, to include scripts prepared chiefly abroad. There is no contract on this project. I believe these scripts are now available. Can we make any plan for publishing them?

Sincerely,

Jb

Joseph Barnes

JB:tab
Enc.

cc: Mr. Raymond Swing

ROYALTY STATEMENT

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, INC.

publishers

ROCKEFELLER CENTER, *630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20* • CABLE ADDRESS *Essandess* • TELEPHONE *Circle 5-6400*

(Editor)
~~AUTHOR~~
~~AGENT~~ Prop. Help, Inc.
ADDRESS

Edward R. Murrow

SIX MONTHS ENDED 3/31/55

DATE PAYABLE 8/1/55

DATE PUBLISHED

TITLE: THIS I BELIEVE - VOL. II

RETAIL PRICE $ 3.00 Cloth

ROYALTIES FOR THIS PERIOD

		RATE %	COPIES			ROYALTY	
			SHIPPED	RETURNED	SOLD (NET)	PER COPY	AMOUNT
1	SALES AT ROYALTY RATE OF —	10	5,000		5,000	.30	1,500.00
2	" " " " " —	12½	5,000		5,000	.375	1,875.00
3	" " " " " —	15	11,149	486	10,663	.45	4,798.35
4	" " " " " —	7½	1,221	1,050	171	.225	38.48
5	" " " " " —						
6	MAIL ORDER SALES AT ROYALTY OF —	5	304	5	299	.15	44.85
7	FOREIGN " " " " —	6	388		388	.18	69.84
8	SPECIAL " " " " —						
9							
10	TOTAL SALES THIS PERIOD (LINES 1 TO 9)	****	23,062	1,541	21,521	*****	8,326.52
11	REVIEW & SAMPLE COPIES — NO ROYALTY	****	1,318	1	1,317	*****	*******
12	TOTAL COPIES THIS PERIOD (LINE 10 + 11)	****	24,386	1,542	22,838	*****	*******
13	COPIES PREVIOUSLY REPORTED	****				*****	*******
14	TOTAL TO ABOVE DATE (LINE 12 + 13)	****				*****	*******

OTHER EARNINGS

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
15	BOOK CLUB	
16	REPRINT	
17		
18		
19		
20	OTHER	
21	CREDIT BALANCE DUE FROM PRECEDING PERIOD	
22	TOTAL OTHER EARNINGS (LINES 15 TO 21)	

DEDUCTIONS

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
23	ADVANCES	
24	PURCHASES OF BOOKS	
25	AUTHOR'S ALTERATIONS	
26		
27	OTHER	
28	DEBIT BALANCE FROM PRIOR STATEMENT	
29	TOTAL DEDUCTIONS (LINES 23 TO 28)	

30	BALANCE DUE AUTHOR (LINES 10 AND 22 MINUS 29)	8,326.52
31	BALANCE UNEARNED (TO BE DEDUCTED FROM NEXT STATEMENT — LINES 29 MINUS 10 AND 22)	

ROYALTY STATEMENT

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, INC.

publishers

ROCKEFELLER CENTER, *630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20* • CABLE ADDRESS *Essandess* • TELEPHONE *Circle 5-6400*

~~AUTHOR~~ AGENT ADDRESS: Edward R. Murrow
Help, Inc.

SIX MONTHS ENDED 3/31/55

DATE PAYABLE 8/1/55

DATE PUBLISHED

TITLE: THIS I BELIEVE _ VOL. II

RETAIL PRICE $ 1.00

ROYALTIES FOR THIS PERIOD

		RATE %	COPIES			ROYALTY	
			SHIPPED	RETURNED	SOLD (NET)	PER COPY	AMOUNT
1	SALES AT ROYALTY RATE OF —	10	68,274	3,221	65,053	.10	6,505.30
2	" " " " " —	5	910	2	908	.05	45.40
3	" " " " " —						
4	" " " " " —						
5	" " " " " —						
6	MAIL ORDER SALES AT ROYALTY OF —	5	2,815	2	2,813	.05	140.65
7	FOREIGN " " " " —	4	848		848	.04	33.92
8	SPECIAL " " " " —						
9	Job Lot Sale		586		586	—	—
10	TOTAL SALES THIS PERIOD (LINES 1 TO 9)	****	73,433	3,225	70,208	*****	6,725.27
11	REVIEW & SAMPLE COPIES — NO ROYALTY	****	589	2	587	*****	*******
12	TOTAL COPIES THIS PERIOD (LINE 10 + 11)	****	74,022	3,227	70,795	*****	*******
13	COPIES PREVIOUSLY REPORTED	****				*****	*******
14	TOTAL TO ABOVE DATE (LINE 12 + 13)	****				*****	*******

OTHER EARNINGS

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
15	BOOK CLUB	
16	REPRINT	
17		
18		
19		
20	OTHER	
21	CREDIT BALANCE DUE FROM PRECEDING PERIOD	
22	TOTAL OTHER EARNINGS (LINES 15 TO 21)	

DEDUCTIONS

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
23	ADVANCES	
24	PURCHASES OF BOOKS	
25	AUTHOR'S ALTERATIONS	
26		
27	OTHER	
28	DEBIT BALANCE FROM PRIOR STATEMENT	
29	TOTAL DEDUCTIONS (LINES 23 TO 28)	

30	BALANCE DUE AUTHOR (LINES 10 AND 22 MINUS 29)	6,725.27
31	BALANCE UNEARNED (TO BE DEDUCTED FROM NEXT STATEMENT — LINES 29 MINUS 10 AND 22)	

3-55-1130 B

ROYALTY STATEMENT

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, INC.

publishers

ROCKEFELLER CENTER, *630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20* • CABLE ADDRESS *Essandess* • TELEPHONE *Circle 5-6400*

(Editor)
AUTHOR
~~AGENT~~ Prop.
ADDRESS

Edward R. Murrow
Help, Inc.

SIX MONTHS ENDED 3/31/55

DATE PAYABLE 8/1/55

DATE PUBLISHED

TITLE: THIS I BELIEVE I

RETAIL PRICE $ 3.00 Cloth

ROYALTIES FOR THIS PERIOD

		RATE %	COPIES			ROYALTY	
			SHIPPED	RETURNED	SOLD (NET)	PER COPY	AMOUNT
1	SALES AT ROYALTY RATE OF —	15	1,778	76	1,702	.45	765.90
2	" " " " " —						
3	" " " " " —						
4	" " " " " —						
5	" " " " " —						
6	MAIL ORDER SALES AT ROYALTY OF —	5	105	1	104	.15	15.60
7	FOREIGN " " " " —	6	13		13	.18	2.34
8	SPECIAL " " " " —						
9							
10	TOTAL SALES THIS PERIOD (LINES 1 TO 9)	****	1,896	77	1,819	*****	783.84
11	REVIEW & SAMPLE COPIES — NO ROYALTY	****	16		16	*****	*******
12	TOTAL COPIES THIS PERIOD (LINE 10 + 11)	****	1,912	77	1,835	*****	*******
13	COPIES PREVIOUSLY REPORTED	****			53,973	*****	*******
14	TOTAL TO ABOVE DATE (LINE 12 + 13)	****			55,808	*****	*******

OTHER EARNINGS

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
15	BOOK CLUB	
16	REPRINT	
17		
18		
19		
20	OTHER	
21	CREDIT BALANCE DUE FROM PRECEDING PERIOD	
22	TOTAL OTHER EARNINGS (LINES 15 TO 21)	

DEDUCTIONS

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
23	ADVANCES	
24	PURCHASES OF BOOKS	
25	AUTHOR'S ALTERATIONS	
26		
27	OTHER	
28	DEBIT BALANCE FROM PRIOR STATEMENT	
29	TOTAL DEDUCTIONS (LINES 23 TO 28)	

30	BALANCE DUE AUTHOR (LINES 10 AND 22 MINUS 29)	783.84
31	BALANCE UNEARNED (TO BE DEDUCTED FROM NEXT STATEMENT — LINES 29 MINUS 10 AND 22)	—

3-55-1130 B

ROYALTY STATEMENT

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, INC.

publishers

ROCKEFELLER CENTER, *630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20* • CABLE ADDRESS *Essandess* • TELEPHONE *Circle 5-6400*

(Editor)
AUTHOR
~~AGENT~~ Prop. Help, Inc.
ADDRESS

SIX MONTHS ENDED 3/31/55

DATE PAYABLE 8/1/55

DATE PUBLISHED

TITLE: THIS I BELIEVE - VOL. I

RETAIL PRICE $ 1.00 Paper

ROYALTIES FOR THIS PERIOD

		RATE %	COPIES			ROYALTY	
			SHIPPED	RETURNED	SOLD (NET)	PER COPY	AMOUNT
1	SALES AT ROYALTY RATE OF —	10	4,229	1,414	2,815	.10	281.50
2	" " " " " —	5	64	1,238	(1,174)	(.05)	(58.70)
3	" " " " " —						
4	" " " " " —						
5	" " " " " —						
6	MAIL ORDER SALES AT ROYALTY OF —	5	937	10	927	.05	46.35
7	FOREIGN " " " " —	4	27		27	.04	1.08
8	SPECIAL " " " " —						
9	Job Lot Sale		1,555		1,555	—	—
10	TOTAL SALES THIS PERIOD (LINES 1 TO 9)	****	6,812	2,662	4,150	*****	270.23
11	REVIEW & SAMPLE COPIES — NO ROYALTY	****	15	131	(116)	*****	*******
12	TOTAL COPIES THIS PERIOD (LINE 10 + 11)	****	6,827	2,793	4,034	*****	*******
13	COPIES PREVIOUSLY REPORTED	****			257,892	*****	*******
14	TOTAL TO ABOVE DATE (LINE 12 + 13)	****			261,926	*****	*******

OTHER EARNINGS

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
15	BOOK CLUB	
16	REPRINT	
17		
18		
19		
20	OTHER	
21	CREDIT BALANCE DUE FROM PRECEDING PERIOD	
22	TOTAL OTHER EARNINGS (LINES 15 TO 21)	

DEDUCTIONS

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
23	ADVANCES	
24	PURCHASES OF BOOKS	
25	AUTHOR'S ALTERATIONS	
26		
27	OTHER	
28	DEBIT BALANCE FROM PRIOR STATEMENT	
29	TOTAL DEDUCTIONS (LINES 23 TO 28)	

30	BALANCE DUE AUTHOR (LINES 10 AND 22 MINUS 29)	270.23
31	BALANCE UNEARNED (TO BE DEDUCTED FROM NEXT STATEMENT — LINES 29 MINUS 10 AND 22)	

3-55-1130 B

Hall, Lane
T I B

ERSITY OF MICHIGAN **Lane Hall** ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

UNIVERSITY RELIGIOUS CENTER
HOME OF THE STUDENT RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

approved

BOARD OF GOVERNORS
FRANK L. HUNTLEY, CHAIRMAN
THEODORE F. BEALS
MARJORIE FROGEL
WINONA E. GROSSE
HIRSCH HOOTKINS
HAROLD M. LOGAN
HOWARD Y. MCCLUSKY
JAMES C. O'NEILL
LEWIS C. REIMANN
CARLTON F. WELLS
WALTER B. REA, EX OFFICIO

STAFF
DEWITT C. BALDWIN
DIRECTOR
C. GREY AUSTIN
DORIS HARPOLE
M. JEAN HORTON
PROGRAM ASSISTANTS
EDNA Z. ALBER
SECRETARY
JOAN SIMS
STENOGRAPHER

October 20, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

You made our students here extremely happy when you sent the telegram October 14 granting permission for us to call our fall lectures the "This I Believe" series. Two years ago this title appealed greatly to the campus and the title itself created both warm interest and plenty of discussion in the MICHIGAN DAILY, our college newspaper. At the last minute this year the committee felt that that title would again make a wide campus appeal and that it would help materially that many would remember the title from 1952. On behalf of our students of the Student Religious Association (representative of all of the religious groups on campus) and also on behalf of the religious leaders of the professional religious leaders of the campus Religious Council I want to extend our thanks.

I was in New York last weekend and was very happy to hear how successful the Annual Freedom House Award Dinner was early this month. Congratulations to you on receiving their highest award of the year.

Appreciatively yours,

DeWitt C. Baldwin

DeWitt C. Baldwin
Coordinator, Religious Affairs

DCB:js

FDB

October 25, 1954

Dear Judge Allen:

This is merely a note to say my thanks for your kind note.

I am happy to know that you liked the introduction of your THIS I BELIEVE statement.

It was good of you to take the time to write as you did.

Sincerely yours,

Judge Florence Ellinwood Allen
United States Court of Appeals
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

fc

EF JUDGE
CHARLES C. SIMONS
DETROIT 31, MICHIGAN
CIRCUIT JUDGES:
FLORENCE E. ALLEN
CLEVELAND 14, OHIO
JOHN D. MARTIN
MEMPHIS 3, TENN.
THOMAS F. MCALLISTER
GRAND RAPIDS 1, MICHIGAN
SHACKELFORD MILLER, JR.
LOUISVILLE 2, KY.
POTTER STEWART
CINCINNATI 2, OHIO

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FOR THE SIXTH CIRCUIT
MICHIGAN-OHIO-KENTUCKY-TENNESSEE

CHAMBERS OF THE COURT
CINCINNATI 2, OHIO

Nice Voice

October 6, 1954.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

This is a belated acknowledgment of the very nice introduction which you gave my little statement on "This I Believe" during the summer. I was abroad doing work in connection with the conventions of the International Bar Association and the International Federation of Women Lawyers and did not find your statement until late this summer.

For many years I have been one of your most constant listeners and have many times smiled with you over some humorous aspect of the news. I was therefore amused when you said, "She says that she gets up at five in the morning." I was reminded that in the early days when I presided in the Court of Common Pleas in Cleveland, Ohio, I used to walk some five miles to town in the morning. I really enjoyed this. But no one would believe that it could be true so a reporter, as I remember it, of The Cleveland Press, arose one morning early and walked the five miles with me. Then at least he knew that I had done it once. If you were in Cincinnati I should invite you to take a little walk with me in the morning from 6:00 to 6:30.

Please forgive this rather personal note and permit me, in addition to extending my cordial personal regards to you, to say how much I should like to know your colleagues Mrs. Murrow and Casey, whom I have also enjoyed on the broadcasts.

Very sincerely yours,

Florence Ellinwood Allen

Hamilton
Colgate University
W. Lewis

Dunham, Franklin
III B

January 12, 1955

Dear Frank:

Many thanks for your letter and for passing along the suggestion made by Mrs. Charles E. Miller that THIS I BELIEVE be made into a television program and slanted particularly for children.

So far we haven't done anything about presenting the new children's program we were thinking of, so I doubt that we shall be able to follow the suggestion.

I too hope that we can pick up that Lincoln's Birthday conversation sometime.

Sincerely,

Mr. Franklin Dunham
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Office of Education
Washington 25, D.C.

fc

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

December 8, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Mrs. Hobby has had a letter from a Mrs. Charles E. Miller of 6032 Swope Parkway, Kansas City, eulogizing your radio show THIS I BELIEVE.

Mrs. Miller suggeststhat it be made into a television program and slanted particularly for children. I don't know what you've been doing with your new children's show but perhaps this could be made a little feature of the show as it is being developed for the inquiring minds of youngsters.

I wish we could pick up our Lincoln's Birthday conversation of a few years ago at some time or other. Since I have edited the new PICTORIAL ENCYCLOPEDIA, I have been hearing from dozens of people whom I had completely forgotten about.

We have enough material in that series of books, now being sold in the chain stores, to supply pictures and text for a thousand TV shows.

Faithfully,

Franklin Dunham
Chief of Radio-Television

TIB

February 15, 1955

Dear Mr. Bayes:

I am touched by your letter and its offer to contribute $100.00 to finance a continuance of the THIS I BELIEVE program.

The offer is generous and rewarding. I must tell you, however, that we decided some time ago not to solicit contributions for the program, and not to accept sponsorship for it. I believe the decision was wise.

I too regret that the program is coming to an end, but I believe that the service it may have rendered will continue in many ways however intangible.

Yours sincerely,

Mr. Phillip B. Bayes
126 Tremont Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

fc

Selby Bayes

DEvonshire 8-8019

126 TREMONT STREET • BOSTON 8, MASS.

February 11, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Miss Marie K. Houlahan, Publicity Director of WEEI, Boston, has given me a copy of your announcement, "Change in Plans for 'This I Believe'."

I am sorry you are going to discontinue for lack of funds the radio and newspaper series in the United States until October 1956.

The "Beliefs" mean much to me, and I would like very much to see your entire program retained.

If you are accepting contributions, please let me know and I shall be happy to send you my check of $100.00.

It occurs to me there surely must be many others who feel as I do. They would be most willing to assist financially and yet permit your Editorial Board to manage the program as it sees fit. Couldn't an appeal for funds be made on this basis?

Thank you for the truly wonderful job you are doing. I do hope you and your associates will be able to carry on, uncurtailed, this noble, necessary, and inspiring work.

Sincerely,

Philip B. Bayes

Philip B. Bayes

PBB

HOME OF SIZES 1 to 12½ . . WIDTHS AAAAAA to EEEEE

Featuring Selby Aristocraft and Wilbur Coon Shoes

TIB

March 9, 1955

Dear Mr. Delany:

Many thanks for your kind letter of February 28th.

We have had so much evidence of the value and appreciation of THIS I BELIEVE both from people in this country and from the troops in Korea, Germany and elsewhere, that I am not inclined to take seriously the remarks of Dr. Bonnell.

Meanwhile let me thank you for your concern in this matter and for writing me as you did.

Sincerely,

Mr. Hubert T. Delany
Domestic Relations Court
City of New York
135 East 22nd Street
New York, New York

fe

DOMESTIC RELATIONS COURT
CITY OF NEW YORK
135 EAST 22ND STREET

HUBERT T. DELANY
JUSTICE

February 28, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I read in the "Herald Tribune" last Monday that Dr. John Southerland Bonnell, the minister of the 5th Avenue Presbyterian Church, criticized the contributions made by the contributors to the two volumes of the "This I Believe" publication, because the majority of these expressions of faith did not express a definite belief in God or in Christ.

Though I happen to be one of the contributors who did express his belief in God, I nevertheless resent the implication that those who did not, were Godless, and I also resent the implication that only God-fearing contributors should be asked by you to express their beliefs.

By accident of birth, you and I happen to be born in the same state of North Carolina. Both of us have learned the hard way about the vast chasms which separate the written word of Christianity and democracy, and the actual practice thereof. We in the state of our nativity and all over this country have seen those who profess and call themselves Christians, as well as those who state they believe in the democratic processes of government, deny those very principles to their fellow Christians and their fellow Americans. You and I know that the mere expression of belief in God or in democracy does not in itself make one a Christian in action nor a follower of the precepts of democratic principles. Far too often have we noticed that those who shout their Christianity and their belief in democracy from the housetops, have used both Christianity and democracy as the first "refuge of the scoundrel."

If Dr. Bonnell proceeds further with his attack on "This I Believe," I would hope that we will stand our ground on the right of freedom of speech and of worship, and that he will be reminded that under the very first amendment in our Constitution, the people of our country are guaranteed the right to have any religion they desire or no religion at all if they wish, and the failure to profess a religion is no bar to the right to hold public office in this country. I believe that the slightest attack on the principle of the separation of church and state should be met fearlessly. We have seen and are now witnessing far too much poverty among the Church-controlled countries in the world to want to see this country become controlled by the domination of any religion.

With kind personal regards to you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hubert T. Delany

HUBERT T. DELANY

HTD:MG

Reprints and Rebroadcasts (OIB)

August 29, 1955

Dear Miss Thompson:

So far as I am aware there is no reason why you should not include Wallace Stegner's article which he wrote for "This I Believe" in the book you are publishing, "Process of Creative Writing," particularly since you have received permission from Mr. Stegner and verbal permission from Mr. Dunn of HELP, INC.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Dorothy Thompson
Harper & Brothers
49 East 33 Street
New York 16, New York

rh
cc: Mr. Dunn

Prog Bus
T/B

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Mr. Rosen cc: Mr. Murrow

from: Mr. Seward

January 6, 1958

Thank you for your note of December 30 regarding the probable use of the THIS I BELIEVE program series in Australia.

It happened that I had been involved in another such situation and had pursued it with our Legal Department. The answer was as follows:

> "In August of this year, we reluctantly concluded - based upon our experience in the WHAT'S MY LINE? matter - that we do not have any legal standing to proceed against an 'infringer' in Australia."

It would appear that there is nothing that we can do about it. I am returning the recording herewith.

L.M.S.

Enclosure

1137

P. Bus. TIB

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. J. Seward

cc: Mr. E. R. Murrow

from: Paul A. Rosen

December 30, 1957

I recently brought to Mr. Murrow's attention the fact that one of the Australian television broadcasters was regularly producing a program series entitled THIS I BELIEVE. Mr. Murrow indicated that he had no knowledge of this.

One of our Australian associates was good enough to record one of the broadcasts of the program in Australia on an Edison Voicewriter disc, which is attached hereto. After you have listened to this, and if you then determine that there is any piracy involved, I would be happy to give you the information as to the name of the broadcaster in Australia.

P. A. R.

PAR:jr
Att.

"This I Believe"

*A Series of Radio Broadcasts**

by

EDWARD R. MURROW

Presenting the Personal Philosophies of Thoughtful Men and Women in All Walks of Life . . .

This is an invitation to

to carry this series of 5 minute broadcasts 5 or 6 times a week starting Monday, January 28, 1952

"This I Believe" *is now broadcast over* WCAU
WEEI
WCBS
WCCO
KNX
WTOP

**Produced by Edward P. Morgan*

This is an invitation for you to carry Edward R. Murrow's "This I Believe" - a five minute radio program starting Monday, January 28th, either five or six times a week in sustaining station time. There is no cost to you. It should be run two or three times each day.

All the information about this program, and what your running of it entails, is covered in this portfolio.

If you elect to run it on a regular continuing basis and will furnish satisfactory times, we will furnish you free 260 or 312 programs per year on 33 1/3 transcriptions. The first 65 programs are packaged and will be shipped you by Columbia Records as soon as we conclude an agreement.

On Page 4 is a booklet giving the story of "This I Believe", its purpose, and answering questions about it - as well as containing 16 typical broadcast scripts. Also enclosed is a record giving 10 complete actual broadcasts. These two things plus this portfolio should give you the complete story of "This I Believe", and we hope that you will decide to make it a permanent "public service" program on your station.

We have spent over two years in building and trying out "This I Believe". The development of the guests and scripts were the most important - because the idea, you will find, is universally acclaimed. Like any other program - it's the personality and script that counts.

Our job was to get a great variety of people - all sincere, thoughtful, successful people - who will dig down deep and give us their personal beliefs - the values by which they run their lives. By the time you go on the air, we will have 250 complete programs with 250 different guests - each invited after careful consideration. Each script developed after deep thought and hard work. Because of the much greater coverage after January 28th, we are now inviting the top men and women of the country - and many of them in many fields have agreed to cut and are now working on their scripts. We are making a big drive for the biggest sport names in the country - the ones who are of "This I Believe" calibre in ideas and living.

So the program is developing importantly.

Last Spring it was on WCAU for 13 weeks as a trial. The results were so broad and so deep and so important that this happened: -

1) We went into the second phase of more stations on September 24th. This was limited by decision to WEEI, WCBS, WCAU, WTOP, WCCO, and KNX. They are all enthusiastic. (See their letters on Page 5.)

2) In each of the six cities where "This I Believe" is broadcast, the station (using our complete invitation and contract) offered the leading newspaper in their city exclusive rights to reprint, without cost, in that city the once a week syndicated feature "This I Believe". Amazingly every paper that was asked accepted, is running the feature once a week, and in

every case made a reciprocal cross reference arrangement with the radio station. The six papers now running "This I Believe" are the New York HERALD TRIBUNE, Boston GLOBE, Philadelphia BULLETIN, Washington POST, Minneapolis TRIBUNE, and the Los Angeles TIMES.

3) The Armed Forces Radio Service starting December 3rd began broadcasting "This I Believe" six times a week on 140 stations - all of their stations - including Europe and the Pacific.

4) Two branches of the State Department requested, and the arrangements have been made, with Assistant Secretary of State Edward W. Barrett for their use of "This I Believe" as follows: --

a) The Cultural and Scientific Affairs Unit under Thomas R. Nickels is sending to each of the Public Affairs Offices in 97 countries the syndicated newspaper series "This I Believe". Assistant Secretary of State Barrett is writing a special letter telling of the value and importance of getting the foreign newspapers in these 97 countries to translate and run to show how America thinks.

b) The Voice of America is now translating and recording "This I Believe" in foreign languages so they can broadcast regularly.

5) CBS has asked to broadcast "This I Believe" on their network at 7 P.M. New York Time, Saturdays. Since this doesn't interfere with local station broadcasts this will start January 5th.

6) Eleven book publishers have offered to publish "This I Believe" this Spring but we do not want to do this before the Fall of '52. They came to us in each case. It will be published in September.

7) One of the biggest and best newspaper syndicates made a definite offer to make "This I Believe" a featured paid syndicated column for newspapers, and assured us of big coverage and financial return. This we will not do because we wish the local radio stations who run it to offer it to the best local paper and without charge. The reason is that our only purpose is bigger audience - and that we want this to be first a radio series, permitting the radio station who runs it to offer something of value to their local paper for nothing.

But all these things, which have come unsolicited, confirm our feeling that we have a very basic and interesting and helpful program, of real significance.

We conceived it as a radio program, and we want to keep its major function just that. But we know that its radio use is helped and the cause is helped by the newspaper use of "This I Believe" once a week.

All this brings us up to our specific proposal to you: -

This is first option in your city to run the 5 minute program "This I Believe" on a continuous basis five or six times a week in satisfactory time - preferably twice a day starting Monday, January 28th, 1952.

Upon receipt of your acceptance of this on attached form, we will at once send you --

1) Transcriptions of the first 65 programs. (See the names of the 65 different guests for the first 13 weeks on Pages 26-27.)

2) Portfolio giving complete story of the newspaper feature, with suggestions for cross reference and with the complete series set for the first 13 weeks ready to print in the newspaper - so that you can offer this to your leading paper. This will be individually made out for your paper as requested in your acceptance form.

Both of the above are ready to send you at once.

There will be no charge whatever to the station for the program "This I Believe" or for the transcriptions. Nor is there any charge to the newspaper for the syndicated feature. It, however, may not be sponsored or commercialized in any way.

All costs are paid by anonymous contributors. There is no ulterior motive to the program. It purely aims to help the listeners. And we hope you see fit to make this a permanent part of your programming.

Yours very truly,

"THIS I BELIEVE"

Editorial Board

Edward R. Murrow

Ward Wheelock

Edward P. Morgan

Note: If, as KNX and AFRS, you wish to run six times a week, we will be glad to send you 78 programs now (312 in the year).

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".

Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.

Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

"This I Believe"

1

*A Series of Radio Broadcasts**

by

EDWARD R. MURROW

Presenting the Personal Philosophies of Thoughtful Men and Women in All Walks of Life . . .

What is Behind "This I Believe" 1

Edward R. Murrow . . . . . *News Analyst* 2

William Orville Douglas . . . . *Justice, U. S. Supreme Court* 4

Ralph Richmond . . . . . *Author, Copywriter* 6

Albert J. Nesbitt . . . . . *President John J. Nesbitt Company* 8

Helen Keller . . . . . *Author, Humanitarian* 10

C. Jared Ingersoll . . . . . *Director Pennsylvania Railroad* 12

Edward P. Morgan . . . . . *Correspondent* 14

Constance Warren . . *President Emeritus Sarah Lawrence College* 16

Carroll Binder . . . . . *Editorial Editor, Minneapolis Tribune* 18

Herbert H. Lehman . . . . . *U. S. Senator from New York* 20

Monroe Deutsch . . . *Provost Emeritus University of California* 22

R. Gopolakrishnan . . . . . *Attorney from India* 24

Dr. Fred Dow Fagg . . *President, University of Southern California* 26

Lou Crandall . . *President George A. Fuller Construction Company* 28

Dr. Edmund A. Brasset . *Physician—Author "A Doctor's Pilgrimage"* 30

Dore Schary . . *Motion Picture Producer—Vice President MGM* 32

Questions and Answers Regarding "This I Believe" 34

* *Produced by Edward P. Morgan.*

VOLUME 2

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

What Is Behind "This I Believe"

At a lunch of four business men in 1949, "This I Believe" was started.

The conversation began with the truism that material values were gaining and spiritual values were losing, among people generally. The reasons were obvious:—the uncertainty of the economic future, impending war, the atom bomb, army service for one's self or loved ones, the feeling of frustration in young people in facing the future generally. Add to that the great stepping up of money, freedom and power for tens of millions of people. Then consider the great increase in education and free time—and instability in values is then understandable.

Obviously, too, we must get back to fundamentals. For in the individual's credo lies the strength and happiness of the family—the community—the nation. Never was the issue so clear-cut—for today spiritual values of men are being assailed by materialistic values everywhere and we cannot see our spiritual values weakened.

All the above is general conversation.

But what can be done? The group of four decided then to start "This I Believe," a 5-minute radio program to run daily. Edward R. Murrow, one of the group, agreed to introduce each guest. Every day, 260 days a year, it was planned to have a successful man or woman regardless of religion, race or color, who is a decent citizen, tell his personal philosophy, what he deems important, the personal rules upon which he runs his life. These guests will cover all stations of life—business men, lawyers, writers, educators, baseball players, actors—anyone who has been successful in his chosen profession and in his adjustment to the realities of the world.

A year was spent in planning this series and six months in setting an editorial policy and getting our first forty records made. Over 150 men and women have to date cut records for "This I Believe."

Our objective and policy are very simple.

Today more than ever before there are less spiritual values—but a great restless searching for the personal answer of "What is worth while?" "What can I believe?" "What shall be my personal credo?"

We hope, in a modest way to give the answer arrived at by well-known, successful men and women, hoping that a sentence or viewpoint each day might be provocative or stimulating and helpful to some individual. This program has no connection with any church—it is run by laymen. Each personal philosophy expressed on "This I Believe" will be of spiritual significance—touching directly or indirectly the basic principles taught by every church. But there are 75,000,000 people in the United States not associated with any church and we are hopeful that the messages of the broadcast may reach them, too.

Our guests will be by invitation only, after careful selection. We want the thoughtful, carefully conceived, personal basic beliefs of people—what *they* have personally learned of relative values so far in life.

We do not want dogma or editorializing or finger-pointing at the listener. "This I Believe" will be what its name says—the personal beliefs of the speaker. These will be many and varied.

We think on the air and in print from time to time these may well be a small but steady light—helpful in basic thinking and living.

"This I Believe" starting January 28, 1952 will be broadcast daily on over 175 radio stations in the United States, run as a weekly feature in over 175 newspapers, broadcast daily on 140 stations of the Armed Forces Radio Service in the United States, Europe and Pacific, sent by the State Department all around the world for foreign publication and broadcast by the Voice of America in foreign languages.

"This I Believe"

The Personal Philosophies of Thoughtful Men and Women in All Walks of Life

The First Broadcast *of* "This I Believe"

EDWARD R. MURROW
News Analyst

MURROW: This I Believe. By that name we bring you a new series of radio broadcasts presenting the personal philosophies of thoughtful men and women in all walks of life. In this brief time each night, a banker or a butcher, a painter or a social worker, people of all kinds who need have nothing more in common than integrity, a real honesty, will talk out loud, about the rules they live by, the things they have found to be the basic values in their lives.

We hardly need to be reminded that we are living in an age of confusion—a lot of us have traded in our beliefs for bitterness and cynicism, or for a heavy package of despair, or even a quivering portion of hysteria. Opinions can be picked up cheap in the marketplace while such commodities as courage, and fortitude, and faith, are in alarmingly short supply.

Around us all, now high like a distant thunderhead, now close upon us with the wet choking intimacy of a London fog, there is an enveloping cloud of fear. There is a physical fear, the kind that drives some of us to flee our homes and burrow into the ground in the bottom of a Montana Valley, like prairie dogs, to try to escape, if only for a little while, the sound and the fury of the A-bombs or the Hell-bombs, or whatever may be coming. There is a mental fear which provokes others of us to see the images of witches in a neighbor's yard and stampedes us to burn down his house. And there is a creeping fear of doubt, doubt of what we have been taught, of the validity of so many things we had long since taken for granted to be durable and unchanging. It has become more difficult than ever to distinguish black from white, good from evil, right from wrong.

What truths can a human being afford to furnish the cluttered, nervous room of his mind with, when he has no real idea how long a lease he has on the future? It is to try to meet the challenge of such ques-

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

tions that we have prepared these broadcasts.

It has been a difficult task and a delicate one. Except for those who think in terms of pious platitudes or dogma or narrow prejudice—(and those thoughts we aren't interested in) people don't speak their beliefs easily, or publicly. In a way, our project has been an invasion of privacy, like demanding a man to let a stranger read his mail. General Lucius Clay remarked it would hardly be less embarrassing for an individual to be forced to disrobe in public than to unveil his private philosophy. Mrs. Roosevelt hesitated a long time. "What can I possibly say that will be of any value to anybody else?" she asked us. And a railway executive in Philadelphia argued at first that we might as well try to engrave the Lord's prayer on the head of a pin as to attempt to discuss anything thoughtfully in the space of five minutes. Yet these people and many more have all made distinctive contributions of their beliefs to the series. You will hear from that inspiring woman, Helen Keller, who despite her blindness, has lived a far richer life than most of us; from Author Pearl Buck; Sculptor William Zorach; businessmen and labor leaders, teachers and students.

Perhaps we should warn you that there is one thing you won't hear, and that is a pat answer for the problems of life. We don't pretend to make this time a spiritual or psychological patent medicine chest where one can come and get a pill of wisdom, to be swallowed like an aspirin, to banish the headaches of our times.

This reporter's beliefs are in a state of flux. It would be easier to enumerate the items I do not believe in, than the other way around. And yet in talking to people, in listening to them, I have come to realize that I don't have a monopoly on the world's problems. Others have their share, often far bigger than mine. This has helped me to see my own in truer perspective; and in learning how others have faced their problems,—this has given me fresh ideas about how to tackle mine. I hope, as you listen to future programs on This I Believe, that they may be of assistance to you in a similar way.

Broadcast by

WILLIAM ORVILLE DOUGLAS

Justice, U. S. Supreme Court

MURROW: This I Believe. It sometimes happens that men in high places forget a sense of humility. William Orville Douglas, associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, is not one of these. Justice Douglas was born in Minnesota 53 years ago, reared in the wide open spaces of the far west. Lawyers can be stuffy at times but here is one of the nation's most brilliant students of the law who cherishes a kinship with nature. He fishes, hunts, climbs mountains and probes into the back country of distant lands to learn how simple men live and think. His own life has been a turbulence of challenge and hard work. Now, Mr. Justice Douglas shares with us his convictions.

DOUGLAS: During moments of sadness or frustration, I often think of a family scene years ago in the town of Yakima, Washington. I was about seven or eight years old at the time. Father had died a few years earlier. Mother was sitting in the living room talking to me, telling me what a wonderful man father was. She told me of his last illness and death. She told me of his departure from Cleveland, Washington, to Portland, Oregon . . . for what proved to be a fatal operation. His last words to her were these, "If I die it will be glory, if I live it will be grace." I remember how those words puzzled me. I could not understand why it would be glory to die. It would be glory to live, that I could understand. But why it would be glory to die was something I did not understand until later.

Then one day in a moment of great crisis I came to understand the words of my father. "If I die it will be glory, if I live it will be grace." That was his evening star. The faith in a power greater than man. That was the faith of our fathers. A belief in a God who controlled man in the universe, that manifested itself in different ways to different people. It was written by scholars and learned men in dozens of different creeds. But riding high above all secular controversies was a faith in One who was

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

the Creator, the Giver of Life, the Omnipotent.

Man's age long effort has been to be free. Throughout time he has struggled against some form of tyranny that would enslave his mind or his body. So far in this century, three epidemics of it have been let loose in the world.

We can keep our freedom through the increasing crisis of history only if we are self-reliant enough to be free—dollars, guns, and all the wondrous products of science and the machine will not be enough. "This night thy soul shall be required of thee."

These days I see graft and corruption reach high into government. These days I see people afraid to speak their minds because someone will think they are unorthodox and therefore disloyal. These days I see America identified more and more with material things, less and less with spiritual standards. These days I see America drifting from the Christian faith, acting abroad as an arrogant, selfish, greedy nation . . . interested only in guns and in dollars . . . not in people and their hopes and aspirations. These days the words of my father come back to me more and more. We need his faith, the faith of our fathers. We need a faith that dedicates us to something bigger and more important than ourselves or our possessions. Only if we have that faith will we be able to guide the destiny of nations, in this the most critical period of world history.

MURROW: That was Associate Justice William Orville Douglas of the supreme court with a message of faith for the future.

A Prayer for Every Day

Let me not shut myself within myself
  Nor dedicate my days to petty things,
Let there be many windows in my life,
  The entrance to my heart a door that swings,
Where through I go and come with eyes that smile,
  And folk without as gladly come to me,
That, haply I may learn the thing worth while,
  The art of human hospitality.
Save me from self-preferment, that would gain
  Its cloistered place, safe sheltered from the strife.
But purposeful and calm and sweet and sane,
  Lord, keep me in the Living Room of Life.

—M. A. H.

Broadcast by

RALPH RICHMOND

Author, Copywriter

MURROW: This I Believe. Sometimes it takes the shock of tragedy to awaken our talents for happiness. Ralph Richmond, a Philadelphia advertising man, once almost lost his life, but in the process he discovered himself. Today at 57 he is a lively citizen, grandfather, a writer of verse and essays. He won the Saturday Review of Literature prize for completion of the last unfinished novel by Joseph Conrad. Here is Ralph Richmond to reveal his beliefs, and how he found them.

RICHMOND: Just ten years ago I sat across the desk from a doctor with a stethoscope. "Yes," he said, "there is a lesion in the left upper lobe. You have a moderately advanced case . . ." I listened, stunned, as he continued: "You'll have to give up work at once and go to bed. Later on, we'll see . . ." He gave me no assurance.

Feeling like a man who, in mid-career, has suddenly been placed under sentence of death with an indefinite reprieve, I left the doctor's office, walked over to the park and sat down on a bench—perhaps, as I then told myself, for the last time. I needed to think.

In the next three days I cleared up my affairs. Then I went home, got into bed and set my watch to tick off not the minutes, but the months.

Two and a half years, and many dashed hopes later, I left my bed and began the long climb back. It was another year before I made it.

I speak of this experience because these years that passed so slowly taught me what to value and what to believe. They said to me: Take time before time takes *you*.

I realize now that this world I'm living in is not my oyster to be opened, but my opportunity to be grasped. Each day to me is a precious entity. The sun comes up and presents me with twenty-four brand new, wonderful hours—not to pass but to *fill*. I've learned to appreciate those little *all*-important things I never thought I had the time to notice before—the play of light on running water, the music of the wind in my favorite pine tree.

I seem now to see and hear and

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

feel with some of the recovered freshness of childhood. How well, for instance, I recall the touch of the springy earth under my feet the day I first stepped upon it after the years in bed. It was almost more than I could bear. It was like regaining one's citizenship in a world one had nearly lost.

Frequently I sit back and say to myself: Let me make note of this moment I'm living right now. Because in it I'm well, happy, hard at work doing what I like best to do. It won't always be like this; so while it is, I'll make the most of it. And afterwards, I'll remember and be grateful.

All this I owe to that long time spent "on the sidelines" of life. Wiser people come to this awareness without having to acquire it the hard way. But I wasn't wise enough. I'm wiser now—a little—and happier.

"Look thy last on all things lovely —every hour!" With these words Walter de la Mare sums up for me my philosophy and my belief. God made this world—in spite of what man now and then tries to do to *un*-make it—a dwelling-place of beauty and wonder, and He filled it with more goodness than most of us suspect. And so I say to myself: Should I not pretty often take time to absorb the beauty and the wonder . . . to contribute at least a little to the goodness? And should I not then, in my heart, give thanks? Truly I do. This I believe.

MURROW: That was Ralph Richmond, an advertising copy writer and a man of letters, who has learned by experience that in things which seem commonplace, can be discovered some of life's most precious values.

Last Will and Testament

Final paragraph in the will of Charles Dickens

I commit my soul to the mercy of God through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and I exhort my dear children humbly to try to guide themselves by the teaching of the New Testament in its broad spirit, and to put no faith in any man's narrow construction of its letter here or there.

From "The Life of Charles Dickens" by Hesketh Pearson, Harper Brothers

Broadcast by

ALBERT J. NESBITT

Industrialist, President John J. Nesbitt Company

MURROW: This I Believe. To this observer, one of the marvels of our age is the striking diversity it produces in the characters of men. Albert J. Nesbitt is an industrialist, president of the John J. Nesbitt Company, which makes heating units and ventilators. His favorite sport is fox hunting—(riding to hounds). At the same time, he is president of the Philadelphia YMCA, and furiously active in civic affairs ranging from the Community Chest to the Council of Churches. Against that background, Albert J. Nesbitt reveals his beliefs.

NESBITT: One day about fifteen years ago I suddenly came face to face with myself and realized there was something quite empty about my life. My friends and associates perhaps didn't see it. By the generally accepted standards, I was "successful," I was head of a prosperous manufacturing concern and I led what is usually referred to as an "active" life, both socially and in business. But it didn't seem to me to be adding up to anything. I was going around in circles. I worked hard, played hard, and pretty soon I discovered I was hitting the highballs harder than I needed. I wasn't a candidate for Alcoholics Anonymous but to be honest with myself I had to admit I was drinking more than was good for me. It may have been out of sheer boredom.

I began to wonder what to do. It occurred to me that I might have gotten myself too tightly wrapped up in my job, to the sacrifice of the basic but non-materialistic values of life. It struck me abruptly that I was being quite selfish, that my major interest in people was in what they meant to me, what they represented as business contacts, or employees, not what I might mean to them. I remembered that as my mother sent me to Sunday School as a boy, and encouraged me to sing in the church choir, she used to tell me that the value of what she called a good Christian background was in having something to tie to. I put in a little thought recalling the Golden Rule and some of the other first principles of Christianity. I began to get interested in YMCA

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

work.

It happened that just at this time we were having some bitter fights with the union at our plant. Then one day it occurred to me: what really IS their point of view, and why? I began to see a basis for their suspicions, their often chip-on-shoulder point of view and I determined to do something about it.

We endeavored to apply—literally apply—Christian principles to our dealings with employees, to practice, for example, something of the Golden Rule. The men's response, once they were convinced we were sincere, was remarkable. The effort has paid for its pains and I don't mean in dollars. I mean in dividends of human dignity, of a man's pride in his job and in the company, knowing that he is no longer just a cog but a live personal part of it and that it doesn't matter whether he belongs to a certain church or whether the pigmentation of his skin is light or dark.

But I can speak with most authority on how this change of attitude affected me and my own personal outlook on life. Perhaps, again, many of my friends did not notice the difference.

But I noticed it. That feeling of emptiness, into which I was pouring cocktails out of boredom, was filling up instead with a purpose; to live a full life with an awareness and an appreciation of other people. I do not pretend for a second that I have suddenly become a paragon. My faults are still legion and I know them.

But it seems to me better to have a little religion and practice it than think piously and do nothing about it. I feel better adjusted, more mature than I ever have in my life before. I have no fear. I say this not boastfully but in all humility. The actual application of Christian principles has changed my life.

MURROW: That was Albert J. Nesbitt of Philadelphia, at once a hard-headed businessman and warm-hearted human, a husband and a father, who knows the importance of a full life, and who has learned much about how to live it.

We have too many men of science; we have too few men of God. We have solved the mystery of the atom; we know too little about the Sermon on the Mount. We know how to make war; we do not know how to make peace.

—General Omar Bradley

Broadcast by

HELEN KELLER

Author, Humanitarian

MURROW: This I Believe. As everybody knows, Helen Keller was stricken deaf and blind, as a baby. But this miraculous woman lived to become a symbol of courage to millions. Today, though over 70, she confidently travels the world as a councillor for the American Foundation for the Blind. In the voice she has learned to use but cannot hear, she introduces her creed.

KELLER: It is Helen Keller who salutes you. You are not familiar with my voice. But my friend Polly Thomson will interpret the beliefs I have written from my soul:

THOMSON: I choose for my subject faith wrought into life, apart from creed or dogma. By faith I mean a vision of good one cherishes and the enthusiasm that pushes one to seek its fulfillment regardless of obstacles. Faith is a dynamic power that breaks the chain of routine and gives a new, fine turn to old commonplaces. Faith reinvigorates the will, enriches the affections and awakens a sense of creativeness.

Active faith knows no fear, and it is a safeguard to me against cynicism and despair. After all, faith is not one thing or two or three things, it is an indivisible totality of beliefs that inspire me—Belief in God as infinite good will and all seeing Wisdom whose everlasting Arms sustain me walking on the sea of life. Trust in my fellow men, wonder at their fundamental goodness and confidence that after this night of sorrow and oppression they will rise up strong and beautiful in the glory of morning. Reverence for the beauty and preciousness of earth, and a sense of responsibility to do what I can to make it a habitation of health and plenty for all men. Faith in immortality because it renders less bitter the separation from those I have loved and lost, and because it will free me from unnatural limitations and unfold still more faculties I have in joyous activity. Even if my vital spark should be blown out, I believe that I should behave with courageous dignity in the presence of fate and strive to be a worthy companion of the Beautiful, the Good and the True. But fate has its master in the faith of

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

those who surmount it, and limitation has its limits for those who, though disillusioned, live greatly. True faith is not a fruit of security, it is the ability to blend mortal fragility with the inner strength of the Spirit. It does not shift with the changing shades of one's thought.

It was a terrible blow to my faith when I learned that millions of my fellow-creatures must labor all their days for food and shelter, bear the most crushing burdens and die without having known the joy of living. My security vanished forever, and I have never regained the radiant belief of my young years that earth is a happy home and hearth for the majority of mankind.

But faith is a state of mind. The believer is not soon disheartened. If he is turned out of his shelter, he builds up a house that the winds of the earth cannot destroy.

When I think of the suffering and famine, and the continued slaughter of men, my spirit bleeds, but the thought comes to me that, like the little deaf, dumb and blind child I once was, mankind is growing out of the darkness of ignorance and hate into the light of a brighter day.

MURROW: You have heard the beliefs of Helen Keller, introduced by her own voice and interpreted by Polly Thomson, who for nearly 40 years has helped her emerge from a blind and deaf mute's prison to communicate so richly with the world.

Credo

"I have always believed that the long view of man's history will show that his destiny on earth is progress toward the good life, even though that progress is based on sacrifices and sufferings which taken by themselves seem to constitute a hideous melange of evils. This is an act of faith. We must not let ourselves be engulfed in the passing waves which obscure the current of progress. The sinfulness and weakness of man are evident to anyone who lives in the active world. But men are also great, kind and wise. Honor begets honor; trust begets trust; faith begets faith; and hope is the mainspring of life.

"Those who read this book will mostly be younger than I, men of the generations who must bear the active part in the work ahead. Let them charge us with our failures and do better in their turn. But let them not turn aside from that which they have to do, nor think that criticism excuses inaction. Let them have hope, and virtue, and let them believe in mankind and its future, for there is good as well as evil, and the man who tries to work for the good, believing in its eventual victory, while he may suffer setback and even disaster, will never know defeat. The only deadly sin I know is cynicism."

Henry L. Stimson—"On Active Service in Peace and War" (Harper)

Broadcast by

C. JARED INGERSOLL

Industrialist, Director Pennsylvania Railroad

MURROW: This I Believe. Tonight we hear from a stubborn man, Mr. C. Jared Ingersoll. Mr. Ingersoll is a man who knows how to run a railroad—he is chairman of the board of a line in Oklahoma and a director of the Pennsylvania Railway—but who is more concerned, really, with the pleasure he derives from doing things for other people. We have discovered in the course of preparing these broadcasts, that the statement of belief, the reducing of it to words, is not easy. Many people have never attempted it. Belief does not seem to be the result of ease, luxury or far-ranging opportunities. Often it is the result of adversity and disappointment which somehow temper and toughen a man's convictions. This is what Mr. Ingersoll believes:

INGERSOLL: I feel very presumptuous and uncomfortable about trying to explain out loud the things I believe in. But I do think that all human problems are in some way related to each other so perhaps if people compare their experiences they may discover something in common in hunting the answers.

I am a very fortunate man for I lead a full and, what is for me, a happy life. I say this even though I happen to have had, in the course of it, a couple of severe personal blows. My first wife collapsed and died one day while she and I were ice skating, after 18 years of a most happy existence together. My only son, a sergeant in the Army combat engineers, was killed in Italy in the last war. Nonetheless, these tragedies did not throw me completely and I have been able to fill my life anew with happiness.

I do not mean to sound calloused. Those blows hurt me deeply. I guess that two basically important things helped me most to recover. One is the fact that I have come to see life as a gamble. The other is a belief in what some people call the hereafter. I try to live fully so that when my luck changes there will be little room for regret or recrimination over time lost or misspent. My belief in the hereafter is wrapped in the intangible but stubborn thoughts of a layman. Very likely I would get

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

lost in trying to describe or defend, by cold logic, my belief in God but nobody could argue me out of it.

I have come to believe that I owe life as much as it owes me and I suppose that explains the fine satisfaction I get out of endeavoring to do a job to the best of what ability I have, and out of helping somebody else.

As a kid I used to ride a rake in the hay fields. I got a tremendous kick out of trying to sweep every field clean as a whistle. Here I made a surprising and happy discovery: that there could be actual enjoyment in the exercise of thoroughness and responsibility, that duty didn't have to be a drudge.

I don't know exactly why, but I like to do things for other people. Not only family responsibilities, work on a hospital board and various church organizations, but also the most inconsequential things that might hardly seem worth the time. My office happens to be on Independence Square and now and then I have occasion to direct a tourist to the Liberty Bell or fill him in on a little of the history of Philadelphia. The tourist doesn't seem to mind and it makes me feel good. I'm afraid I'm not very profound. I have tried to comprehend why something so simple and so sound as the Golden Rule is so often forgotten or held in disrepute. I can only say —and I say this quite selfishly—that I have found it a good investment. It has paid me a very high return, undoubtedly more than I deserve.

MURROW: That was Mr. C. Jared Ingersoll who knows a lot about railroads and people, telling us what he believes.

Believe nothing rashly. —Cato

Broadcast by

EDWARD P. MORGAN

Correspondent

MURROW: This I Believe. The strange species of people known as reporters are often catalogued as irascible, and disrespectful citizens. But in our unguarded moments we can be human too—or so we like to think. An associate of mine, Edward P. Morgan, foreign correspondent, magazine writer, and now himself a freshman in this odd business of radio, has collected some of his own private observations about life, and here he is to tell them.

MORGAN: When I was a small boy, I believed in God the same way I believed in Santa Claus: my mother told me it was so. The process of growing up—of sorting out mature convictions from the world of make believe—this has been a painful thing for me.

I still have my guard up against what might be termed professional religion. It is so easy for us to press ourselves into a pattern—to learn to say pious things self righteously without really believing in them or acting upon them. How can I profess a belief in what we call a Supreme Being without showing an honest faith in the human being—the ordinary mortal?

Of all times, I think, now is the time when men must believe in men, or they can believe in nothing. If I cannot believe in the man next door and recognize and respect the human dignity which is his birthright as intimately as his skin, what valid connection can I claim with a Presence in whose image I am supposed to be cast? But if I believe in humanity, then I come to know, inevitably, that there is something bigger than myself.

If I couldn't figure this out in the spinning urban world where life is swift and often ruthless, I like to think that a kind of instinctive humility would come to me as I, a man, walked along, say, in a deep green forest. Past the temples of trees, through the canyons of rocks and beside the avenues of shining rivers. Perhaps that is the time when a man's mind can best reach out and grasp the stars.

I have a feeling that the world is bigger than we imagine—that we

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

are on the brink of great discoveries—not only in science but in people.

We are only at the frontier of humanity. We are just beginning to poke into the fascinating recesses of the consciousness and attempt, somehow, to measure that non-dimensional organ called the human soul. In other words, we are on the verge of discovering ourselves. This excites me. This will prove that the world is not only big—it is also small, a cozy place where people can extend their minds, as easily as they extend a hand, and touch each other with understanding.

I believe people must have nourishment for their minds and spirits, just as we need pork chops and potatoes and vitamin C for our bodies. Malnutrition of the mind means a warped character as surely as rickets mean puny bones. There is a certain rich sustenance of beauty which has helped me overcome this disease. For me, beauty is one of the most important things in life. Or perhaps I mean an awareness of beauty. It is everything from the warm, sensuous beauty of woman, who is life itself, to the liquid rhythm of music, the fragile, fleeting loveliness of daybreak, the terrible majesty of a storm. A picture, a poem, the open look of a child.

In our frenetic existence today, these things seem like a blur glimpsed through the window of a speeding train. Our very velocity adds to our uneasiness—uneasiness about ourselves. About how long we are going to live. About death. But the good things are there, I think, if we pause to find them. And I believe that as for himself, a man lives in the faces and the hearts of his children, and in the friendships and the memories of his friends. I believe that all the permanence I need is floating there, on the stream of life.

MURROW: That was Ed Morgan, a reporter and CBS newscaster, who for nearly 20 years has been poking around in various parts of the world and who has learned that beliefs don't do a man much good, unless he can believe first in himself.

He does not believe, that does not live according to his Belief.
—Thomas Fuller

Broadcast by

CONSTANCE WARREN

Educator, President Emeritus Sarah Lawrence College

MURROW: This I Believe. It is said that woman's work is never done. Although she has no family of her own, Constance Warren, a celebrated American educator, has a large one in the thousands of students she has loved and inspired in her long career. Aged seventy, she is president-emeritus of Sarah Lawrence College, and still a tireless worker, a brave pioneer, really, in the rich and vital field of education. Hear, now, the personal philosophy of Constance Warren.

WARREN: I am one of those very fortunate people who have loved my job, teaching, for I think it is one of the most important in this world. I believe that we must understand, in order to live richly within ourselves—and usefully to others. I am convinced that misunderstanding and suspicion come from ignorance and I have faith that most young people are eager to learn and very discriminating as to the values for them of what one has to teach. I think we must all learn early to distinguish between pleasure and happiness and that happiness is the by product of service. The key phrase in the Bible, to my mind, is "He that loseth his life shall find it." I have never been interested in Theology, but the teachings of Christ seem to me basic to good living. I suppose I do just what most people do, clothe him with all the finest traits which I have discovered in people I have known and then, when I am puzzled, I think "What would Christ do under these circumstances?"

I believe strongly that we can never build happiness on the misery of other people, that the time is past when we can be content with relieving the misery in this world. That we must now focus our most constructive thinking and energy on eliminating its causes. The growth of this viewpoint seems to me the most encouraging development in a troubled world. Friendships are very important to me for I believe strongly that human relations should be an inspiration to creative living. I am sure that, by and large, if I trust people, they will live up to my trust. I never look for trouble until

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

it is thrust in my face. I also believe strongly that with deep capacity for affection should go equally deep objectivity, that it is absolutely essential to be fair with everyone. I never believe in competing with anyone but myself. I feel that that is the best way in the world to get the summation of my ambitions.

I think we are responsible for consciously training ourselves to so make comparison between our own situation and that of other people that we avoid self pity. Suspicion and self pity seem to me two of the most corroding characteristics which one can have and I must be constantly on the alert to prevent them from getting a foothold in my thinking.

I believe that growing old should be a rich summation of experience, not a decay. That, generally speaking, we make of our old age a heaven or a hell and can look for no greater rewards or punishment in any future life than we can give ourselves in this one. Although a Protestant, I believe in the Catholic idea of a "treasury of good works," not laid up by Saints alone but by any one who has tried hard to live usefully and happily. I am not concerned that my name should be remembered, but I hope that I may have accumulated a little anonymous treasury which will filter down through succeeding generations and add to the sum total of right values by which men live.

MURROW: Those were the views of one of America's great ladies, Miss Constance Warren, an educator who has shared the rich human experience of her life with maturing young people.

Convictions are the mainsprings of action, the driving powers of life. What a man lives are his convictions.

—Bishop Francis C. Kelly

Broadcast by

CARROLL BINDER

Editorial Editor, Minneapolis Tribune

MURROW: This I Believe. The word integrity is sometimes loosely used. But it fits no man's character more snugly than that of my esteemed friend and colleague, Carroll Binder, now editorial editor of the Mineapolis Tribune. Listen to the warm, human beliefs of this internationally known journalist:

BINDER: "We are all at the mercy of a falling tile," Julius Caesar reminds us in Thornton Wilder's IDES OF MARCH. None of us knows at what hour something we love may suffer some terrible blow by a force we can neither anticipate nor control.

Fifty-five years of living, much of the time in trouble centers of a highly troubled era, have not taught me how to avoid being hit by falling tiles. I have sustained some very severe blows. My Mother died when I was three years old. My first-born son, a gifted and idealistic youth, was killed in the war. While I was still cherishing the hope that he might be alive, circumstances beyond my control made it impossible for me to continue work into which I had poured my heart's blood for twenty years.

I speak of such things here in the hope of helping others to believe with me that there are resources within one's grasp which enable one to sustain such blows without being crushed or embittered by them.

I believe the best hope of standing up to falling tiles is through developing a sustaining philosophy and state of mind all through life. I have seen all sorts of people sustain all sorts of blows in all sorts of circumstances by all sorts of faiths, so I believe anyone can find a faith that will serve his needs if he persists in the quest.

One of the best ways I know of fortifying oneself to withstand the vicissitudes of this insecure and unpredictable era is to school oneself to require relatively little in the way of material possessions, physical satisfactions or the praise of others. The less one requires of such things the better situated one is to stand up to changes of fortune.

I am singularly rich in friend-

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

ships. Friends of all ages have contributed enormously to my happiness and helped me greatly in times of need. I learned one of the great secrets of friendship early in life—to regard each person with whom one associates as an end in himself, not a means to one's own ends. That entails trying to help those with whom one comes in contact to find fulfilment in their own way while seeking one's own fulfilment in one's own way.

Another ethical principle that has stood me in good stead is: Know Thyself! I try to acquaint myself realistically with my possibilities and limitations. I try to suit my aspirations to goals within my probable capacity to attain. I may have missed some undiscovered possibilities for growth but I have spared myself much by not shooting for stars it clearly was not given me to attain.

I have seen much inhumanity, cheating, corruption, sordidness and selfishness but I have not become cynical. I have seen too much that is decent, kind and noble in men to lose faith in the possibility for a far finer existence than yet has been achieved. I believe the quest for a better life is the most satisfying pursuit of men and nations.

I love life but I am not worried about death. I do not feel that I have lost my son and a host of others dear to me by death. I believe with William Penn that "they that love beyond the World cannot be separated by it. Death is but Crossing the World, as Friends do the Seas; they live in one another still." Death, I believe, teaches us the things of deathlessness.

MURROW: That was Carroll Binder, editor, traveler, commentator, who knows the world and its problems perhaps as well as any living American, and who has learned that supreme lesson: the importance of knowing one's self.

Strong beliefs win strong men, and then make them stronger.
—Walter Bagehot

Broadcast by

HERBERT H. LEHMAN

U. S. Senator from New York

MURROW: This I Believe. There is never any scarcity of politicians but statesmen are few and far between. New York's former governor and present U.S. Senator, Herbert H. Lehman, classifies, in our book in the latter category. He is never afraid to speak his mind and has something both pertinent and courageous to say, on public matters or private ones such as this.

LEHMAN: So many things affect a man's philosophy and his life that I find it difficult to put into words my personal beliefs. I hesitate to speak of them publicly for fear of giving the appearance of preaching.

Two convictions, however, I believe have more than any others influenced my thinking both in private and in public life.

First, commonplace as it may sound, I am convinced that what we get out of life is in direct proportion to what we put into it. Second, I must respect the opinions of others even if I disagree with them.

Throughout my long and rather busy career I have always held firmly to the belief that I owe life as much as it owes to me. If that philosophy is sound, and I believe it is, it applies, I hope, to all of my activities—to my home, to my daily work, to my politics, and above all things, to my relationships to others.

Life is not a one-way street. What I do, what I say, even what I think, inevitably has a direct effect on my relationships with others. I am certain that in the degree that my attitude towards others has given convincing proof of loyalty, sincerity, honesty, courtesy and fairness, I have encouraged in others the same attitude towards me. Respect begets respect, suspicion begets suspicion, hate begets hate. It has been well said that "The only way to have a friend is to be one."

None of the blessings of our great American heritage of civil liberties is self-executing. To make effective such things as brotherhood, kindliness, sympathy, human decency, the freedom of opportunity, the very preciousness of life—to make these things real requires respect

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

and constant vigilance. This is the core of my American Faith.

As I have said, I believe I must help to safeguard to all men free expression of their views even though I may be in disagreement with them. I must listen to and study *responsible* views; sometimes I will learn much from them. No individual and no nation has a monopoly of wisdom or talent. When an individual or a nation becomes self-satisfied or complacent, it is time, I believe, to be deeply concerned. He who closes his ears to the views of others shows little confidence in the integrity of his own views.

There can be no question with regard to the inherent rights of Americans to enjoy equal economic opportunity in every field, to secure decent living conditions, adequate provision for the moral and spiritual development of their children, and to free association with their fellow men as equals under the law and equals in the sight of God. These rights can be safeguarded and advanced only where men may think and speak freely. I reject a fundamental principle of democracy if I seek to prevent a fellow citizen of different background from fully expressing his thoughts on any subject. I have tried to express a few of my own thoughts on this subject which is very close to me. I think that we will have good reason for optimism about the future of the American ideal as long as men can and will say, without fear, what they believe.

MURROW: That was Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York, who sees great value in simple beliefs, honestly held.

You are young, my son, and, as the years go by, time will change and even reverse many of your present opinions. Refrain therefore awhile from setting yourself up as a judge of the highest matters.

—Plato

Broadcast by

MONROE DEUTSCH

Vice President and Provost Emeritus, University of California

MURROW: This I Believe. Here are the basic postulates of all religion expressed simply and forcefully by Dr. Monroe E. Deutsch, Vice-President and Provost Emeritus of the University of California.

DEUTSCH: I regard the brotherhood of mankind as the basis of any true religion—and for that matter, the basis of any true democracy. Belief in the worth and dignity of the individual is entwined with the idea of human brotherhood.

The differences between us, I feel certain, are mainly accidental. We have no choice as to either the color of the skin or the place of birth. Despite these differences over which no one of us has control, we are all brothers in spirit. Some of us have advantages that others lack, but character is by no means determined by our advantages or the lack of them.

The doctrine of human brotherhood, if really practiced by mankind, would fundamentally change the aspect of the world and make wars and persecutions impossible. And if the world really accepted the principle that all human beings are brothers, and should be treated with the respect due to members of one great family, then a vast number of the problems confronting mankind would be solved. Significant is it that this doctrine which would revolutionize our society, should have been laid down as one of the cardinal principles of both Christianity and Judaism.

Moreover, I find it impossible to conceive of the creation of this complex universe with all its wonders as purely the result of material forces. Somehow, somewhere, there must be a power that has brought into being the principles which govern this world. That power we term God.

Assuredly some force must have given the initial impulse that brought the universe into being. But even beyond this, I cannot feel that that power merely existed at the time the world began to be created; it did not disappear with that first impulse, but has continued throughout the ages.

If one accepts, as I do, the view

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

that some power must have started the creation of all that we are and see about us, then it is hard to understand how one can but believe that that power still exists.

It is also impossible for me to accept the view that the spirit of man, capable of so much that is great and noble, is wholly extinguished at the death of the body. Exactly how its existence is continued, I have no precise conception—but I do feel that the breaking up of the body cannot end that which was encased within it.

To those who believe in immortality, life (as we term it) becomes but one stage in the cycle of existence. Thus, Cicero in his essay on old age says, "I depart from life as from an inn, not as from a home. For nature has given us a caravansary in which to tarry, not to abide."

My own faith rests, therefore, on belief in the dignity and worth of the individual, in human brotherhood, and in the existence of a power that is greater than mankind and greater than the forces that shape our physical environment.

I believe in the immortality of the spirit of man and the continuance of the development of what has gone on during what we call life.

And finally I am convinced that religion (whatever its form may be) is indispensable in the life of a people.

Above all stands the fundamental injunction that we believe in one God and recall that He is the father of us all and that we are brothers.

MURROW: You have heard the creed of Monroe E. Deutsch of Santa Barbara, California, one of this nation's foremost educators.

This above all: to thine own self be true,
And it must follow as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.
—Shakespeare (Hamlet)

Broadcast by

R. GOPOLAKRISHNAN

Attorney from India

MURROW: This I Believe. There seems to be something universal about the dreams and aspirations of youth whether they're dreamed in Brooklyn or in Bombay, in Tokyo or in Teheran. Mr. R. Gopolakrishnan is a young Indian attorney who has come to the United States to continue study of the law. Listen now as he tells about his beliefs and hopes for the future.

GOPOLAKRISHNAN: When I was younger I read for inspiration and for training as a lawyer in India, the works of great American writers and orators. So through books I have long been familiar with the American Spirit. But it was only when I came to America a few weeks ago that I was able to see it embodied in flesh and blood. It was then that I came to the full realization that whatever our differences might be, our similarities are much more basic. The same ideas that stirred my blood in the writings of our great poets and philosophers were there in your Constitution and in your daily life.

There is a song by our Nobel Prize winner Rabindranath Tagore which seems to me to express particularly well what you, too, are striving for. It is from his "Gitanjali." In it he prays for a better and happier world in these memorable words:

"Where the mind is without fear
and the head is held high;
Where Knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been
broken into narrow domestic
walls;
Where words come out from
the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches
its arm towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the
dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward
by thee into ever widening
thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom,
My Father, let my country
awake."

I believe that every man should help to build a new world—a far better world—one in which the eternal dignity of man is respected.

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

I believe that it is for all the human race to support anything that is done to work out cooperation on this globe.

Perhaps as an Indian I tend to look at the broader aspects of the problems which beset mankind. My people have long been concerned with the basic values of human life. My training as a lawyer and my experience here in America have taught me, though, that whether they express them in a Bill of Rights or in a song of prayer, all people have ultimately the same hopes, the same needs, the same fears, and the same dreams. They are all citizens of the same world and as such they must learn to cooperate and to work out their problems together.

They all want peace, they all want to be respected as human beings, they all want a chance to develop what is unique and vital within themselves.

I sincerely believe that a day will soon come when the joy bells will ring again throughout the world and when all nations will plan and will build in justice, in tradition and in freedom, a house of many mansions where there will be room for all.

When I have completed my training here in the United States, and go back to India, my native land, to put into practice the things I have learned about your Constitution and your system of law, I will also bring back a renewed faith in the ideals of freedom and human brotherhood, and I will bring back the knowledge that these ideals are not contained by national boundaries but are shared by people everywhere.

MURROW: They are the beliefs of R. Gopolakrishnan, a young Indian who is studying international law at Harvard University as an exchange student under the provisions of the Smith Mundt Act. His accent may be Indian but his beliefs are international.

Faith is the elbow for a heavy soule to leane upon.
—Sir Thomas Overbury

Broadcast by

DR. FRED DOW FAGG

President, University of Southern California

MURROW: This I Believe. This is the air age, a time of breathless, and I'm afraid, often aimless motion. Dr. Fred Dow Fagg, President of the University of Southern California, is a leader in the field of aviation as well as in education but he has kept his feet on the very firm ground of the principles he now states.

FAGG: The view of the high Sierra Lake, nestled in the snow and rock slightly below the timber line, was beautiful from my vantage point some five hundred feet above its shimmering surface. I was anxious to rejoin my companions and try the fishing before the afternoon shadows—edging out from the surrounding array of peaks—entirely covered the lake. Just a short distance beyond the intervening shale, the trail zig-zagged down to the valley. I disliked the thought of returning by the long, tedious trail I had ascended, and decided to chance the shale—even though part of it lay above a sheer drop-off of several hundred feet.

I started working my way over the loose rock with considerable caution and had covered about half the distance when I became aware of a slight, but persistent, yielding of the shale under my feet. Desperately, I looked for something that would offer support, and lurched forward to grasp a light outcropping of solid rock just as the surface shale under foot — loosened from its foundation by the warm noonday sun—cascaded downward and disappeared over the cliff. Several seconds passed before I heard it rattle into the lake.

Finally—after due consideration of the folly of short cuts—I managed to move from handhold to handhold and, at last, pulled myself to the trail by the aid of a dwarf juniper root. I have forgotten how many trout I caught that afternoon, but I have not forgotten the value of a handhold.

Handholds are needed also during the course of everyday life. They provide security when the things we depend upon seem to be slipping out from under us. What are the spiritual handholds I have

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

found to be of most value?

First, the teachings of the humble carpenter of Nazareth—for their insistence on the supreme worth of the individual, for their stressing of the significance of sympathetic understanding, and for their unsurpassed evidence of dauntless faith.

Second, the conviction that, while every person should delight in making a courageous and self-reliant effort to live up to his capabilities, there are well-springs of power outside himself that can be tapped—if he will avail himself of them.

Third, that the nature of this world and of the people in it is determined more by our individual vision, understanding, and conduct, than by any material environmental factors, and that—in other words—nothing will produce the good world but the good man.

These are the principal spiritual handholds I have found to possess enduring value. They offer both an exciting challenge and a calm assurance. They are the things I believe.

MURROW: That was Dr. Fred Dow Fagg, the University of Southern California's flying president. Father of two, and an internationally known expert on aeronautical law, Dr. Fagg is one of California's leading citizens and one who, we'd say, has a very strong grasp on reality.

If you say "There is no God" I can only ask how a speck of a mortal, living for a moment on an atom of an earth in plain sight of an infinite universe full of beauty, wonder and design, can confidently hold so improbable a view.

—Dr. Charles W. Eliot: Charles W. Eliot, Volume II, by Henry James (Houghton Mifflin Company)

Broadcast by

LOU CRANDALL

Engineer, President George A. Fuller Construction Company

MURROW: This I Believe. Beliefs like houses must be built on firm foundations if they are to weather the strong, cold winds of adversity. Lou R. Crandall is president of the George A. Fuller Construction Company whose buildings in nearly every large city in the United States are monuments to his ability as an engineer. That he has also built strong beliefs Mr. Crandall now demonstrates.

CRANDALL: As I try to outline my thoughts, the subject becomes more and more difficult. I have many basic beliefs but as I try to pick and choose it seems to me that they all can be summarized in the word character. Obviously what you believe is a fundamental thing. There can be no fanfare, no embellishments. It must be honest.

An architect once told me that the most difficult structure to design was a simple monumental shaft. The proportions must be perfect to be pleasing. The hardest thing to build is a plain straight wall. The dimensions must be absolute. In either case there is no ornamentation to hide irregularities, no moldings to cover hidden defects and no supports to strengthen concealed weaknesses.

I am using this example to illustrate human character which to me is the most important single power in the world today. The young people of today are in reality foundations of structures yet to be built. It is obvious that the design of these human structures is the combined efforts of many human Architects. Boys and girls are influenced first by their parents, then by their friends and finally by business associates. During this period of construction, the human character is revised and changed until at maturity a fairly well fixed form of character is found.

There are few human straight walls and fewer human monumental shafts. Such men and women are personalities of great beauty and are so rare that history records their being and holds them up as examples for the future. The Biblical characters are for me the closest examples of human perfection.

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

They were unselfish, steadfast in their faith and unstinted in their help to others.

Today in this world of turmoil and trouble we could use more of such people but they do not just happen along. I believe that they are the result of concentrated effort on the part of parents and associates and the more we build with character the better the world will become. This may sound like a dreamer's hope and a theoretical goal which can never be reached. I do not think so.

The world as a whole has progressed tremendously material-wise and we are a fortunate nation in that we are leading the procession. It is, I believe, natural that nations not so fortunate should look upon us with envy. We would do the same if the positions were reversed, so we should not judge too harshly the efforts of others to equal our standard of living. In either case, the fortunate or the unfortunate character in the individual and collectively in a nation stands out. I agree that it is easier to build character under ideal conditions but cannot forget that character is also required to give as well as receive.

It should be to the benefit of humanity if all individuals—and this includes myself—did a renovating or remodeling job on our own character. It may merely be a case of removing rough edges or tossing away molding to expose irregularities, in some cases to remove a prop and stand on one's own feet. In any event if some of us set examples, others will follow and the result should be good. This I believe.

MURROW: You have heard Lou R. Crandall, native of Ohio, resident of New York, veteran of the first World War, and a man whose service for the Red Cross, the New York Cancer Association, and other welfare organizations proves that his beliefs are built for use, not just for show.

Greatnesse and goodnesse goe not alwey together.
—John Clarke

Broadcast by

DR. EDMUND A. BRASSET

Physician—Author "A Doctor's Pilgrimage"

MURROW: This I Believe. The so-called wonder drugs have done much to ease bodily ills. But nothing has yet been invented to take the place of sensitive, intelligent understanding in combatting the sicknesses of mind and spirit. A physician who has learned this truth by practice is Edmund A. Brasset, M.D., whose recent autobiography, A DOCTOR'S PILGRIMAGE, traces his struggle from an impoverished boyhood in Nova Scotia to success as a general practitioner in Wakefield, R. I. Now he spells out his creed.

BRASSET: Any doctor who is moderately active sees, in the course of a year, at least a couple of thousand people in his office. In almost eighteen years of practice I have had a good many people sit alongside my desk and tell me of their illnesses, anxieties and often personal tragedies. From this store of experience I have learned at least one basic truth, namely, that every man, woman and child on this earth, regardless of his or her station in life, regardless of racial origin, regardless even of whether he or she is moral or unmoral according to accepted standards, is worthy of and should be treated with respect, as befits the essential dignity of man.

The human body is the most ingeniously contrived mechanism and most beautiful structure on earth. It is hard for the person who has not spent years of arduous work in the study of the medical sciences to begin to appreciate this. Every bone is a masterpiece of architectural design. Every organ is a marvel of efficiency which no engineer can begin to equal. The smallest gland is a chemical plant that can outperform the greatest man-made laboratory in the world. If all the volumes of medical literature in the world were gathered together they would fill to overflowing the greatest of skyscrapers—and yet we have just scratched the surface of what there is to know about the human body. And over and above this complex perfection, man has something more. There is a non-mechanical and non-material element in him that is not found in any other form

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

of life that we know. We cannot see it and cannot even begin to understand it, but it is there and it raises man to a dignity above the brute.

In a small way a doctor shares the lives of a great many people. He knows their troubles, worries with them, does his best to make them well and happy and is glad with them when he succeeds. A good doctor is, within the limits of his own field, the servant of the humblest individual who needs his services. I cannot say that I have liked every single man and woman I have met—though I have liked most of them—but liking has nothing to do with respect. There are people who become hypocrites, liars, thieves and murderers—just the same they are human beings. I admit that I cannot help hating such people at times, but it doesn't last. Hatred cannot last unless it is continuously nourished and stimulated.

I believe in God and that He made the earth and set it to spinning and circling around the sun. I know too that the spinning earth is not intended to turn forever. Little by little it is slowing down. A day will come, perhaps a million years from now, when it will no longer turn and everything will be still. Long before that happens all the races of man will have disappeared from the face of the earth, and with him all the things he has made—his cities and roads, his machines and books. But even when the last sound made by the last living creature has died away and the cold silence of eternity has settled upon this planet, I believe somehow that the spirit of man will live.

MURROW: That was Dr. Edmund A. Brasset, author, family physician, himself the father of five children—and a truly warm-hearted admirer of humanity.

In practical matters the end is not mere speculative knowledge of what is to be done, but rather the doing of it. It is not easy enough to know about Virtue, then, but we must endeavor to possess it, and to use it, or to take any other steps that may make us good.

—Aristotle

Broadcast by

DORE SCHARY

Motion Picture Producer—Vice President MGM

MURROW: This I Believe. We have never accepted the myth that the mentality of the average American is that of a 12-year old. Neither has movie producer Dore Schary. This faith in the intelligence of human beings has resulted for us in this series of broadcasts of living creeds and for Mr. Schary in truly adult motion pictures. His tremendous ability as a writer, producer and executive which he has always used honestly and vigorously in support of his high principles has firmly established him as one of Hollywood's first citizens. This is his creed.

SCHARY: What we believe is usually the result of what we have lived—and it is difficult to synopsize forty-six years of living and believing in six hundred words, but these things I do believe:

Having been reared in a religious home and having known many people of sincere and deep religious convictions of many faiths, I believe in God and in prayer. I believe in the Ten Commandments—and since obedience to the law is a deep factor in the Jewish faith, I believe conscientiously in law and order.

Being the son of immigrant parents who found opportunity and security in America, and having been a student of our history, I believe deeply in America and its conscience and philosophy. I believe that our republic has operated for a longer time with more good for most people than any other government in history—and so I believe in democracy, and view any kind of totalitarianism as a dangerous threat and a menace.

Having been happily married for twenty years and blessed with three children, I have firm convictions about the family unit and its effect on the human spirit. Since love and understanding form the keystone of the family unit, and since our society is actually an extension of the family unit spreading from the family to the neighborhood to the city to the state to the nation—and hopefully one day to the world—I most sincerely believe in love and understanding.

Having enjoyed the friendship of

Read especially . . .

Page 1—Giving the story behind "This I Believe".
Page 2—Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast.
Page 34—Answering the most asked questions.

many people in many places for many years, I believe in the innate dignity of the individual and have learned that, in the main, people are as we choose to find them; that reason can overcome prejudice; that knowledge can overcome ignorance; that love can overcome hate; and that goodness can conquer evil.

Finally, I believe that in our temporal world, the greatest force that can operate for the best interests of all is the cleansing and strengthening force of wisdom, without which man would still be living in caves—slightly removed from the beasts whose skins he would wear to cover himself. Wisdom has given us our homes, our factories and dams—our medicine and our automobiles—our toys and our weapons—our subways and our planes—our books and our radio—our motion pictures and our television. Wisdom has given us our faith—and wisdom brings us hope and trust in the future, along with pride in our past. With wisdom we flourish and live. Without it we wither and die. With wisdom years can keep us young in heart and mind. Without it we grow old. With wisdom we can be strong and know no fear. Without it we become weak and frightened.

These things I believe—not alone because I choose them, but primarily because I have lived them—and living is believing.

MURROW: That was Dore Schary, head of production at MGM. The son of immigrant parents, Mr. Schary reached his present position by way of jobs as necktie salesman, printer's devil, manual laborer, actor, playwright, director, and producer. His convictions make us realize that Hollywood itself has promise of maturity.

If your faith be insufficient, verily, you will receive no faith.
—Lao-Tsze

Questions and Answers Regarding "This I Believe"

Who pays for it?

The time is donated by the station. The costs are paid by a subscription already made by certain business men. There will be no solicitation of funds.

Is the program sponsored?

No. Nor will it ever have any association with commercialism or solicitation of money in any form.

Over what stations will it run?

This program was first broadcast over WCAU, Philadelphia in the Spring of '51 for 13 weeks twice every week day at 5:40 and 11:25 PM. The reaction was so widespread that it started on a permanent basis on September 24, 1951 over WCAU, Philadelphia; WEEI, Boston; WCBS, New York; WCCO, Minneapolis; KNX, Los Angeles and WTOP, Washington. A new broadcast runs from one to three times a day on each station and "This I Believe" is broadcast 5 days a week on each station. (Several broadcast 6 days.)

This program is now being offered for exclusive presentation to each broadcasting city in the United States.

Will "This I Believe" be in print?

Booklets of selected broadcasts will be printed from time to time. And newspapers will run some in series. The NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, PHILADELPHIA BULLETIN, MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE, LOS ANGELES TIMES, BOSTON GLOBE, WASHINGTON POST and other publications have been running this as a weekly series.

This is now being offered to the leading papers in each city, on an exclusive basis. In September 1952 a book is planned. Eleven publishers have offered to publish "This I Believe" in book form.

Will "This I Believe" be on records?

Columbia Records produced two 33⅓ LP records with ten broadcasts on each—the first containing Murrow and educators, the second Murrow and general guests. These will be used only to explain the idea to invited guests. They are not for sale.

Is "This I Believe" a church program?

No. It is run by laymen and is aimed at the individual, whether a church member or not. It does promote the principles that every church advocates.

Who broadcasts on "This I Believe?"

Invited guests only. The plan for the first year is successful people in all walks of life—men and women of all ages, religion, geography, race, color.

What will they broadcast?

3½ minutes (about 600 words) of their personal credo—the intimate personal relationship of values and rules of life they have evolved. We do not wish dogma, editorializing, lecturing to the listeners or selling a hobby. We want just what the name says—what the guest believes.

How do they broadcast?

Every guest sends a script and a short biography to "This I Believe," Lincoln-Liberty Building, Philadelphia. Then they cut a record. This record then is used in cutting the master record with Edward R. Murrow.

Who profits from "This I Believe?"

It is 100% non commercial—non profit. It will always require a subscribed budget to operate. The present budget is fully subscribed.

"This I Believe," Lincoln-Liberty Building, Philadelphia 7, Penna.

Copyright 1951—Help Inc.

Letters from all of the radio stations that have carried "This I Believe"

WEEI

CBS Radio—A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

[illegible] FREMONT STREET, BOSTON 11, MASSACHUSETTS · HUBBARD 2-2323

November 23, 1951

Dear Ward:

We here at WEEI are extremely pleased with the "This I Believe" series of broadcasts, both from the point of view of very favorable listener reaction and from our own personal participation in the programs.

WEEI started to broadcast "This I Believe" on Monday, September 24 at 6:25-6:30 pm, Monday through Friday. Since that time we have received numerous letters, telephone calls, and direct comments which allow us to believe that these broadcasts are being very well received here. "This I Believe" has opened up a new field of opportunity to build up tremendous local prestige through contacts with educational, civic, and business leaders in Boston. The response has been most gratifying.

I hope that you will soon be able to find time to visit us again in Boston so that we can arrange another luncheon meeting on behalf of "This I Believe."

Best personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Harvey

Harvey J. Struthers
General Manager

Mr. Ward Wheelock
Ward Wheelock Company
Lincoln-Liberty Building
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

[illegible] CBS RADIO SPOT SALES · NEW YORK · CHICAGO · SAN FRANCISCO · DETROIT · M[illegible]

WCAU

PHILADELPHIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
DONALD W. THORNBURGH

November 21, 1951

Dear Ward:

As you know, we are nearing the end of our second 13 week cycle of broadcasting the program, "This I Believe". We have been scheduling it twice a day, five days per week in late afternoon and late evening time since its inception last spring. It is without question one of the most effective and satisfying public service series we have ever carried on WCAU.

Unsolicited testimonial from people in all walks of life like the one from a prominent Philadelphian who described "This I Believe" as "an inspiring beacon of faith in a world grown dark with fear", make us very proud that this series is now an integral part of our daily program schedule. The caliber of the speakers, their obvious sincerity in those searching self analyses which explain their personal approach to the problem of living, and Edward R. Murrow's masterful introductions combine to give the programs a rare quality of interest, service, and listener appeal.

"This I Believe" is a truly great contribution to the art of broadcasting.

Yours most sincerely,

Donald W. Thornburgh

Mr. Ward Wheelock
Ward Wheelock Advertising Agency
Lincoln Liberty Building
Philadelphia, Penna.

WTOP

AM FM TV
THE WASHINGTON POST STATIONS
WARNER BUILDING, WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

November 30, 1951

Mr. Ward Wheelock
"This, I Believe"
Lincoln-Liberty Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Dear Mr. Wheelock:

May I tell you how enthusiastically the WTOP radio audience has received the broadcasts of "This, I Believe." They are scheduled on WTOP, both AM and FM, every day Monday through Friday from 4:55 to 5:00 PM, and we have found them a most constructive addition to our program schedule.

We are looking forward to many more broadcasts of "This, I Believe."

Yours very sincerely,

John S. Hayes

WCBS

CBS Radio—A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y. · PLAZA 5-2000

November 23, 1951

Mr. Ward Wheelock
Ward Wheelock Co., Inc.
Lincoln Liberty Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Wheelock:

WCBS has now carried "This I Believe" for a sufficient period of time to give us a fairly accurate indication of general public reaction toward the series.

I can only say that from a standpoint of audience interest, public service and prestige for the station, we consider "This I Believe" to be one of the most outstanding activities WCBS has presented. Not only has this program brought forth enthusiastic comments from prominent citizens (including such writers as Harriet Van Horn and John Crosby), but it also has apparently reached with considerable impact what we might term the average listener.

To sum it up, we are indeed very happy about "This I Believe".

Sincerely,

Carl S. Ward

Carl S. Ward
General Manager

[illegible] CBS RADIO SPOT SALES · NEW YORK · CHICAGO · SAN FRANCISCO · DETROIT · M[illegible]

KNX

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
PACIFIC NETWORK
COLUMBIA SQUARE, LOS ANGELES 28, CALIFORNIA

WILLIAM D. SHAW
GENERAL MANAGER

November 23, 1951

Mr. Ward Wheelock
Ward Wheelock Company
Lincoln-Liberty Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Wheelock:

Now that "THIS I BELIEVE" has been broadcast to listeners throughout Southern California for some weeks over KNX, I thought you might be interested in some opinions about the program.

We have received many comments, both verbal and in writing, all of which have been highly complimentary. The consensus seems to be that it is high time radio undertook to relay to listeners the impact that can be gained from hearing people who are held in universal respect express their innermost thoughts in ordinary terms. And listeners seem to feel very warm toward KNX for its part in bringing these words of inspiration to them.

Another surprising and heartwarming effect which we have noticed as a result of the "THIS I BELIEVE" series is the impression it has made on our own people. Announcers, technicians, salesmen, and secretaries have gone out of their way to express their pride in KNX for carrying this kind of programming.

In short, we are grateful to you for making it possible for us to carry "THIS I BELIEVE." We want to assure you of our continued interest in the series itself and in the over-all obligation which radio must assume - to give to its listeners the best there is in true community service.

Cordially,

William D. Shaw

William D. Shaw

WCCO

CBS Radio—A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

625 SECOND AVENUE SOUTH, MINNEAPOLIS 2, MINNESOTA · MAIN [illegible]

November 28, 1951

Mr. Ward Wheelock
Ward Wheelock Company
Lincoln-Liberty Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Wheelock:

We have just learned that the fine radio series "This I Believe" will soon have an expanded schedule on more CBS Radio stations. We at WCCO take a great deal of pride in the fact that our station was one of the handful in America which helped pioneer the project.

We are confident that the other stations which clear time for this program will enjoy the same fine response which we have encountered ever since the series started more than two months ago. As you know, we regard this series so highly that we have opened up broadcast periods twice daily to increase their effectiveness. We have scheduled them in mid-afternoon and again in a late evening period. Evidence of their wide acceptability lies in the fact that we have received a tremendous number of requests for scripts. There is ample evidence that people are thirsting for this kind of helpful information, and we list "This I Believe" right at the top of our public interest programming.

May we wish you continued good fortune for this undertaking, and pledge our support and offer our congratulations for your part in initiating it.

Sincerely,

Gene Wilkey

Gene Wilkey
General Manager

GW:EB

[illegible] SALES · NEW YORK · CHICAGO · SAN FRANCISCO · DETROIT

What exactly the station manager has to do

1) You decide the two five minute strips where "This I Believe" best fits. This is a "forever" broadcast though of course there is no obligation to continue. And these times are very important. When these are settled, you have exclusive rights to "This I Believe" in your city to start Monday, January 28th, at no cost. Complete transcriptions will be immediately sent you for 65 broadcasts - each 4 minutes 20 seconds in length allowing 10 seconds for your local announcer to refer to the next "This I Believe" broadcast.

2) You select your leading paper -- the one you wish to offer "This I Believe" as a one time a week syndicated feature -- at no cost to them. This is a valuable franchise and a favor from you to the newspaper.

3) You appoint a man for your station to be "This I Believe" Local Representative -- he to be our local contact. This man in each other station has been the Special Events man or the Program Director. (See Page 18 for what is involved in the job.)

4) You decide on a management level what your goal is on local guests. (See Page 8.)

If you decide to run "This I Believe", fill in acceptance blank on Page 29 - and then as manager you are through with it. Your "This I Believe" representative will carry on - his only function after selecting the local paper is getting local guests as you decide. You will find that this obtaining of local guests will be of great interest to the guests invited and add to the stature of your station among your leading men and women.

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune

Tuesday, November 27 1951

Owned and published daily by New York Herald Tribune Inc., a New York corporation. Helen Rogers Reid, President; Whitelaw Reid, Vice-President; William E. Robinson, Executive Vice-President; A. V. Miller, Treasurer; Stanley D. Brown, Secretary. Address 230 West 41st Street, New York City (18). MAIN OFFICE—230 West 41st Street (18). Cable Address: Tribune. Phone PEnnsylvania 6-4000 Open until midnight from 8 A. M. daily and 5 P. M. Sunday for receipt of advertisements and sale of newspapers.

DOWNTOWN OFFICE—1 Beekman Street (7). Open daily 9 A. M. to 5:30 P. M. for the receipt of advertisements and subscriptions only. Closed Saturdays, Sundays and holidays.

WESTCHESTER OFFICE—22 Depot Plaza, White Plains, N. Y. Phone White Plains 6-7450. Open daily 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. for receipt of advertisements and sale of newspapers. Saturdays, Sundays and holidays

WASHINGTON.....National Press B
LONDON.....The Adelphi,
PARIS.....21 Rue d
BERLIN.....2 Argentinische Allee, Zehlendor
BONN.....Presser
FRANKFURT.....Wittelsbacher
ROME.....54 Via Della
BELGRADE.....Hotel
DELHI.....Hot
TOKYO.....Mainichi
BOSTON.....Statler Office
PHILADELPHIA...Lewis Tower Building, 225 South 15
DETROIT.....General Motors
CHICAGO.....360 North Michiga
SAN FRANCISCO.....5 Th
LOS ANGELES.....448 South

SUBSCRIPTION RATES — By Mail, including
THE UNITED STATES, POSSESSIONS AND TER

	One Year	Six Months	Three Month
Daily and Sunday.....	$23.50	$12.00	$6.2
Daily Only.....	15.00	7.50	4.0
Sunday Only.....	12.50	6.50	3.2
CANADA, SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMER			
Daily and Sunday.....	$28.00	$15.00	$8.
Daily Only.....	17.00	8.50	4.
Sunday Only.....	14.50	7.75	4

For rates to other foreign countries apply Subsc
Microfilm Edition, by the year. .....
For Home Delivery by Local Carrier, inquire Circ
Entered at the Postoffice of New York as Second-Cla
EUROPEAN EDITION—21 Rue de Berri, Paris. Address: Herald Paris Circulated and sold thro daily except Sunday.

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PE
The Associated Press is entitled exclusivel for republication of all the local news p newspaper, as well as all AP news dispatches republication of all other matter herein als

This editorial from the New York HERALD TRIBUNE of November 27th is a tribute from a paper which has run "This I Believe" as a weekly feature and whose editors know its interest to and value for its readers. Of all the world-wide basic subjects available to the HERALD TRIBUNE's outstanding editorial staff, is it not significant that they selected "This I Believe" for such space and comment?

"This I Believe"

"A man is born believing," said Emerson: "He bears beliefs as the appletree bears apples." The sage spoke in the nineteenth century, a period of lusty and unreserved convictions. We wonder whether he could have coined the aphorism today. Men have opinions and prejudices in abundance, but the complexity of the modern world, the dissolution of established dogmas and deep changes in conduct, have left too many of them with little in the way of solid beliefs.

Three years ago at luncheon a group of business men were discussing this characteristic of their time. It was suggested that an expression of personal beliefs by wise men and women in all walks of life would be a genuine contribution. Edward R. Murrow, of the Columbia Broadcasting System, was one of the group, and volunteered to present and introduce a series of broadcasts to run every weekday in the year. Much time was spent in preparing the first programs. Obviously something more than pious affirmations was wanted; the stress was to be on what men and women had discovered for themselves, out of their first-hand experience, as to what makes a meaningful and rewarding life.

A series of these statements, entitled "This I Believe," is now running each Monday in this newspaper. The efforts of individuals from varied backgrounds to get down to the fundamentals that matter in their lives, to set forth simply the verities they have themselves found, is often touching and nearly always enlightening. Few other ages have placed on men and women the burden of discovering their own beliefs, and not least of the vitality of this age, not least of its glory, may be found in the end to have emerged from precisely this kind of private questioning and private faith.

Why we are offering you "This I Believe" locally

We elected to go to individual stations rather than use network time because we proved the importance of local names in the series. Eleanor Roosevelt, General Lucius B. Clay, Supreme Court Justice Douglas, Herbert Hoover, Helen Keller, Sister Kenny, Branch Rickey, etc., are excellent for any city. And we want many of the nationally known in every city. But in each city there are dozens of men and women who mean more in that city than a far off name. But when we combine the biggest national names and the biggest local names, we have the most potent combination -- provided each thinks and lives decently.

We are going to supply you with enough national guests for a year -- 260 different broadcasts (or 312 if you wish to run six time a week). So in reality you do not have to do anything but run the good names and scripts we send you transcribed.

But -- this is not the best way to do it. The program is much more interesting, much more of a local service, and builds the station much more among your leading citizens if you offer to cut them in this series.

Think what it would mean to your station to extend an invitation to your leading men and women who lead decent lives to cut a "This I Believe" record with Edward R. Murrow! He personally introduces each guest and sums up at the end as shown in the booklet and attached record. Any local guest you ask is in very distinguished company. And the Editorial Board of "This I Believe" reserves the right to use them across the country or in newspaper series if the script is decided outstanding. This, however, you cannot assure your guest. He will run on your station and may be used on many stations -- and in our newspaper series --- and overseas via AFRS or Voice of America or the foreign State Department series of "This I Believe" in newspapers. We send each guest a private personal recording of his broadcast for his home use. And most of your local guests will be printed in our booklets like the one on Page 4. When this is done, we send them ten booklets.

We know, through our work in our present six cities, how important the local guest angle is -- how much of an honor it is -- how much it means in local interest.

We urge you to set up a good quota of local guests and our suggestion is

Cities over	1,000,000	-	from 52 to 104 local guests a year
"	500,000-1,000,000	-	from 26 to 52 local guests a year
"	100,000- 500,000	-	from 13 to 26 local guests a year
"	under 100,000	-	is for local decision

Here is the way the handling of guests works:-

You and your selected "This I Believe" representative write the list of outstanding guests for "This I Believe" from your city in the number you decide to go after and in order of choice. This should be considered on this basis:-

Who are the best known, decent living, and decent acting men and women of your city.

(No ministers - this is a non-religious program - by and for laymen.)

Want all kinds of people - business men, manufacturers, labor leaders, lawyers, city officials, farmers, sports people, outstanding people from all walks of life who are known and liked. Especially want people who will talk straight and simply and be accepted by younger people and truck drivers. Want some outstanding colored people - and people are chosen as people - regardless of their religion. Outstandingly decent in living and thinking is the only requirement.

We want a greatly varied list of guests.

When you get your list of your proposed guests, your "This I Believe" representative will deliver to these people an invitation from us containing all the information required of the guest. A copy of this invitation is on Page 22. This explains exactly what is wanted and the procedure.

If the guest agrees to appear, he writes a 600 word script. It goes to our Editorial Staff who have final approval. Our objective in scripts is clearly outlined in the invitation. And while we retain full authority to accept or reject a script, we will be extremely lenient with any local script so you will not be embarrassed. But naturally we want every script to fit our series and we hope that local scripts will make the national list and be used in our reprint booklets, and be selected for newspaper publication across the continent and abroad. It is estimated that after January 28th in the United States 15,000,000 radios per week will listen to "This I Believe" an average of 2.4 times that week -- and our newspaper circulation will be 16,000,000 per week -- plus the foreign coverage by air and print.

When the script is cleared by "This I Believe" Editorial Board, it goes to you to be taped (or recorded). This tape is sent to us. Murrow cuts his introduction and close, and we marry the three parts, shipping the complete record to you. We also send to you a special record for the guest to own for his home use.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
MONDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1951

'This I Believe'

The Columbia Broadcasting System is making an interesting new venture. It is inaugurating today a series of five-minute radio talks by successful men and women from all walks of life, presenting in capsule form their personal philosophies. The program—entitled "This I Believe"—is described as containing no editorializing, no dogma, no commercials, but just a brief introduction by Edward R. Murrow and the guest's summing up of his credo.

It is difficult to see how a personal philosophy can be presented without "editorializing," and extreme compression sometimes invites platitudinous generalization. But whatever the hazards, this brief little program holds great potentialities. If entertainment can be stirred to serious thought about their own beliefs for five minutes, CBS will deserve a

"This I Believe" is a quiet 5 minute broadcast. But its significance has been quickly recognized by listeners — and also by those who write. Here are some of the many comments from those who write.

NEW YORK Herald Tribune
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1951

By JOHN CROSBY

This I Believe

In his opening broadcast Edward R. Murrow stated the general principles and objectives of "This I Believe" much more succinctly than I could so. I repeat them here. "This I Believe. By that name we bring you a new series of radio broadcasts presenting the personal philosophies of thoughtful men and women in all walks of life. In this brief time each night, a banker or a butcher, a painter or a social worker, people of all kinds who have nothing more in common than integrity, a real honesty will talk out loud about the rules they live by, the things they have found to be the basic values in their lives."

John Crosby

And that's what they do on the five-minute program (heard only in five cities on CBS stations)—people such as C. Jared Ingersoll, a member of the board of directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad; Eleanor Roosevelt, Gen. Lucius D. Clay, Helen Keller, Quentin Reynolds, Prof. Harry A. Overstreet, the philosopher, and a lot of other oddly assorted people. The program grew out of a conversation held in 1949 by four business men who felt that spiritual values were being drowned in a sea of material values.

• • •

A year was spent in planning the series and six months in setting an editorial policy. It wasn't, Mr. Murrow explained in his opening broadcast, entirely easy. "Except for those who think in terms of pious platitudes or dogma or narrow prejudice, people don't speak their beliefs easily or publicly. In a way, our project has been an invasion of privacy, like demanding a man let a stranger read his mail. Gen. Lucius Clay remarked it would hardly be less embarrassing for an individual to be forced to disrobe in public than to unveil his private philosophy."

Nevertheless, more than 150 men and women have disrobed their philosophies publicly for this program. Naturally, any program which is interested in searching into spiritual values has a certain religious tone to it. But "This I Believe" is not essentially a religious program and, while reverence for God is expressed by some (but not all) speakers, the thread that runs consistently through all of them is a rather more difficult article of faith—faith in that cussed, often misled, frequently cruel mankind, faith in his enormous creative powers and spiritual growth, faith in his abilities to cope with the most hopeless tasks, and a sort of astonished wonder at his infinite capacity for survival.

• • •

Mr. Murrow, who avoids cliche skillfully in his own utterances, has not entirely succeeded in eliminating it in his guests, but the program does succeed in keeping it to the irreducible minimum. These articles of faith, these credos of hope in man, are expressed in different ways. I like Gen. Clay's: "I think the troubled world we live in should not dismay us. I believe the world today is a historically better world than the world of the past. Though ruthless men still maintain power through force and would extend it through conquest, people everywhere are becoming more

(Continued on page 9, column 7)

(Continued from page one)

tolerant and understanding than ever before." I think that statement indisputable and it's well to be reminded of it.

Prof. Overstreet, who wrote that remarkable book "The Mature Mind," said that his mission was to expand the areas of his awareness. "The great principle of love depends on this. He who loves another tries truly to understand the other . . . Socrates gave no finished catalogue of the truths of the world. He gave, rather, the impulse to search. This is far better, I feel, than dogmatic certainty. When we are aware that there are glories of life still hidden from us, we walk humbly before the great unknown."

Here Prof. Overstreet states two themes that run constantly through these little talks, namely that man's mission is twofold—to love his fellow man by understanding him, to develop his own powers to the fullest degree. Mrs. Roosevelt is almost fatalist in her pursuit of these truths. "I came to the conclusion that you had to use this life to develop the very best that you could develop. I don't know whether I believe in a future life. I believe that all you go through here must have some value, therefore there must be some reason."

• • •

Each speaker, whatever his credo, leaves you feeling that there is some hope for battered mankind, that being a man in this troubled world is not such a bad thing after all. I can think of no higher praise for a program. Incidentally, booklets of talks will be printed from time to time.

Copyright, 1951, New York Herald Tribune Inc.

tember 28, 1951 THE Hollywood REPORTER

First owave

Star Revue," the nod as ed commer- microwave ll origi- EST), p.m.

CBS' NEW RADIO series, "This I Believe," is the idea of four prominent business men who sat down for lunch one day and got into a conversation that wound up as an exchange of personal philosophies. They found it so stimulating that they sold a radio man on the idea of a series of five-minute talks by successful men and women from all walks of life. No editorializing, no dogma—just an introduction by Edward R. Murrow and 3½ minutes of the guest's personal credo. The series is non-commercial and non-profit, time being donated by the stations involved and costs already paid for. The first one airs Monday night via KNX at 10:55 p.m. Might be well worth five minutes of your time . . . Still on radio (this is a subject?), we've noticed that it's taken one of Hollywood's better actors, Dan Duryea, to provide ABC with its highest-rated dramatic show, "The Man From Homicide." There's one we hope the network will stay ... ld know as much about the rigors of selling

'Red Feat

As the of Contr is staging hour-lo "Fronti incident Program Freedoms Found writer, will feature a long rank radio stars.

KMPC has "alerted" its listeners "Red Fri-

New York World-Telegram and The Sun

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1951.

Radio and Television

Balm in Radio Program During Age of Confusion

By HARRIET VAN HORNE.

There is no balm in Gilead and I never expected to find any in radio, either. Specifically, I never thought the day would come when I'd turn on my radio to hear words of spiritual comfort. But I have discovered a little program—little in that it's five minutes long—that calms the soul and reinforces one's faith in humanity. It's called "This I Believe." It presents, briefly and simply, the personal philosophies of men and women in all walks of life. Some are famous, some are not. In the words of Ed Murrow, who introduces each program, these are people who "have nothing more in common than integrity."

Ed Murrow

"We hardly need be reminded," said Mr. Murrow on the first broadcast of the series, "that we are living in an age of confusion. A lot of us have traded in our beliefs for bitterness and cynicism, or for a heavy package of despair, or even a quivering portion of hysteria. Opinions can be picked up cheap in the marketplace, while such commodities as courage, fortitude and faith are in alarmingly short supply."

Because our nation right now is undergoing a moral upheaval, Mr. Murrow, the top-ranking newsman at CBS, feels that there is an audience for this kind of program. The statements of faith heard so far are notably free of dogma. No particular religious sect is mentioned. There are millions in the U.S. today who have no church affiliation whatsoever.

* * *

"This I Believe" started last spring over WCAU in Philadelphia. It is now carried on a dozen or so CBS stations. WCBS has it at 11:30 p.m. each week night, save Wednesday, when it's on at 11:45. In 1952, when a backlog of 250 transcriptions will be on file, the program will be offered, free of charge, to every broadcasting city in the country. The guests are not paid for their 600-word addresses and the program is not being offered to sponsors. Cost is being underwritten by a "group of businessmen" not otherwise identified.

To date about 150 persons have stepped up to the microphone to set forth their personal credo. Each received this instruction: "We do not wish dogma, editorializing, lecturing the listeners or selling a hobby." Each complied.

Eleanor Roosevelt, Quentin Reynolds, Dr. Harry Overstreet, Gen. Lucius Clay, James Q. du Pont and Helen Keller are among those who have recorded their testaments of faith. Mrs. Roosevelt used no script and no notes. Few people actually refer to God. Some quote a favorite poet or novelist, however. Mr. Reynolds quoted the Biblical story of David.

Over and over again you hear this thought expressed: People are born good. And if given half a chance they'll demonstrate this goodness.

Los Angeles Times

MONDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 1, 1951

Series of 'This I Believe' Talks on Tonight; Evening Concert Celebrates at KFAC

BY WALTER AMES

It was a little over a year ago that four businessmen at lunch in Philadelphia. The conversation took with the quartet agreeing that material spiritual values were ...

DAILY NEWS
NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1951

Looking & Listening with BEN GROSS

PEOPLE OF ... GIVE RUL... ON MURRO...

The Grab Bag—A Column of This and That . . . Despite the cynicism and the turmoil that prevail today—or perhaps because of them—at no time has the average American been more concerned with the question: "What do I really believe?"

was to provide an answer to this mery that the noted news commentator, Edward R. Murrow, has brought to the air his series, "This I Believe" (32:-radio, Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Fridays, 5:55 P. M.).

As this program has had a tremendous response from listeners, I asked Murrow to tell our readers

Edward R. Murrow

A forum for "spiritual values."

some of the reasons which impelled him to embark on this venture. Here, in his own words, is his answer:

Private Creeds . . . "When business men lunch together the conversation almost inevitably drifts to those classic subjects—sports and the stock market. So I was surprised and impressed at a recent luncheon I had with three New York businessmen to find the talk revolving around a topic few men discuss in public: spiritual values.

"We discovered we were all disturbed by the confusion and fear in people's lives. And yet we knew there were honest, earnest, thoughtful people in all useful walks of life who do have fundamental beliefs from which the rest of us might learn and take strength. Could they be persuaded to speak their private creeds aloud?

"From this idea grew 'This I Believe.' On it people of all kinds, bankers and butchers, painters and social workers—people who have nothing more in common than integrity—reveal the rules they live by, the things they have found to be the basic values in their lives.

"I like to think that these broadcasts may become a small but steady light searching out the real meaning of living."

* * *

September 27, 1951 DAILY VARIETY DAILY

On Air Waves

Series of inspirational five-minute broadcasts titled "This I Believe" and to be aired nightly at 10:55 p.m., starts on KNX Monday. Edward Murrow will introduce the guests.

Harry Ranch, v.p. ...

The New York Times

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 19...

"This I Believe," a series of five-minute radio programs presenting the personal philosophies of persons in various walks of life, will be broadcast by WCBS on Mo... Tuesdays, Thursdays and ... P. M., ...

Radio-T...

Rep Atto... Ro...

CITIZEN-NEWS, Hollywo... Oct. 1, 1951

"This I Believe," KNX at 10:55, is a series of five minute programs on which invited guests of different ages, religions and races give their personal credo. There are no commercials. The station gives the time. All other expenses have been provided for already by subscription. The series followed a lunch in Philadelphia attended by four business men. Edward R. Murrow introduces the speakers.

Helen Valentine, editor-in-chief of Charm, at 11:45 ...

Los Angeles Even'g Herald & Expre...
Monday, October 1, 1951

By OWEN CALLIN

Edward R. Murrow and ... associates were having lunch ... day a little over a year ago ... in the course of conversation ... idea was born which resulted ... new series, 'This I Believe,' ... ing at 10:55 p. m. tonight on ... and continuing Monday th... Friday. Although it's only ... minute capsule, each of the ... will present the personal p... phy of thoughtful men a... men in all walks of life...

* * *

... hopping

Dear Sir:

On October 12th on the THIS I BELIEVE program a brilliant lady, honor graduate of Bryn Mawr gave us a tremendously interesti talk that touched me very keenly as she told of an event in her li with its impacts upon her thinking - that practically paralleled recent tragedy in my own life.

I did not catch the lady's name - and her present address Would you be good enough to furnish it? I would like to tell he how much we valued her beautiful expressions.

—*Franklin K. Schiener, New York City*

listened with great interest to your program (This I believe) Monday 11:30

—*Herman Klein, Brooklyn, N.Y.*

Dea

ing "Thi of th progr will

am addressing whom ever I meet to "listen in", it is a program which we all need to help us keep our sense of balance in these trying times

—*Alice May MacNeal, Ocean City, N.J.*

New York University, b script that I might receive.

I feel this type of program will do a great dea f good to anyone who listens to it. Hearing men state w hey believe must give the thought to your listeners, as id to me, that if these persons believe what they say, t ould practice these beliefs much harder after having tol o many people about them, thereby giving us a pleasant r inder that things haven't gone to pot, as sometimes our ily newspapers might lead us to believe. We are assured at there are still many, many men in this country who ha e courage to tell everyone of their convictions, and by doing, help us to live by our convictions, which some at times have a fear or lack the interest of doing

—*Elmer J. Hewitt, Bridgeton, N.J.*

Your Program "This I believe" is most vital I've heard recently With the need for education at a time like this, it is t is not used more for th

—*R. B. Wittman, Litchfield, Minn.*

What List

"... excellent, and certainly has more philosophy and thought packed into the brief time allotted to it, than any other program on the air today."

—*Norman Cohen, West New York, N. J.*

"... my husband has been ill for some time, and I am sure the philosophy expressed by Ralph Richmond would be helpful to him."

—*Lydia G. Maxwell, Great Neck, L. I., N.Y.*

"Miss Constance Warren, former head of Sarah Lawrence College, gave one of the finest talks I have ever heard. I want to quote it in a sermon right away ..."

—*Frank E. Pulley, Chaplain U. S. Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.*

" 'This I Believe' is timely and helpful. I heard Mrs. Roosevelt this evening, and being an ardent admirer of such a wonderful lady, I would like a copy of her inspiring words."

—*Harriet F. Morse, Bernardsville, N. J.*

"... beautifully done and touched my heart ..."

—*Alma M. Kepler, Philadelphia*

"Edward Morgan spoke and I was impressed by the things he said. I consider the program a fine piece of work and look forward each evening to the privilege of listening."

—*C. L. Lee, Stratford, Conn.*

"This is about the finest and most inspirational program I ever heard. I think it would be an excellent idea to have them in book form. 'This I Believe' would be a great seller."

—*Charles A. Takesian, Lawrence, Mass.*

"I heard a transcription of Dr. Richard McFeeley's (head of George School) philosophy of life. It was stirring to me!"

—*Mary E. Baum, Ardmore, Pa.*

eners Think of "This I Believe"

HERE are excerpts from enthusiastic letters in the already large, and steadily mounting, fan mail. While many listeners commend the program as a whole, most of them go beyond this and ask for specific scripts which have interested, inspired and, in some cases, helped them meet a problem of their own.

"The talk was one of the most important I have heard for months, as it deals with a condition of living of today in a real approach to better living and human relations. If it is possible to send me this talk it will be greatly appreciated."

—William T. Loud, Boston

". . . would it be possible for me to obtain a copy of this talk? It was very refreshing and very good food for thought."

—Mercedes McDaneld, Los Angeles

"Would you please send me a copy of Mrs. Overstreet's address on 'This I Believe'. Are you thinking of publishing a collection of these fine philosophies?"

—Howard W. Smith, Minneapolis

"I wonder if it would be possible to get a copy of James du Pont's 'This I Believe', heard this evening. These talks are especially fine!"

—Mrs. John Mairs, Norristown, Pa.

"Certainly an excellent program . . . just the sort of positive approach we need these days."

—J. Luman Bush, New York City

". . . I am in the military service . . . and would appreciate receiving some of these talks . . . I would like to say that this program is one of the finest and most appropriate radio programs today. Both my wife and I are rather young yet—and this is something that we feel can be of benefit to us."

—Aubrey C. McClurg, San Francisco

"This program has brought to me great comfort in the knowledge that there is such strength in the philosophies of so many wonderful men and women, and a faith-giving element which so many of us seem to need. I am very eager to have, for myself, copies of some, if not all, of these broadcasts."

—Marion Hyman, Pipersville, Pa.

"I do so wish this program had a wider hearing. I am a teacher . . . appreciating your efforts I am."

—Mary S. Bowman, Kew Gardens, N.Y.

"I have just heard President Mason of Swarthmore College on the program 'This I Believe'. Thanking you for a real highlight."

—Arlene S. Kavanaugh, Moorestown, N. J.

"I wish to thank you for your fine program 'This I Believe' . . . I think it is the most thought-provoking and inspiring five minutes on radio . . . thank you for presenting such an excellent program."

—Maryllin Weller, Mamaroneck, N. Y.

"Much of that which is discussed by the distinguished persons appearing on the programs closely coincides with and supports our basic principles of public relations as we are attempting to inculcate them in graduate students here."

—Virgil L. Ranhein, Boston

"I don't want to miss any of them. They are very fine. Thank you."

—Elizabeth Lloyd, New York City

"I think that Murrow must have the Midas touch. Everything he does turns into golden words of wisdom and advice."

—Bob Harris, Bronx, N. Y.

"I am not yet ready to walk out on the human race—at least not so long as I am encouraged by young men like yourself."

—William W. Tomlinson, Philadelphia

'Tis amazing that every newspaper to which we offered this feature accepted, ran it and is enthusiastic about its reception.

The only complaint we have had is that four of the six papers running it want to run it three or five times a week. Because we wish to go slowly we only permitted newspapers to run once a week. The newspaper syndicate that wanted to buy and sell this feature wanted it three times a week. They put a substantial price on it that they said papers would be glad to pay. This makes it a real valuable franchise that you are offering your local paper without charge.

We offer them the choice of scripts with no relationship to radio useage. But in order to make it easier for the paper, our editors have chosen 13 outstanding scripts and put suggested dates on them starting with Edward R. Murrow's opening broadcast script to be run the week of January 28th. However, we attach nine additional outstanding scripts so that the editor can make his choice

Furthermore, as you develop local scripts, your newspaper will want to run the best of these, and in this case, they, just as you do, drop what they wish and insert where it pleases. The only request is that they run once a week on a regular day on a regular page.

Immediately upon receipt of your acceptance, we send to your TIB representative our Newspaper Invitation Portfolio similar to this but made out especially for the paper you select containing all the scripts, the procedure, and the agreement releasing to that paper the rights and scripts without charge.

Either you and/or your TIB Representative take this to the Managing Editor of your leading paper and conclude arrangements. At this meeting, the cross plug agreement should be worked out — where the station suggests reading TIB in the paper and the paper refers to the TIB broadcasts over the station giving the time. This has been done in every case so far and is obviously of mutual advantage.

Los Angeles Times
SUNDAY, NOV. 4, 1951

'THIS I BELIEVE'

BY PEARL BUCK

Miss Buck, author of "The Good Earth," made this statement in a broadcast conducted by Edward R. Murrow.

I enjoy life because I am endlessly interested in people and their growth. My interest leads me continually to widen my knowledge of people, and this in turn compels me to believe that the normal human heart is born good. That is, it is born sensitive and feeling, eager to be approved and to approve, hungry for simple happiness and the chance to live. It neither wishes to be killed nor to kill. If through circumstances it is overcome by evil, it never becomes entirely evil. There remain in it elements of good, however recessive, which continue to hold the possibility of restoration.

★

I believe in human beings but my faith is without senti-

The Evening Bulletin
March 19 1951

THIS I BELIFVE

Man's Capa

By LOUIS E. LEW

As a boy, the words freedom and justice were hammered into my mind.

My parents, immigrant pious Jews, had fled Russia in search of freedom and justice and they were determined that I should know their value.

At the Horace Binney School in Philadelphia, my teacher took our class regularly to visit Independence Hall. I learned with pride that the inscription on the bell, "proclaim liberty throughout all the land . . ." came from the Hebrew Bible.

Minneapolis Morning Tribune
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1951

THIS I BELIEVE

'Life Is Not a One-way St

By HERBERT H. LEHMAN
U.S. Senator from New Y

H. LEHMAN

ve a friend is to

e blessings of
erican heritage
self-execut-

in disagreement w
must listen to ar
sponsible views;
will learn much
No individual and
has a monopoly of
talent. When an i
a nation becomes
or complacent, it is
lieve, to be deeply
He who closes his
views of others s
confidence in the i
his own views.

THERE CAN BE n
with regard to the
rights of Americans
equal economic oppo
every field, to secure
ing conditions, adequ
sion for the moral and
development of their
and to free associat
their fellow men as equ
the law and equals in
of God.

These rights can
guarded and advance
where men may think a
freely. I reject a fund
principle of democracy i
to prevent a fellow ci
different background fro
expressing his thoughts
subject.

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1951

This I Believe . . .

Knowledge Without Wisdom Dangerous, Dr. Killian Says

This is one of a series of statements prepared for broadcast by people in all walks of life on the things they believe in. They are heard in a program presented by Edward R. Murrow over WCBS at 5:55 p. m. Monday through Friday.

By James R. Killian Jr.
President, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The central aim of education—and of life—I believe, is to wed knowledge with wisdom, to enable men both to do and to do what is good.

As I grow older, my conviction deepens that knowledge without virtue is sterile and dangerous and that many of the world's ills stems from the divorcement of these two goals. Nazi Germany was a terrible example of this divorcement. The knowledge and power of the German people were put to evil use by men without ethical standards.

My convictions also deepens that the understanding of good and evil, the attainment of wisdom by individuals and societies, is impossible without a lofty sense of the meaning of life and this lofty sense is achieved only through combining an understanding of nature with an appreciation of what men call God.

I believe also that there are many ways of appreciating and understanding God and that each individual must find his own way. He may, as I do, seek this way along the path of Protestant Christianity. He may adhere to the creed of an organized church, or he may develop his own private approach. The important thing is, through religious experience, to build a faith in a divine power beyond oneself.

Not only do I think this faith is important to an individual, I believe it is also fundamental to the health of any organized society. I have been much impressed by Toynbee's historical evidence that religion is the cement which holds civilization together.

My own personal belief is that the quality and the goodness of our civilization rests upon Christian ethics and if we fail to maintain Christian ethics as a vital and living part of our community life, we will have lost the essential binding element of our civilization.

The faith of scientists that a body of unalterable natural law governs the universe and that it is discoverable step by step is profoundly reassuring in this period of doubt and pessimism. This faith, coupled with my strong feeling that man can steer a course for himself, gives me an abiding confidence in the capacity of the human race to advance and to create a better life.

I do feel, however, that the development of the whole man and the good life rests upon a working partnership between the materialism of science and the spiritualism of religion. As science has extended its sway over new areas of thought, we have tended to circumscribe and subordinate humanism and the knowledge of good and evil.

In our education, I am afraid, we have frequently become so preoccupied with vocational and professional training that we have lost sight of the importance of training a man to make a life as well as a living.

I have faith that we can effect a combination of science and spirit which will contribute toward the effectiveness of each and that by doing so we can achieve a bifocal vision which enables us to see life steady and see it whole.

Copyright, 1951, Help, Inc.

The Washington Post

# of Working Togethe

FFLER
irector,

ember
ago,
little
extile
amor
outs,
aying
lat-
ght-
Eng-
priv-
bor-
e a
of

ay,
en

one's own consciousness into another being."

When we do achieve that even relatively, we realize that people are at their best when they work, especially when they work together. They have more fun, and they like each other better.

Murrow Says:

We hardly need to be reminded that we are living in an age of confusion.

A lot of us have traded in our beliefs for bitterness and cynicism, or for a heavy package of despair, or even a quivering portion of hysteria.

Opinions can be picked up cheap in the marketplace while such commodities as courage, and fortitude, and faith, are in alarmingly short supply.

It is to try to meet the challenge of such a situation that the "This I Believe" series was prepared. The hope is that these ex-

The Boston Sunday Globe

This I Believe

By C. JARED INGERSOLL
Philadelphia Civic Leader

I feel very presumptuous and uncomfortable about trying to explain out loud the things I believe in. But I do think that all hu- related to each other so perhaps

ted at the import here. Numer- understand that doing things is fun, in contrast to the calculated pursuit of passive pleasure; that the search for amusement often defeats itself.

The world is full of people doing things they don't really want to do. Suppose we were all as genuinely interested in what we are doing as a good violinist in his fiddle or

Another thing to be covered with all papers is the listing. Often a 5 minute program is skipped over. On the opposite page are many different types of radio logs and how they handle TIB.

Sometimes like the New York TIMES, they list daily not only TIB but the guest. But in most papers we just get the listing of TIB - and then on Sundays (or Monday if there is no Sunday paper) get a listing of the guests for that week.

It is important to tackle the proper listing with all papers right at the start and get it settled. And also the once a week 14 line item listing the guests of the coming weeks.

Program Listings for "This I Believe"

Since a 5 minute program is often neglected in radio logs, it is important to get proper listings with each paper at the beginning. Some papers, like the New York TIMES, list each guest each program, but most papers run a Sunday news item giving the next week's guests "on Edward R. Murrow's 'This I Believe' ", and then they just list "This I Believe" by the time each day.

Here we show how they handle it with different styles of listings.

Los Angeles Times

U.S.A.
10:55 P.M.
KNX-This I Believe
11:00 P.M.
KFI-News, Ted Meyers

The Philadelphia Inquirer

KYW-WNBC-
Lorenzo Jones
WCAU-Music By Candlelight; This I Believe
WFLN-Tea Time
5:45—WPEN-Bandwagon

THE MIRROR

Home Front — Club 15
Love Mystery — 10 p.m. Wire
Frank Edwards — Alcott, Harmon
Lonesome Gal — Starlight Salute
Lonesome Gal — Salute, I Believe
News, Sports

Citizen-News

6:30 Easy Memory Lane.
Edwards. 10:30 Lonesome Gal.
KFWB—Gene Norman, R.
KFVD—Geo. Sanders.
KNX—News. 10:15 Alcott. 10:25 To
Harmon. 10:30 Starlight Salute
10:55 This I Believe.
KXLA—Western Music.

The Evening Bulletin

12
Jimmy Dorsey Orchestra
Ted Weems Orchestra
Shepherd Show
Dawn Patrol‡
†Transcription ‡Recordings
OTHER PROGRAMS TOD
WCAU: 5.40 and 11.25 "This I Believe."
WHAT: 5.00 Italian programs; 7.30

The Boston Daily Globe

WEEI—News; Sports.
WLAW—Weather; Sports.
WHDH—Bing Crosby.
WEEI—This I Believe.
WCOP—Lawrence Q. Show.
WBZ—The Answer Man.
WNAC—The Cisco Kid.
WEEI—Weather; Let's Go—

NEW YORK Herald Tribune

European Edition Published Daily in Paris

5:15 Just Plain Bill	Sgt. Preston of the Yukon	Big Jon & Sparkie, for children	recorded music	Housewives League, G. Drake
5:30 Front Page Farrell	Sky King, drama	Fun Factory	" "	Hits and Misses
5:45 Lorenzo Jones	5:55, Tex Fletcher	5:55, Will Rogers	Armed Forces	5:55, This I Believe
5:45 Bob and Ray				

EVENING PROGRAMS

The New York Times.

WNEW—This I Believe Ballo
WQXR—News, Emanu-El Service
5:45-WNBC—Bob and Ray—Comedy Team
WNYC—News Reports
5:55-WOR—Tex Fletcher
WJZ—Victor Borge Time
WCBS—This I Believe—Ralph Richmond

Daily News

Perform.
10:45 P.M.
Gene Norman .....KFWB
Dream Harbor....KECA
News (10:55).....KLAC
I Believe (10:55) .KNX
11 P.M.
Gene Norman .....KFWB
Starlight
Other Side
News
Starlight

What exactly is required of the "This I Believe" Representative

Fundamentally, there are only two jobs for the TIB Representative:

1) When the arrangements to broadcast TIB over your station are concluded, we send you an Invitation Portfolio similar to this one in appearance, but inviting the newspaper of your choice in your city to run "This I Believe" once a week without any charge. This portfolio is complete -- gives every detail, answers every question, gives legal release, contains the first thirteen scripts and nine alternates and the suggested schedule. One call on the Managing Editor of the paper should conclude this arrangement.

Every single paper to which it has been offered has accepted and is enthusiastic about the weekly feature.

Do not offer this to the paper until you get our Invitation Portfolio for the newspaper.

After the paper agrees to run, there is nothing further for you to do. We send future scripts direct.

However, you will want on your first call to make a reciprocal arrangement with the paper -- where you on all the radio plugs prior to the premiere of "This I Believe" say "Listen to 'This I Believe' over this station at (times) Monday through Friday -- and read 'This I Believe' in the (name of paper) every X day". Then on every broadcast day preceding the newspaper feature, you make a similar announcement. The paper every week tells of the broadcast over your station at specific times. Every newspaper running TIB does this. And it is very helpful to both the paper and the station. This is shown and covered in the newspaper Invitation Portfolio.

2) Your major job is to get local guests. This is a real job and requires your interest and persistence. But it pays off for your local program, and for the station, and for your guests -- the biggest men and women in your community.

You will find that all of the big men and women in your city you invite will heartily acclaim the idea and most will immediately agree to do it.

They are proud to be asked. Our guests have only been by careful selection and invitation. And we wish you to keep it that way. Your local guests are among very distinguished national guests. And they are personally introduced by Edward R. Murrow.

But ... it is extremely difficult for a man to write his "This I Believe" -- harder than he thinks. And he needs prodding. Further, it is essential that just what we want is clearly understood -- i.e., no beliefs in democracy and free enterprise and our foreign policy and America as a good place to live, etc. (important as they are) -- but just the basic personal beliefs on which he runs his life -- what is relatively important to him -- what is the way to build a happy, successful, satisfying life -- for the talker.

We do not want

a) Religious forms

b) Editorializing ("What the country needs", etc.)

c) Finger shaking at our listeners -- telling them what to do

d) Or riding any hobbies.

We want this to be written "I" not the editorial "We" -- to be a very personal -- very basic estimate of values. We'd like personal episodes in the man's life -- any change of beliefs or values and why if possible.

We don't want platitudes. Nor any ghost written scripts.

But we have three editors in New York who will be glad to take an overwritten script and put it into good shape. In other words if a guest has trouble with writing a finished 600 word script, have him furnish rough notes as long as he wishes and you send this to us. We'll put it into shape for his final approval. But we will not insert a thought he doesn't express nor put it in words he doesn't use. So make sure if this is done that your prospective guest writes fully and as personally as he will. Make him understand that we do not wish any script unless it is truly the beliefs of the person speaking and in his normal and natural language -- no speech making. Our job is just to organize and edit.

Many of our guests have, after struggling hard, delivered an acceptable script and then said "I did this because I thought your idea was well worth while and it would do good. But no one will get more good from my talk than I did. It made me think about my basic beliefs as I never have before".

The procedure regarding guests is this

a) Your quota for the year and list to be invited is decided now. (We'd like a copy of this list.) We hope you send them the letter and the booklet before the first broadcast (see Page 25). This makes the guest feel "behind the scenes" -- and it builds boosters.

b) You ask them in person delivering the engraved invitation personally filled in as soon as convenient for you.

c) They give you their script which you send to TIB, Philadelphia -- or they can mail it to us as you prefer.

d) This is returned to you approved or with suggestions. You cut the tape (tape preferred but record acceptable) and mail this to us, making sure that the biography of the guest and release have been sent (covered in acceptance -- see Page 29), and any comments that would be helpful to Mr. Murrow in introducing the guest. For your private information, the Editorial Board is now very tough on national scripts. They must be written to the carefully selected editorial standards set up, and have real personal down-to-earth practical, applicable philosophies. But in regard to your local guests, while we want the same thing and will give you every help to get it -- if you get a script that you can't get changed to our style, unless it is just too much overboard, we will cut the record and you can run it. We do this so that you will not be embarrassed with people you invite. But of course they will not be used outside of your station. We have great hopes that some of your guests will make the national schedule, the international schedule, and the newspaper syndicate.

e) Then Mr. Murrow cuts the introduction and close. A complete master record is made and a complete transcription of the program is returned to you. Depending on the script and guest, this may also be chosen by various editors for use as follows:

1) For all stations in the United States.

2) For the newspaper series across the United States.

3) For the Armed Forces daily TIB broadcast on 140 foreign stations.

4) For the regular broadcast in foreign languages of the Voice of America.

5) For the State Department's use in their syndicated foreign newspaper feature -- which is made up exclusively of "This I Believe" scripts.

6) Inclusion in "This I Believe" booklets such as sent you herewith.

Do not promise your guest any of the above because this is in the hands of various editors for selection from all TIB scripts. But you can promise every guest that he will receive a personal record for his use at home of his complete broadcast. This will be sent generally several weeks after you receive your broadcast record. This will be sent to you for delivery to the guest.

f) You schedule local guests when you please, dropping any national guest you please. Local papers should be notified of local guests as they generally wish to run special stories.

We hope you personally have a real interest in this program and know fully what we are trying to get in the scripts. For the guests and scripts are the heart of the whole program. Every one connected with this is doing the work because we believe it is worth while and has genuine big listener interest -- which is its only reason for existence. All of our correspondence will be with you. Address all letters to

"This I Believe"
Lincoln-Liberty Building
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Here are the present TIB Representatives appointed by their station managers:

WCAU - Joe Connolly
"This I Believe"
Philadelphia Representative
(Vice President in charge of program)

KNX - Bill Whitley
"This I Believe"
Los Angeles Representative
(Director of Public Affairs)

WCCO - Jim Bormann
"This I Believe"
Minneapolis Representative
(Director of News and Public Affairs)

WCBS - Gordon Graham
"This I Believe"
New York Representative
(Director of Program Production and Public Affairs)

WTOP - Mark Evans
"This I Believe"
Washington Representative
(Broadcaster - CBS staff)

WEEI - Ray Girardin
"This I Believe"
Boston Representative
(Program Director)
Assisted by Marie Houlahan
(Director of Publicity and Public Relations)

3) When your station is set to start the program January 28th, we will send you at once --

a) Albums with the first 65 broadcasts and schedule.

b) Newspaper Invitation Portfolio specially made out for the paper you select.

c) The number of invitations you set up as a quota of guests.

d) The number of booklets required for guests and for general usage (specify in acceptance -- Page 29).

e) Four records of our "This I Believe" broadcasts for home use (duplicates of the one sent you herewith). These for use as you wish and to give to special big name guests -- or whomever you wish. We will send you additional ones if you request them.

f) A spot announcement record containing 20 second and one minute announcements cut by Edward R. Murrow and by our announcer, Ernest Chappell.

Good luck on local guests. There's personal satisfaction in the work -- and a good pay-off for the station. Glad you're going to work with us.

SUGGESTIONS FOR PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT

If your station takes on TIB, this is a long range important program -- probably the most important public service program that you will run -- because of its subject, the character and number of guests -- because of Edward R. Murrow and his masterful handling of any program that he is connected with -- but very importantly because in this series will be interspersed the outstanding men and women of your city -- introduced by Murrow and some used widely across the United States on radio, in newspapers, and broadcast and printed abroad through the State Department's effort and Armed Forces Radio Service.

There's real news -- and big local news in this angle -- and following are some facts and ideas on the subject that the publicity men at the other stations suggest:

1) The first broadcast is by Edward R. Murrow only, explaining the series, on January 28th. Start spots and publicity well in advance.

   a) Recorded spots will be sent you

      2 - 60 second spots by Murrow
      1 - 60 second spot by Chappell
      3 - 20 second spots by Chappell

   b) Send out the regular news story on beginning of program -- but

      1) In general story, play up the fact that outstanding local citizens will be asked to contribute to this series.

      2) Set the proper listings in the papers. (See Page 16)

      3) See that every week (Sunday or Monday) the paper lists the coming week's guests by days. This is broadly done, and names make news. Our guests are news.

2) Some stations launch it by using some paid space, but this is up to you. Our feeling is that these things are important --

   a) The opening story -- with a list of the local outstanding citizens to be asked to be guests.

   b) The proper listings.

   c) The weekly guest list.

   d) And very important is the follow-up after several weeks (or months) to get a critical review.

      1) By radio reviewers.

      2) By regular by-line columnists or feature writers.

      3) By editorial mention.

All of these are shown in the book and are important and broad scale.

And we suggest that this be futured until the program has been on several weeks and then show the way John Crosby, Harriet Van Horne, the HERALD TRIBUNE, the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR have used it, and see if a review or editorial can't be secured. Harriet Van Horne was asked to review it. All the others did it of their own volition without our even knowing about it. So it is news worthy.

3) One other very important thing to do is make sure that the key people know in advance of this program, what it is, and are asked for help and support. These categories are:

a) Newspapers -- for your whole list. Naturally the paper selected to run the series will get personal and special treatment.

b) List of guests to be asked. (Mail suggested letter and booklet Wednesday, January 23rd.)

c) Clergymen (Mail suggested letter and booklet Wednesday, January 23rd.)

There are two suggested letters on Page 25. We think these are well worthwhile. We will be glad to furnish booklets like the one herewith to go with these letters. We can't afford to waste them, so order just what you want through your TIB Representative.

Then of course as soon as your station records local guests, and they are scheduled -- you will naturally get out a local story -- and suggest that the local paper carrying the series might want to run the local script in place of the national name scheduled.

We will send you news from time to time through your TIB Representative.

There are great news potentials in "This I Believe" -- the idea -- the guests -- Edward R. Murrow -- the breadth of TIB's use:

175 U. S. radio stations with 15,000,000 radios tuned into it per week, an average of 2.4 times, and each with 2.6 listeners. (Neilson estimate after January 28th.)

175 newspapers running "This I Believe" per week with circulation of 16,000,000. (Estimate after January 28th.)

140 Armed Forces Radio Service stations in U.S., Europe, and Pacific broadcasting TIB 6 days a week.

Voice of America broadcasting it daily to foreign countries in foreign languages.

State Department offering newspaper series of TIB to the leading papers in 97 foreign countries to show how America thinks -- to get greater understanding of our country through the intimate beliefs of leading citizens.

Suggested letter to clergymen

Dear Dr. Blank:

We are on Monday, January 28th, starting a new series of broadcasts conducted by Edward R. Murrow called "This I Believe" which is a very practical lay effort to sell moral and spiritual values against material ones. This program will run Monday through Friday at (time) and (time).

"This I Believe" has run on six of the largest CBS stations for some time and has had a very wide and deep and significant reception. We are delighted to bring this to _____. Enclosed is a booklet telling you about the idea, containing sixteen scripts, and telling of its tremendous reception and growth.

While this is not a "church program" (it is run and paid for by laymen) its whole concept is to sell the practical principles that every church stands for. This was fully covered with the leading figures of every church -- Episcopalian, Jewish, Methodist, Catholic, Baptist, Quaker, Unitarian, Presbyterian, etc. -- all of them. All of the churches where the program has run have been very interested, very helpful, and have recognized in this program a big ally in helping their work.

Many leading church men have advocated the program from their pulpits and in the parish papers.

Many ministers, priests, and rabbis have used some of the scripts as the basis for a sermon. For instance, Rev. Frank E. Pulley, Chaplain at West Point, used Constance Warren's script (she is President-emeritus of Sarah Lawrence College) as text for one of his sermons.

We wish you would read the booklet and hear some of the broadcasts. And we would appreciate it if you would recommend and suggest listening to "This I Believe".

We are proud to bring "This I Believe" to our city. And we would appreciate your support and comments with suggestions of outstanding laymen as guests.

Very truly yours,

Suggested letter to the list
of guests your station wishes
to invite for your year's guests

Dear Mr. Guest:

Edward R. Murrow has been developing for over two years a program called "This I Believe" that has had amazing success. The enclosed booklet tells you fully about it.

We are delighted to tell you that XYZ will broadcast "This I Believe" starting Monday, January 28th, at (time) and (time) every day Monday through Friday.

There is, as you will see, a successful, thoughtful man or woman as a guest every day who expresses his basic beliefs -- his personal values-- the rules he lives by. Every man has such beliefs though often they are not formulated or expressed. And it is not an easy thing to write. Each guest writes his beliefs in 600 words, and then cuts a record of it which is sent to Mr. Murrow in New York where he cuts an introduction of the guest and a closing.

The guests even in the trial stage have been very important people and since the program has grown to big national and international proportions, they are getting even more so. Herbert Hoover, General Bradley, Branch Rickey, Karl Compton, Bill Corum, Senator James Duff -- a hundred big people in all walks of life are now writing their "This I Believe" scripts. Guests are by invitation only. And we have been allotted a certain number of guests for _____.

We are going to ask you to be a guest on "This I Believe" and the formal invitation will be sent you later. But in the meantime we wanted you to know about it -- and I hope to listen to it -- so that when we do ask you, you will know of the background and significance of this series.

Yours very truly,

PROGRAMMING SCHEDULE *"THIS I BELIEVE"* • 13 weeks—January 28-April 25, 1952

These transcriptions are all contained in one 8 record album ready to be shipped to you immediately upon conclusion of your agreement to broadcast. Each record runs about 4 minutes 10 seconds permitting your local announcer 20 seconds to tell the next broadcast time and guest of "This I Believe".

Date	Script No.	Name	Identity
		FIRST WEEK	
Jan. 28	1	Edward R. Murrow	*News Analyst*
29	2	Herbert H. Lehman	*United States Senator from New York*
30	3	Helen Keller	*Author, Humanitarian*
31	4	Lee Bristol	*Manufacturer; Pres. Bristol-Myers Company*
Feb. 1	5	Bill Sears	*Radio and TV Sports Commentator, CBS*
		SECOND WEEK	
Feb. 4	6	Prof. Harry A. Overstreet	*Philosopher, Author "The Mature Mind"*
5	7	Col. Ralph K. Strassman	*Advertising Executive*
6	8	James B. Carey	*Labor Leader; Pres. Int. Union Electrical Workers (CIO)*
7	9	Susan Parker Cobbs	*Dean of Women, Swarthmore College*
8	10	John B. Kelly	*Building Contractor; Pres. John B. Kelly Inc.*
		THIRD WEEK	
Feb. 11	11	Dore Schary	*Movie Producer; Vice-President MGM*
12	12	Quentin Reynolds	*Journalist, Author "Courtroom"*
13	13	Anne Phipps	*Student, Bryn Mawr College*
14	14	Howard Henderson	*Advertising Exec.; Vice-Pres. J. Walter Thompson*
15	15	Dr. Gilbert White	*President, Haverford College*
		FOURTH WEEK	
Feb. 18	16	Ralph "Babe" Pinelli	*Baseball Umpire, National League*
19	17	Albert J. Nesbitt	*Industrialist; Pres. John J. Nesbitt Co.*
20	18	Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt	*Writer, United Nations Delegate*
21	19	Dr. Edmund A. Brasset	*Physician, Author "A Doctor's Pilgrimage"*
22	20	Dr. Charles Johnson	*Sociologist, President, Fisk University*

PROGRAMMING SCHEDULE *"THIS I BELIEVE"* • 13 weeks—January 28-April 25, 1952

Date	Script No.	Name	Identity
		FIFTH WEEK	
Feb. 25	21	Harry Blake	*Wool Merchant, President Blake & Co., Inc.*
26	22	William L. Shirer	*Commentator, Author "Berlin Diary"*
27	23	Gen. Lucius D. Clay	*Ex-U.S. Military Governor in Germany*
28	24	Charles E. Bennett	*Congressman from Florida*
29	25	Constance Warren	*Educator, Pres.-Emeritus Sarah Lawrence College*
		SIXTH WEEK	
Mar. 3	26	Lewis Hoskins	*Relief Worker; Exec. Secy. American Friends Service Committee*
4	27	Dr. Fred Dow Fagg	*President, University of Southern California*
5	28	Pearl Buck	*Novelist, Pulitzer and Nobel Prize Winner*
6	29	William O. Douglas	*Associate Justice, U.S. Supreme Court*
7	30	Lou R. Crandall	*Engineer; Pres. Geo. A. Fuller Construction Co.*
		SEVENTH WEEK	
Mar. 10	31	Harold Evans	*Attorney; Member UN Mission to Palestine*
11	32	William Zorach	*Sculptor, Painter*
12	33	Lawrence Sharples	*Inventor, Aviator; Pres. The Sharples Corporation*
13	34	Susan Savage	*History Teacher, Chapin School of New York City*
14	35	Dr. Monroe E. Deutsch	*Vice President & Provost Emeritus, University of California*
		EIGHTH WEEK	
Mar. 17	36	Edward P. Morgan	*Foreign Correspondent, Commentator*
18	37	Dame Edith Evans	*Actress, First Lady of the English Stage*
19	38	Howard C. Petersen	*Banker, President Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Co.*
20	39	E. W. Ziebarth	*News Anaylst, Prof. of Speech and Radio, University of Minnesota*
21	40	J. George Frederick	*Business Man, Author; Pres. New York Gourmet Society*
		NINTH WEEK	
Mar. 24	41	Robert G. Allman	*Insurance Broker; President, National Blind Golfers Association*
25	42	Dr. Harold Taylor	*Philosopher; President Sarah Lawrence College*
26	43	Darryl F. Zanuck	*Motion Picture Producer; Vice-Pres. 20th Century Fox*
27	44	Genevieve Earle	*Brooklyn, N. Y. Civic Leader*
28	45	Elon Borton	*Business Man; Pres. & General Manager Advertising Federation of America*

Date	Script No.	Name	Identity
		TENTH WEEK	
Mar. 31	46	Carroll Binder	*Editorial Editor, Minneapolis Tribune*
Apr. 1	47	Mrs. David D. Jones	*North Carolina Housewife, Educator*
2	48	Bennet F. Schauffler	*Philadelphia Regional Director, National Labor Relations Board*
3	49	Louis R. Trilling	*English Teacher, City College of New York*
4	50	R. Gopolakrishnan	*Attorney, visiting scholar from India*
		ELEVENTH WEEK	
Apr. 7	51	Dr. R. M. MacIver	*Professor, Sociology, Political Philosophy Columbia University*
8	52	C. Jared Ingersoll	*Industrialist, Member Board of Directors Pennsylvania Railroad*
9	53	Virginia Sale	*Character Actress, Stage, Radio, Television*
10	54	Norman Cousins	*Editor "The Saturday Review of Literature"*
11	55	Robert Arthur Evans	*Football Star, University of Pennsylvania*
		TWELFTH WEEK	
Apr. 14	56	James Q. DuPont	*Engineer, Personnel Expert, The DuPont Company*
15	57	Eric Warner Johnson	*Youth Leader; Headmaster Friends Central School*
16	58	Sister Kenny	*Australian Nurse; Pioneer in Polio Research*
17	59	Bradford Smith	*Teacher; Author "Bradford of Plymouth"*
18	60	Leland Stowe	*Foreign Correspondent, Pulitzer Prize Winner*
		THIRTEENTH WEEK	
Apr. 21	61	Frank M. Totton	*Financier; Vice-President Chase National Bank*
22	62	Bonaro W. Overstreet	*Lecturer; Author "Understanding Fear in Ourselves and Others"*
23	63	Julien Bryan	*Documentary Film Producer*
24	64	Dr. Irvin W. Underhill	*Housing Expert, Social Worker*
25	65	Althea K. Hottel	*Dean of Women, University of Pennsylvania*

We must take time, take pains, have a plan, form spiritual habits, if we are to keep our souls alive; and now is the time to begin. A man to whom religion is a reality, and who knows what is meant by "the practice of salvation," keeps his balance, because the living center of his life is spiritual. He cannot be upset, nor shaken. The same hard knocks come to him as to others, but he reacts to them by the central law of his life. He suffers deeply, but he does not sour. He knows frustration, but he goes right on in his kindness and faith. He sees his own shortcomings but he does not give up, because a power rises up from his spiritual center and urges him to the best.

Joseph Fort Newton

Easter 1949

CBS NEWS FROM 485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

MR. ED MURROW

November 21, 1951

6-B-6
PLS SAVE
DM

CBS RADIO NEWS CORRESPONDENTS FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD WILL FLY TO U. S. FOR THIRD ANNUAL YEAR-END BROADCAST, "YEARS OF CRISIS," REPORTERS' SURVEY OF GLOBAL STATUS

Edward R. Murrow Will Be Chairman of Vital Discussion,
To Be Sponsored by American Oil Company

From their far-flung outposts all over the world, top members of the CBS Radio News staff of seasoned foreign correspondents will fly to New York shortly after mid-December to join Edward R. Murrow, world-famed news reporter, in their 1951 annual year-end global report to America.

The survey of conditions in all hemispheres will be broadcast over CBS Radio for a full hour, Sunday, Dec. 30 (CBS Radio, 4:00-5:00 PM, EST). It will be titled "Years of Crisis," and will be sponsored by the American Oil Company.

(More)

The third annual world report by the cream of the CBS Radio correspondents staff will necessarily deal with conditions much more acute than the two previous year-end surveys, because of new emergencies that have risen in different areas of the world, particularly in Iran and Egypt, in addition to Korea and Germany.

Edward R. Murrow, as chairman of the round table, will coordinate the program and introduce the topics of the discussion under political and regional headings, weaving the broadcast into a complete world picture.

Howard K. Smith, CBS Radio European News Chief, who will fly to New York from his London headquarters for the broadcast, will give a picture of political and economic conditions for the whole of Europe, as he has been able to epitomize it from his vantage point in the British capital, the diplomatic crossroads of the world.

Richard C. Hottelet, CBS Radio correspondent in Germany, will review the situation in that and adjacent countries in the Scandinavian group.

David Schoenbrun will come from Paris, where he is CBS Radio correspondent, to report on France and General Dwight D. Eisenhower's supreme headquarters.

Alexander Kendrick, CBS Radio correspondent in Vienna, Austria, and a top authority on the situation in East Europe, will survey conditions on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Ned Calmer, CBS Radio correspondent in Rome, who also has covered first hand the trouble areas in Iran and Egypt, will discuss the status in Italy and the Near East.

(More)

Bill Costello, who spent several years as CBS Radio News Chief in the Far East, will give an authoritative survey of the many-sided situation in Japan, Korea and other areas of Asia.

Eric Sevareid, CBS Radio Chief Washington Correspondent, will review the domestic situation and its inter-relations with foreign developments.

"Years of Crisis" is produced under the supervision of Edmund A. Chester, CBS Radio Director of News and Public Affairs.

* * *

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Mr. Murrow

from: Mr. Chester

November 29, 1951

Messrs. Paley and Stanton would like to have you join them for luncheon with the correspondents on Friday, December 28, at the Century Club (4th Floor), 7 West 43rd Street, New York - 1:00 p.m. Hope you can make it.

Eac

693

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Mr. Chester cc: Messrs. Murrow ✓
Seward
Schier

from: Mr. Case

December 19, 1951

This morning John McHugh of the Joseph Katz Company, representing American Oil Company, was in Mr. Schier's office with an assistant, Robert Swan, and a representative of our Sales Department, Tom Hamilton, to discuss certain changes his principals desired in the language of the program package agreement relating to the radio and television programs which will be presented at the year end under the title YEARS OF CRISIS. At one stage Sig Mickelsen also participated.

At the time McHugh was here you were unavailable because of your long session during the night.

Among the changes requested by McHugh were assurance that Mr. Murrow, and not any substitute, would be the principal commentator and moderator on the program. We have resolved this request to his satisfaction. He asked also for a clarification of the number and timing of the commercial announcements. It was acceptable to him, and I understand that you have now given your approval after consultation with Mr. Murrow, to the inclusion of four commercial announcements on the program - one at the beginning, a second approximately 20 minutes after the beginning, a third approximately 40 minutes after the beginning, and the fourth at the end of the program.

Mr. McHugh expressed "a position" he was taking with respect to the incorporation of filmed interviews in the television program and tape recorded interviews in the radio program. He asserted that what he bought were programs which included these elements in their respective makeups. He offered the opinion that CBS would not be delivering the shows which he bought if those elements were omitted. His belief was that CBS would be in breach of its agreement.

I thought you should be acquainted with the sponsor's viewpoint so that you can take whatever measures are necessary to have the programs prepared in accordance with the sponsor's wishes, or to win over the sponsor to the kind of programs CBS intends to present on the air.

LRC:raf

L. R. Case

1136

re year end

--many of the speeches are too long..have a padded sound.. are loaded with generalities and not attendant to the specifics one might expect from a guy speaking about a specific area

--have the feeling that there almost total lack of apparent controversey i.e there should be a question in effect, to put each guy on the spot, to give listener chance to agree or disagree

.. had feeling Costello totally avoided any mention Japan.. Kendrick concentrated too much on Yugoslavia without even casual mention Austria..his beat

.. wonder if Schoenbrun shouldn't drop some of his all-Europe observations in favor more specific references to his observations at Shape.. was Ike's name mentioned in whole script?

..had feeling Niven over-loaded on Bevan in his anser question on what happened your area

.. and in same question thought Costello tended to make India all of Asia.. no mention, this question, Korea or Japan

.. think when Kendrick answers question about psych warfare and says we use spies and agents, should include something like "this may come as suprise to many americans" but we do have em etc

.. Costello has a facinating line about "American problem is to keep pace with progress" of Chinese arms .. or something to effect.. needs explaining

..feel, in general, very little effort by any but Eric to tie things up to America..

therefore if run short; suggest possible short answers to questions such as:

- what kind of TRUMAN

..has USA gained or lost respect. eseteem past year

ALSO:

.. who the man to watch your area coming year and why

.. might be light touch if can get all comment our tax scandal Re 7:45

(Schoenbrun doesn't close)

Opening Anne 21

~~Murrow~~ (Deane) 30

China (Costello) 40

Britain (Niven) 35

Atlantic (Schoenbrun) 30

Germany (Hottelet) 3:25 30

Vienna (Kendrick) 60 | 205 15

Mid. East (Calmer) 180 35

US (Revoir) 25 20

205

Murrow — general 10

Hottelet 1:05

Niven (Long) → 2:35

Kendrick 1:45

Calmer Rome 1:30

Bill Costello — 2 2:30

Schoenbrun — 3:00

Murrow — The best commentator 05

Revoir power economic + military 200

Murrow (Phyco) ↔ 30

Hottelet 200

Niven 45

Kendrick Kraton 45

Calmer — made cut. 1:00

Costello 1:45

Schoenbrun 1:30

Murrow — (Flyers)

Eric 30

Murrow –	(Weight)	15
	Schoenbrun	45
	Costello	45
	Calmer (Europe - out)	40
	Kendrick	40
	Niven	55
	Hottelet	1:40
Murrow		10
	Sevareid	2:00
Murrow	Sumner What do with Power	30
	Hottelet	1:00
	Niven	45
	Kendrick	50
	Calmer (Europe ?)	50
	Costello	1:35
	Schoenbrun	1:55
Murrow		
	Sevareid	1:45

Korea – What would they have to do

– Have we got enough to force peace in Korea

(Inflation)

Savareid	15
Schrenbrun	45
Costello	45
Calmer	40
Kendrick	1100
Niven	30
~~Battelet~~	10

yes	no	Qual.
Drake	HKS	
Bill	LL	
Burdette	Dove	
Eric		

REVISED POWER OUTLINE

Opening announcement: 21 seconds.

Murrow: Sets scene. This been year of gathering power --- economic, military and moral -- in varying degree in all parts of the world. Murrow asks all hands to identify themselves and their beats and at same time tell quite briefly how the United States is doing in their areas on basis past years events.

(Order to be determined.)

Murrow: Asks each man to give us a tight summary of the past year, in terms of power, of each of the areas: Costello, Asia; Niven, Britain; Schoenbrun, European Atlantic States; Hottelet, Germany; Kendrick, Iron Curtain countries; Calmer, Near East.

(Order to be determined.)

Murrow: Summarizes above, discusses same matters with regard to United States with Severeid.

Ann'cr: First commercial, 1 min. 25 sec.

Murrow: Asks for quick go-around on what each considers the outstanding victory or defeat on psychological warfare front.

(Probably all hands; order to be determined.)

Murrow: Introduction to "Are they carrying their own weight?" The power atmosphere will dominate here, giving basis for next section.

(Order to be determined.)

(Possible spot for 15-second station break.)

Murrow: Transition, through summation of above, and introduction to question "What do we do with the power?"

(All hands, foreign staffers first, Eric last -- for correctives -- and Murrow summation.)

Murrow: What do they anxious to do with the power ~~Above summation to leave into question of Interference-Cooperation on part of US with other nations.~~

(All hands, order to be determined.)

Korea: Costello, Hottelet, Severeid

Ann'cr: Second commercial, looks late.

Murrow: ~~Introduction to "How substantial are these governments we are dealing with?"~~

~~(All hands, ending with Eric.)~~

Murrow: Summation --- apparently we come out with instability. Why? What are weaknesses we have not corrected -- a potent one is inflation.

(All hands. Order to be determined.)

Murrow: Is non likely General summation and need quickie.

Ann'cr: Closing announcement.

YEAR END Show Outline

"POWER"

Show opens with Murrow setting scene: this has been a year of gathering power -- economic, military and moral -- in varying degree in all parts of the world. The basic question is how is the United States doing.

Introduce Correspondents

To step the show into high gear immediately, a quick, short go-around with the answer almost a yes or no as to whether we, the US, are better or worse off in each area. Voice intonation will substitute for wordiness here. Some may give a hesitant, even doubtful y-e-s-s; others an emphatic "I should say not". (1)

Then Murrow punches through for details from the three key regions -- at home, in Europe, in Asia. That would be Sevareid, Smith and Costello. (2)

Next Murrow probes further --- this time for specifics -- the German question with Hottelet; SHAEF with Schoenbrun; the Middle East with Calmer; the Iron Curtain with Kendrick, and Asia with Costello. The point here is that we have allies, enemies and in-between people we must consider. How are we doing with them?

Now the scene shifts to Murrow and Sevareid. They examine sharply what we, ourselves, have done on the international scene, good or bad, to help or hinder world progress -- economically, militarily, morally.

Murrow switches the spotlight to a set of the others, asking whether those areas have carried their own weight in the struggle. It is important that in these answers we get a clear reflection of the results of what we, Americans, did to help or harm.

We have nicknamed this next section the "Jar 'em" section. It grows out of the assumption that most Americans don't really know the terrific size of the gun now being laid on the table. Murrow examines whose power this is and how will it be used. There are fearful implications here. To make them understandable, Smith, for example, will note that had the power now being piled up actually been available at the time of the seizure of the Abadan refinery the British would undoubtedly have used our power in Iran. So, in a way, it is Britain's power to use as well as ours. Supposing two or three years from now, when the power is gagantic, a bunch of Cheks suddenly seized Prague and its radio station -- not an unlikely happening -- and broadcast an appeal to the West for help. Whereas if that happened today we wouldn't go to the assistance of the rebels, who is to say we wouldn't if we really had the power?

never

At this point Murrow feels it necessary to disabuse the American citizen of a widely held bu erroneous belief that the United States ever interferes in the Affairs of other governments. For example, the Italian elections. Area men will give others.

This leads naturally to the question of what kind of governments share in this power. Eric calls the Washington roll (it won't be pretty) and Murrow asks the others what scandals have developed in their assigned countries in the past year which have a bearing on the question. Smith may make the point in reverse fashion by recalling how Dalton -- in '48 or '49 -- was flung out of the British government merely for telling a correspondent close friend of his about his budget speech as he walked to Commons to deliver it. The rule says the budget must be told first to Commons. If they enforced any such rule as that in Washington ----- well, we wouldn't have any government left by now.

Thus we come to the final go-around: we got through this year somehow without a major war, how will we do next year and can we get through another one. Sevareid, for example, could say that if we in America don't stop undermining confidence in government at home, we won't do so well in the coming year. The emphasis again is on the United States and not on your area. To put it another way, we want to know how the United States will do in your area.

Along the way we picked up only a few "quickies": What irritates "them" most about us, with Eric Sevareid saying what irritates us about them. What, if any, was the psychological warfare victory or defeat of the year?

NOTE: The United Nations angle fits into this outline but not to nearly the extent it did last year.

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

RECEIVED

1951 DEC 32 AM 10:16

C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

PCG R U THERE?

'''PCG/RC1/TB/PCG/R1959/TL59/NWY927 OPH129 LONDON 32/31 1 1049

COLUMBIA NEWYORK

CHESTER FOR MURROW SMITH WILL RECEIVE YOUR PHONE CALL

LANGHAM FOURSEVENFOURFOUR 2015 GMT TONIGHT ASKS YOU

PLEASE CABLE ADVANCELY SUBJECT LENGTH OF CONVERSATION

REGARDS HAPPY NEWYEAR TO ALL

DUNK

SENT0947 PSE ACK''''

FORM 101 PW—C

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

R PCG 1 1011 AM 1/1/52
O

RECEIVED
1951 DEC 32 AM 11:30
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

Rec'd

PCG/RC2/DO..

NWY1082 OPH589 LONDON 36 1 1536

COLOMBIA NEWYORK

CHESTER FOR MURROW SMITH SAYS CAN GO BBC STUDIO FOR TV TWOWAY TONIGHT INSTEAD USING TELEPHONE IF YOU WISH SINCE MIKE QUALITY PROBABLY MUCH BETTER STOP STILL AWAITING DETAILS SUBJECT LENGTH CONVERSATION REGARDS

DUNK

FORM 101 BBC TV

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.
RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.
RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.
RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

8

THE JOSEPH KATZ COMPANY *Advertising*

BALTIMORE, 10 W. CHASE ST.
NEW YORK, 488 MADISON AVE.

Address your reply to Baltimore - 1

January 7
1 9 5 2

7

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York - 22 - New York

Dear Ed:

I told you how pleased "K" was with "Years of Crisis" and I think you will also be interested in the attached memo sent "K" by H. C. Smith, President of American Oil Company. The letter speaks for itself with one exception - the specific letter Mr. Smith mentions came from a truck operator who switched to our products as a direct result of this special program. This is just one lovely gilt-edge reason we were so happy with "Years of Crisis."

Bob

Bob Swan

RGS:aes
Enc.

cc: Mr. E. F. Kalkhof

C
O
P
Y

New York, N. Y.

January 3, 1952

FROM: H. C. Smith

TO: E. F. Kalkhof

SUBJECT: Television Program - January 1, 1952

I think you will be interested in a copy of a letter which has just been received. Frankly, it is typical of many responses which have come to my attention with respect to Tuesday's television program. Everyone in the office who saw it reports favorably and every day I am getting reports from those in the office with respect to their friends who have commented in the same vein.

If you see fit to suggest to Mr. Swan that he convey so uniform a reaction to that program to Mr. Murrow, I would be pleased to have you include also my own commendation for the program and the effectiveness of it.

THE JOSEPH KATZ COMPANY *Advertising*

Address your reply to Baltimore

BALTIMORE, 10 W. CHASE ST.

NEW YORK, 488 MADISON AVE.

January 31st
1 9 5 2

F

Dear Ed:

You know General Bradley asked for a film of "Years of Crisis." I thought you'd like to have a copy of the letter that the General wrote the Company. And did our stock go up as a good picker when they got it!

Love and kisses.

JK:me
Enclosure

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

C
O
P
Y

WASHINGTON

21 January 1952

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you sincerely for complying so promptly with our request for a copy of the kinescope film of your excellent New Year's Day program, "Years of Crisis." It was also most considerate of you to include a script of the radio version.

We expect to use the film and script a great deal during the coming year. Here compactly is the outlook of some of the nation's leading news analysts and foreign correspondents. Ed Murrow always does an outstandingly fine job and his New Year's show is tops in its field.

I feel the American Oil Company performed a tremendous public service in bringing this fine report to the nation. It furnished much information and food for thought as the old year ended.

I hope things are going along well with you and this note affords me an opportunity to send warmest good wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

(s) OMAR N. BRADLEY

Mr. H. C. Smith, President
American Oil Company
122 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Williams, Walter
Special Programs
Yr file Cross

January 13, 1954

Dear Walter:

Many thanks for your nice note and kind comments about our Year End Round Table. I thought the boys did a very good job, and it was both satisfying and stimulating for me to be able to sit down with them and discuss matters so thoroughly.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter Williams
The Under Secretary of Commerce
Washington 25, D.C.

rh

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON 25

January 11, 1954

PERSONAL

Dear Ed:

A week ago Sunday, Mrs. Williams and I listened with very genuine interest to the panel discussion which you conducted with your round-the-world associates. It was not only exceedingly interesting, but skillfully handled both by you as the moderator and by each one of the men participating. I am just dropping you this line to congratulate you all on a good job well done.

With warm regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

WALTER WILLIAMS

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

P.S. I have been hoping that Lacey and I might get together one of these days down here. He very thoughtfully dropped me a little note a while back, but our two schedules have been so busy that we haven't meshed as yet. We'll do it one of these days.

W.W.

FOR VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES WAR BONDS AND STAMPS

P.P.S. Your "Resources for Freedom" telecast yesterday was a honey. Congratulations!

Special Programs

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

Yrs of Crisis

to: Mr. Thomas H. Ryan

from: Miss Kay Campbell

January 13, 1954

To confirm our telephone conversation, will you please arrange for a kinescope of the Year End Round Table discussion of January 3rd with Edward R. Murrow and the Foreign Correspondents to be sent immediately to:

Lt. General Bruce
The Commandant
Armed Forces Staff College
Norfolk 11, Virginia

Many thanks.

K.C.

rh

White, Walter

Special Programs
Grs of Crisis

January 13, 1954

Dear Walter:

Thanks for the "fan letter" about the Year End show. You are most thoughtful and generous to write as you do and I am always grateful for the kind words.

As ever yours,

Mr. Walter White
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

dm

CABLE ADDRESS: NACAPEOPLE, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-6890

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

Thank

January 4, 1954

Dear Ed:

It looks like I'm writing you fan letters at least once a week. Here is the latest one--copy of the letter I have written to Amoco.

Ever sincerely,

Walter

Secretary.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

ww/mdj
Enc:

1953 PEACE ON EARTH N·A·A·C·P

BUY YOUR SEALS NOW

NATIONAL OFFICERS

President
Arthur B. Spingarn
Chairman of the Board
Dr. Channing H. Tobias
Vice-Chairman of the Board
Robert C. Weaver
Vice-Presidents
Mary McLeod Bethune
Nannie H. Burroughs
Marion Cuthbert
Hon. Harry E. Davis
Grace Fenderson
Bishop John A. Gregg
Oscar Hammerstein II
John Hammond
Prof. C. L. Harper
Rev. John Haynes Holmes
Dr. William Lloyd Imes
Dr. Allen F. Jackson
Hon. Ira W. Jayne
Eric Johnston
Eugene Martin
Isadore Martin
Dr. O. Clay Maxwell
H. L. Mitchell
L. Pearl Mitchell
Newbold Morris
Hon. Wayne Morse
T. G. Nutter
A. Philip Randolph
Rev. James H. Robinson
Ike Smalls
Willard S. Townsend
Bishop W. J. Walls
Palmer Weber
Treasurer
Dr. Allen Knight Chalmers
Assistant Treasurer
Theodore Spaulding

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

Walter White — *Executive Secretary*
Roy Wilkins — *Administrator*
Thurgood Marshall — *Special Counsel*
Henry Lee Moon — *Director, Public Relations*
Gloster B. Currant — *Director of Branches*
Robert L. Carter — *Assistant Special Counsel*
Lucille Black — *Membership Secretary*
Ruby Hurley — *Southeastern Regional Secretary*
Donald Jones — *Regional Secretary*
Lester P. Bailey
Bernard Brown
John W. Flamer
Gertrude Gorman — *Assistant Field Secretaries*
Franklin H. Williams — *West Coast Regional Sec'y-Counsel*
Herbert L. Wright — *Youth Secretary*
Clarence Mitchell — *Director, Washington Bureau*
William Pryor — *Assist. to the Dir., Wash. Bureau*
Herbert Hill — *Labor Relations Assistant*
Walter P. Offutt, Jr. — *Church Secretary*
James W. Ivy — *Editor, The Crisis*

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Atlanta, Ga. — Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Baltimore, Md. — Lillie M. Jackson, Carl Murphy
Baton Rouge, La. — John G. Lewis, Jr.
Boston, Mass. — Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
Cambridge, Mass. — Walter Carrington
Camden, N. J. — Dr. Ulysses Wiggins
Charlotte, N. C. — Kelly M. Alexander
Chicago, Ill. — Earl B. Dickerson
Cincinnati, Ohio — Theodore M. Berry
Cleveland, Ohio — Dr. Nathan K. Christopher
Columbia, S. C. — Rev. James Hinton
Dallas, Tex. — A. Maceo Smith
Detroit, Mich. — Dr. James J. McClendon, Walter Reuther
Flint, Mich. — Dr. J. Leonidas Leach
Ft. Worth, Tex. — Dr. George D. Flemmings
Greenwich, Conn. — Alfred Baker Lewis
Hyde Park, N. Y. — Eleanor Roosevelt
Jamaica, N. Y. — Ralph J. Bunche
Kansas City, Mo — Carl R. Johnson
Lawrence, N. Y. — Rabbi Judah Cahn
Los Angeles, Calif. — Dr. H. Claude Hudson
New York, N. Y. — Lillian A. Alexander, Algernon D. Black, Norman Cousins, Hon. Hubert T. Delany, Buell Gallagher, Lewis S. Gannett, Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, Amy E. Spingarn, Arthur B. Spingarn, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Robert C. Weaver
New York, N. Y. — Andrew D. Weinberger
Northampton, Mass. — S. Ralph Harlow
Oklahoma City, Okla. — Roscoe Dunjee
Orange, N. J. — Samuel Williams
Philadelphia, Pa. — Dr. Harry J. Greene, Earl G. Harrison, Hon. William H. Hastie, Theodore Spaulding
Pittsburgh, Pa. — Daisy E. Lampkin, Jessie M. Vann
Richmond, Va. — Dr. J. M. Tinsley
Savannah, Ga. — Westley W. Law
Tuskegee, Ala. — Dr. Joseph A. Berry
Washington, D. C. — Dr. W. Montague Cobb

NATIONAL LEGAL COMMITTEE

Lloyd Garrison, New York, N. Y., *Chairman*

Atlanta, Ga. — A. T. Walden
Birmingham, Ala. — Arthur D. Shores
Boston, Mass. — Herbert E. Tucker, Jr.
Cambridge, Mass. — Benjamin Kaplan
Charleston, W. Va. — T. G. Nutter
Chicago, Ill. — Earl B. Dickerson, Sidney A. Jones, Jr., W. Robert Ming, Jr., Loring B. Moore
Cincinnati, Ohio — Theodore M. Berry
Dallas, Texas — W. J. Durham
Erie, Pa. — William F. Illig
Houston, Texas — Arthur J. Mandell
Ithaca, N. Y. — Milton R. Konvitz
Kansas City, Mo. — Carl R. Johnson
Los Angeles, Calif. — Thomas L. Griffith, Jr.
Los Angeles, Calif. — Robert W. Kenny, Loren Miller
Nashville, Tenn. — Z. Alexander Looby
New Orleans, La. — A. P. Tureaud
New York, N. Y. — Harry Bragg, Bartley Crum, Joseph Dyer, Morris L. Ernst, Arthur Garfield Hays, Osmond K. Fraenkel, Paul Kern, Karl N. Llewellyn, James Marshall, Shad Polier, Louis Pollak, Samuel I. Rosenman, Jawn Sandifer
New York, N. Y. — Andrew D. Weinberger, Herman Zand
Philadelphia, Pa. — William Coleman, Theodore Spaulding
Richmond, Va. — Oliver W. Hill, Spottswood W. Robinson, III
St. Louis, Mo. — Sidney R. Redmond
Tulsa, Okla. — Amos T. Hall
Washington, D. C. — George E. C. Hayes, George M. Johnson, Edward P. Lovett, James M. Nabrit, Leon A. Ransom, Frank D. Reeves, Ruth Weyand
Wilmington, Del. — Louis L. Redding

NATIONAL HEALTH COMMITTEE

Dr. W. Montague Cobb, Washington, D. C., *Chairman*

Albany, N. Y. — Dr. Joseph B. Robinson
Boston, Mass. — Dr. Edward L. Young
Camden, N. J. — Dr. Ulysses Wiggins
Cleveland, Ohio — Dr. Nathan Christopher
Detroit, Mich. — Dr. James J. McClendon
Evanston, Ill. — Dr. J. Edmund Bryant
Flint, Mich. — Dr. J. Leonidas Leach
Hartford, Conn. — Dr. Allen F. Jackson
High Point, N. C. — Dr. Murray B. Davis
Kansas City, Kan. — Dr. A. Porter Davis
Los Angeles, Calif. — Dr. Emory I. Robinson
Louisville, Ky. — Dr. J. A. C. Lattimore
New Haven, Conn. — Dr. John P. Peters
Natchez, Miss. — Dr. A. M. Mackel
New York, N. Y. — Dr. Ernest R. Alexander, Dr. Viola W. Bernard, Dr. Russell L. Cecil, Dr. Harold L. Ellis
New York, N. Y. — Dr. Ernest P. Boas, Dr. Henry C. Falk, Dr. Myra Logan, Dr. C. B. Powell, Dr. Theodore M. Sanders, Dr. Robert S. Wilkinson
Opelouses, La. — Dr. A. C. Terrance
Philadelphia, Pa. — Dr. Harry J. Greene
Richmond, Va. — Dr. J. M. Tinsley
Roanoke, Va. — Dr. Harry T. Penn
San Antonio, Texas — Dr. C. Austin Whittier
Thomasville, Ga. — Dr. Martin Luther Walton
Tulsa, Okla. — Dr. R. C. Bryant
Washington, D. C. — Dr. Millard Dean, Dr. Joseph G. Gathings, Dr. C. Herbert Marshall, Dr. Edward C. Mazique

January 4, 1954

Gentlemen:

May I congratulate Amoco on that Edward R. Murrow program on TV yesterday. A group of us saw the program at my house. We were all agreed when it was over that it had been equivalent to a six-months course in contemporary history. We also agreed that those who were not now using Amoco would do so from now on.

The Edward R. Murrow show is adult and intelligent television at its very finest.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

Amoco
American Oil Company
122 E. 42 Street
New York, N. Y.

ww/mdj

Special Programs
Yrs of Crisis

ARMED FORCES STAFF COLLEGE
OFFICE OF THE COMMANDANT
NORFOLK 11, VIRGINIA

17 February 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I should like to express my sincere appreciation of your generosity in making a copy of your telecast, "Years of Crisis", available for instructional purposes at the Armed Forces Staff College.

As I explained to you in our telephone conversation, your panel discussion was used as collateral information in our instruction on national strategy. Since one class completed its course in late January and another began in early February, we were, fortunately, able to use "Years of Crisis" for both classes.

The observations and comments by you and by your CBS correspondents, concerning the results of some of our national aims and commitments, materially assisted the students in national strategy and in understanding our allies, as well as potential enemies. In addition, your panel procedure was an excellent example of group discussion technique. A major part of the instruction at the Armed Forces Staff College is conducted in this manner.

As you know, the student body here at the College is composed of two hundred senior officers of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force. They are selected for ability in joint staff duties and potential high command. There are also representatives from the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency and Foreign Observers from the Armies, Navies, and Air Forces of the United Kingdom, Canada, and France. The course is of five months' duration.

I should like to reaffirm my invitation to you to telecast your next presentation of "Years of Crisis" from

AFSC-A 17 February 1954

the Armed Forces Staff College. This would provide instruction of great value to the course and, if you agree, could permit a short open discussion of a question and answer nature between you, your correspondents, and members of the College, after the telecast.

Again, let me thank you on behalf of the entire College for making your fine program, "Years of Crisis", available to us.

Sincerely yours,

A. D. Bruce

A. D. BRUCE
Lt. Gen., USA
Commandant

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

0406

TO E.R.M.

FROM K.C. 12/20/54

Attached are letters which some of the boys sent to Morgan about the Year End show. Bob Skedgell thought you should see them.

K.C.

Yrs 8 C

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
EUROPEAN OFFICES
26 HALLAM STREET, LONDON, W.1

OFFICE OF THE EUROPEAN DIRECTOR
HOWARD K. SMITH

TELEPHONE LANGHAM 1166 & 1167
TELEGRAMS COLBROSYS LONDON

November 23.

Dear Ed: (Morgan)

I agree that this year's year-end show should be a good one, not only for the brilliant talent we can offer but content-wise. It seems to me there is only one possible subject, which can either be called "Co-Existence" or "Co- Existence?" It encompasses practically everything that's happened internationally this year, and apparently also to the Eisenhower administration. We can kick around such ideas as: What do the Russians mean by co-existence? Is it a Trojan horse, as Senator Knowland says? After co-existence, what? How is co-existence in Asia different from co-existence in Europe? Aside from East co-existing with West, is France ready to co-exist with Germany? Is Arab and Israeli co-existence nearer? Can Eisenhower co-exist with McCarthy? Is Soviet Communism ready to co-exist with Titoism? Is atomic co-existence feasible? Etc., etc.

As you know, I have felt for some time that Stalin's death brought about a real change in Soviet attitude, and I now believe that the West's policy of rebuilding strength has brought about a real turning-point in international relations. I know that others, notably Mottelet, would not agree, but so much the better for the show. Anyway those are my thoughts, and you asked for them.

Howard of course is away at the moment, but we are planning to arrive in New York on Dec. 28. Itbsounds like a busy and profitable week. Your seminar on TV news is much-needed, and I am looking forward to it.

Am gradually getting established here. I am confident things will work out fine.

See you post-Yule. Best of everything.

Alex -

insis

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

BROADCAST HOUSE

40TH AND BRANDYWINE STS., N. W., WASHINGTON 16, D. C. · EMERSON 2-9300

Nov. 26, 1954

Dear Ed:

In reply to your letter asking for suggestions about a theme for YEARS OF CRISIS, my thinking has been crystallizing as a result of the trip. In fact I'm starting work on a magazine piece trying to sum up my paramount impression, which comes to something like this:

In 1954, the nature of the cold war underwent a fundamental change. Western policy from 1947 to 1953 was to build military alliances, to achieve a position of strength in relation to the Soviet bloc. The policy was followed as a part of Kennan's thesis that pressure on the Kremlin would create tendencies "leading either to a breakup or a gradual mellowing of Soviet power."

The mellowing became visible in 1954; and it caused a barely perceptible shift away from our reliance on military power, and toward greater reliance on economic power. We have carried military alliances to the point of diminishing returns. We are gradually being maneuvered into a position of building up the economies of various backward nations. The race now is to produce a better living standard.

Yoshida called for 10 times as much capital investment in Asia. That would be too much, but it dramatizes the need. There are development programs in Pakistan, India, Burma; and a tremendous impetus toward industrialization in the Philippines, Hongkong, Formosa, Red China, Malaya, and even Indochina. Military analysts outside government are saying there is no need to make further military commitments; the job is to carry out those we have already made, and take advantage of the rising level of economic activity. Time says this week that Europe is booming, and the output of the gross national product is rising at a faster rate than in the U.S. The same cannot be said of Asia, but the impact of Europe's and America's prosperity is beginning to be felt there also.

It seems to me all this will require a new direction in American foreign policy. The containment policy worked, but it has exhausted its usefulness. The meaning of coexistence will now have to be defined -- not by the Reds but by us -- if the terms of coexistence are to be acceptable to us. As it is, we are fumbling with the old slogans at a moment when we should be coining new ones. The task now is to find a system of containment for economic aggression; Latin-America recognizes that, for example, in wanting to found a new development bank. We should get on the ball.

That's my word for today... all the best... Bill (Cailed Co)

12/6

Rec'd 1) Bots Skedgell
2) Dave Zellmer

CBS TELEVISION

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y. • PLAZA 1-2345

Dec. 1, 1954

Mr. Ed Morgan
CBS News
485 Madison ave.
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Ed,

I'm still shaking the sands of the desert out of my brain and want to thank you and whomsoelseever for including me in the yearend show. I'll most certainly welcome sitting down with the boys and ~~xxx~~ thrashing out some of the mutual problems that have arisen since the reorganization and which sometimes don't make any sense viewed from over here. But twas ever thus and presumably twill ever be so.

About the subject matter of the yearend program, I hope we'll be able to include the exclusive film interviews we shot in recent weeks with Ben Gurion and Prime Minister Nasser. As one of the hot spots in the "Years of Crisis" picture, I would suggest that the departure point on the Mid East story (and possibly the entire program) be the dynamic change or "revolution" in international thinking in recent years. This "revolution" is in evidence in two nations in the Middle East -- Israeli desires to consolidate her present position and make peace with the Arabs. And the Egyptian revolution has strange parallels to the happenings in Israel even though the two nations technically are at war.

The Mid East picture is extremely interesting as a developing crisis but perhaps is not typicaly of what is happening in other parts of the world. But the principles of dynamic evolution and political metamorphosis do apply. For example, in Italy and other nations there is a steady but increasing tendency and trend to try "co-existance" no matter who or how it is defined. This pressure already has been reflected in U.S. modification of east-west trade restrictions,,a more moderate tone in State Department diplomatic pronouncements, and other things. It is worth noting, that while these pressures to attempt "co-existance" have been increasing, the West has thusfar stood firm on key policy points -- so far -- such as German rearmament and west European unity. It would appear that every nation -- east and west -- is in the position of juggling the bomb of war with one hand while balancing an olive branch with the other.

CBS TELEVISION

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y. • PLAZA 1-2345

This does not make for an atmosphere of reason and calm and the consequent fear that someone will drop the bomb reflects itself in the internal politics of every nation.

I have heard serious arguments that this situation which has developed after the war calls for an entirely new and tough intellectual approach. These arguments go this way. The old days of 19th century liberalism -- when men and ideas were relatively free -- are gone forever. Therefore, free men must evolve a new philosophy which will be hard enough to withstand the threats and false appeals of totalitarianism and at the same time preserve their freedom of thought and movement. No one has come up with such a new philosophy for the 20th century -- thus the appeal of such concepts which promise everything as communism.

This argument and search for new philosophies, it seems to me, are fruitless. Men don't just sit down and say "this is a new formula for thinking and living". Such things evolve. It is my thought that the post-war success of communism is that the Marxists have matched the promises of their creed with the needs and desires of the great mass of the peoples. Thus does communism represent hope -- sometimes the only hope held out to underprivileged people.

In this connection, democracy in general and America in particular has failed to live up to its traditional promise -- at least, so was American democracy regarded by great masses of people in Europe, Asia and Africa immediately after the war.

In other words, the question continually strikes me when I see the communists making headway in Italy and France, or emerging slowly out of the poverty and chaos of the Arab countries, or assume control in Korea, China and Indo-China -- the question always arises in my mind: "What ever the hell became of the American Revolution?" It was the most successful the world had ever seen. And it seems to me that it is a legitimate query to ask whether or not it has out-lived its time, is dynamic vitality and its promise for the future for Americans and other peoples around the world who seek to live in freedom and peace.

I believe that the United States dissipated a great storehouse of international goodwill and potential friendship by forgetting that we are a nation born in revolution and powerful today only because we have the capability and ability to grow and change.

CBS TELEVISION

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y. • PLAZA 1-2345

3-3-3

It would appear that we approve of this dynamic principle in handling our domestic problems -- but distrust the principle when applied in our dealings with foreign countries -- friendly or unfriendly. We gave independence to the Philippines, but stood by or opposed similar movements in Southeast Asia and other parts of the world.

And now, even domestically, there are movements afoot who are so frightened of change -- the communists seem to have appropriated the word revolution -- that they would paralyze the United States domestically too.

Still, the world is still having its revolutions, with or without American support or Russian conspiracy. Israel is one example, Egypt another -- China another and Indo-China yet another.

It is a fact that the leaders of these revolutions still read with awe the American Declaration of Independence, our Constitution and Bill of Rights. Even the forgotten constitution of Soviet Russia is patterened after ours. So in many respects is the Israeli -- and so will be the Egyptian when it comes to be written.

I would like perhaps to include this proposition in the yearend show --"what became of the American revolution?"

Sorry to be so damn wordy -- but I think the idea worth kicking around. Let me know. And see you soon.

Salaam and Scholom

Bill

40 via Paisiello

cc- Sig Mickelson

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc. Yrs of Crisis

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Edward R. Murrow cc: Zellmer, Zousmer, Aaron

From Robert A. Skedgell

Station

December 21, 1954

I'd like to schedule the following sessions for grinding out the radio YEARS OF CRISIS format with yourself, Messrs. Aaron and Zousmer, and the correspondents. I hope it can be dovetailed into your own schedule.

Thursday, Dec. 30	10:00 AM & 2:30 PM
Friday, Dec. 31	*10:00 AM & 2:30 PM
Saturday, Jan. 1	10:00 AM & Record for Air at 3:00 PM.

I realize that Friday is your bad day, and that the above* would be difficult. But otherwise, is it all right?

OK Can do Ed

Bob

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc. Yes of course F. 559

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Murrow

From Mr. Mickelson

Station

December 21, 1954

I hope you will be able to attend the year-end CBS News luncheon, to be held on Wednesday, December 29. The place is the Century Club, 7 West 43 Street, fourth floor; time, 12:30 PM.

Will you please let me know whether or not you will be able to make it?

JM

Yes

Webb, Frank

RECEIVED
1954 DEC 29 PM 6:04
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

WU049 PD

FAX WICHIA KANS DEC 29 303PMC

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS INC

STAUNCH KANSAS REPUBLICANS OBJECT USE THE WORD CRISIS IN TITLE OF YOUR NEW YEAR'S SHOW INSISTING TERM USED BY LATE PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT KEPT COUNTRY ON EDGE TOO MANY YEARS WITH NEUROTIC CRISIS TERMINOLOGY. HOW ABOUT SOMETHING TRITE LIKE " YEARS OF GREAT EVENTS". ADVISE. BEST OF EVERYTHING TO YOU AND YOURS IN 1955

FRANK V WEBB MGR KFH WICHITA KANS

515P..

Murphy, Adri

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: MR. MURROW

from: Mr. Murphy

January 3, 1955

This is just to pass a special word of congratulation on the YEARS OF CRISIS program yesterday afternoon. I thought it was one of the smoothest, most informative and most impressive of any that you have done, and I would like also to say thanks for your participation in the EDGAR BERGEN show last night.

I hope it caught you some additional listeners.

am

693

Special Program
Yrs. of Crisis

January 11, 1955

Dear Mr. Fisher:

Many thanks for your letter of January 3, and for your generous comments about our YEARS OF CRISIS program.

It was indeed thoughtful of you to take the time to write to me as you did.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. John B. Fisher
Administrative Assistant to
Senator Saltonstall
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

fc

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Thanks

January 3, 1955

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I should like to congratulate you and your several colleagues on your fine presentation of "Years of Crisis" over CBS-TV yesterday.

It was the most comprehensive, articulate and stimulating discussion that I can remember.

Sincerely yours,

John B. Fisher

John B. Fisher
Administrative Assistant
to Senator Saltonstall

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City

Special Proj

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Messrs. Smith, Sevareid, Schoenbrun, Downs, Hottelet, Kendrick, Pierpoint, Schorr

from: John F. Day

cc: Messrs. Mickelson
✓Murrow
Skedgell
Zellmer
Burke

October 21, 1955

The time has come again when thought must be given to the YEAR END SHOW. I would like from each of you as soon as you can get to it, a letter setting forth your thoughts on the theme the show should have this year and the points it should cover. Several people have said to me: "Maybe you will have to change the name of the show this year. Maybe YEARS OF CRISIS doesn't fit any more." I can't agree with that concept personally, for I do not believe the world's years of crises are over. But I can tell that a lot of people are breathing sighs of relief and are taking for granted that things are really going to be on the sunny side from now on. This suggests at least a point of departure for the show. Certainly due for discussion is the matter of what the so-called Geneva Spirit really means and whether the cold war has turned to a cold peace -- or something better. And how do you feel about changing the name of the show?

The exact hours of the radio and television presentations have not been set, but the date will be Sunday, January 1st. Amoco has again expressed interest in sponsoring both the radio and television shows, but final sale has not been made. We feel that again this year we will not undertake a simulcast but probably will tape the radio show in advance.

It seems to me you should plan to be here no later than Tuesday, December 27. The Overseas Press Club has again invited the group to a round table appearance comparable to the one of last December. We feel this is something of a nuisance in the middle of a period of hard work, but it does give you fellows an excellent chance to display your talents before a group worth making an impression upon. So I have told club representatives to schedule the appearance for a luncheon Thursday, December 29.

We are planning a clinic for Tuesday and Wednesday, January 3rd and 4th. Most everyone agreed that last year's clinic was valuable, and we believe we can make this one even more so. Techniques of filming for television again will be a major point for discussion. In that connection, Bob Hess will be visiting your bureaus soon (not including Moscow or Tokyo, unfortunately). As you know, Hess is assistant to Jack Bush, and his principal job is to improve film quality. In discussing recently some things we might do to improve film quality, we agreed that Hess should make a six-week trip, leaving November 1st, to visit each of the bureaus long enough to work with the cameramen and impart to them the knowledge that has been acquired through both his personal experience and the experience of our film people generally. You will get further word soon with more details of this plan.

JFD

jfd/ny

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(39)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

Special Rs.
yr Ed

NA142 PD=NEW YORK NY 1 503PME=

EDWARD R MURROW=

DELIVER COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, 485 MAD AVE=

1956 JAN 1 PM 5 40

EVERYONE WAS WONDERFUL. EVEN YOU=

HAROLD AND VIOLET LAVINE=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Special Program
Year End

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

OFFICE OF THE
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
WILLIAM S. PALEY

January 3, 1956

Dear Ed:

I thought that the YEARS OF CRISIS program, as broadcast on both radio and television last Sunday, was the best of the series so far. It would be hard for me to imagine a group of men coming from various areas of the world who could do a more intelligent or interesting job of discussing the important questions of the day or of giving background information which could be more to the point or meaningful.

I know what a lot of effort went into the preparation of this program and I would appreciate it if you would pass on to your associates my congratulations for a job well done.

Sincerely,

Bill

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Special Programs
Year End

January 11, 1956

Dear Walter:

Thanks for the kind words about the Year End Show. It has been much too long since we met. Please give me a shout when you come to town again.

As ever yours,

Mr. Walter Williams
The Under Secretary of Commerce
Washington 25, D.C.

rh

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON 25

January 3, 1956

PERSONAL

Dear Ed:

I was one of your interested listeners on the World Report of your panel of correspondent experts at 4:00 o'clock (Eastern Time) New Year's Day. I cannot refrain from dropping you this note, not only to congratulate you, but each and every member of the panel. The little group of dinner partners with whom I was associated at the time of watching this performance were all unanimous in their expressions that each man of the panel was indeed an expert, not only in knowledge of his subject, but in his manner in being able to express himself clearly and succinctly.

It was a swell job! Congratulations!

Sincerely yours,

Walter

WALTER WILLIAMS

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City, New York

Special Progra
Year End

January 17, 1956

Dear Bob:

As you undoubtedly know, the critics' reaction to the Year End Show was good. I thought you would like to see the attached.

As ever yours,

Mr. Robert Pierpoint
Correspondents Club
Marunouchi, Tokyo
Japan

rh

Also sent to: Hottelet, Schoenbrun, Smith, Schorr, Kendrick, Downs, Sevareid

Special Prog
Year End

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Edward R. Murrow

from: Cabell Greet

"Years of Crisis - 1955"

January 2, 1956

Dear Ed

You and your men were, as usual, simply superb yesterday afternoon. I can't think of a finer demonstration of American worth than this program gives every year. It fulfills the moral obligation to be intelligent and humane and one's self like nothing else I know.

I am your G. P., as the doctors say,

Cab

Maybe you're so healthy that you haven't learned that GP means grateful patient?

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC
485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

OFFICE OF THE
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
WILLIAM S. PALEY

January 3, 1956

Dear Ed:

I thought that the YEARS OF CRISIS program, as broadcast on both radio and television last Sunday, was the best of the series so far. It would be hard for me to imagine a group of men coming from various areas of the world who could do a more intelligent or interesting job of discussing the important questions of the day or of giving background information which could be more to the point or meaningful.

I know what a lot of effort went into the preparation of this program and I would appreciate it if you would pass on to your associates my congratulations for a job well done.

Sincerely,

Bill

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed – A great panel of faces & voices & minds you quarterbacked yesterday. A privilege & experience to have fellowship with them over the phone. You are thoughtful about me as I move this week into my 75th milestone. See you Feb:

Carl

Sandburg –

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM INC
485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22 N Y

OFFICE OF THE
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
WILLIAM S. PALEY

January 3, 1956

Dear Ed:

I thought that the YEARS OF CRISIS program, as broadcast on both radio and television last Sunday, was the best of the series so far. It would be hard for me to imagine a group of men coming from various areas of the world who could do a more intelligent or interesting job of discussing the important questions of the day or of giving background information which could be more to the point or meaningful.

I know what a lot of effort went into the preparation of this program and I would appreciate it if you would pass on to your associates my congratulations for a job well done.

Sincerely,

Bill

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Edward R. Murrow

from: Cabell Greet

"Years of Crisis - 1955"

January 2, 1956

Dear Ed

You and your men were, as usual, simply superb yesterday afternoon. I can't think of a finer demonstration of American worth than this program gives every year. It fulfills the moral obligation to be intelligent and humane and one's self like nothing else I know.

I am your G. P., as the doctors say,

Cab

Maybe you're so healthy that you haven't learned that GP means grateful patient?

1137

Special Program
Year End

January 17, 1956

Dear Mr. Streit:

I am happy to enclose herewith the script which you requested. The names and addresses of those who participated in the Year End Show is as follows:

Robert Pierpoint
Correspondents Club
Marunouchi, Tokyo

Richard Hottelet
Pressehaus VI-81
Bonn

David Schoenbrun
33 Champs Elysees
Paris, 8e

Howard K. Smith
26 Hallam Street
London, W.1

Daniel Schorr
National Hotel
Moscow

Alexander Kendrick
26 Hallam Street
London, W.1

William Downs
40 Via Paisiello
Rome

Eric Sevareid
Station WTOP
Washington, D.C.

They will, I'm sure, be glad to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Rebecca Holder
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. Clarence Streit
Freedom & Union
2700 Ontario Road, N.W.
Washington 9, D.C.

Freedom & Union
2700 Ontario Road, N.W.
Washington 9, D. C.

Jan. 3, 1956

Dear Miss Halder:

I listened with great interest Sunday to Ed's roundtable survey of the world with eight CBS correspondents.

If there is a transcript of this available, please send me one.

In any event, could you give me the names and foreign addresses of those overseas? I want to write each of them, and I assume they are now back at their front - odd as that combination of words looks on second glance!

Sincerely,

Clarence Streit

Clarence Streit

CS/h

Pinpoint Correspondents Club
Marunouchi, Tokyo
Hottelet – Pressehaus VI - 81 Bonn
Schoenbrun CBS, Inc. – 33, Champs Elysees
Smith CBS - 26 Hallam St Paris 8e
London, W1 England
Scherr – WTOP or National Hotel
Moscow
Hendrick – London
Downs to Via Paisiello – Rome,

ERIC SEVAREID

7

June 14, 1956

Dear Ed:

I don't see any reason why any publisher willing to take a chance on printing the year end roundup script shouldn't be allowed to do so. I will happily accept my share of any profits.

If the material is edited at all for the book form, I think you or someone else at CBS ought to have some say in the decision as to anything that is rearranged or left out.

Best wishes,

Eric

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Year End Show

ERIC SEVAREID

June 5, 1956

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Your letter of May 31 concerning Mr. Reynal's proposal has arrived in Mr. Sevareid's absence. He will be back in Washington next Monday and I feel sure will get in touch with you immediately.

Very truly yours,

Marjorie Geddes

Marjorie Geddes
Secretary to Mr. Sevareid

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

CBS NEWS

~~40 Via Paisiello, Rome — Rome 8-41657~~

Piazza Grazioli 5

ROME BUREAU

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

June 8, 1956

Dear Ed:

I for one am all for the idea of making the year-end show into a book. I think it would make good reading. And I even hazard the guess that it might do us all some good to know that we would be confronted with our own prophecies in print, a few weeks after we had rashly made them. Anyway, my vote is Yes.

We will do our best to make Marlene Dietrich comfortable in Rome. My own hunch is that a hotel suite might be better for her than an apartment, because an apartment here inevitably involves hiring a retinue of maids, cooks and so on. I'll be writing her soon about the possibilities, after we've canvassed them.

We ourselves are getting happily settled down in Rome again, and enjoying it thoroughly. Very soon, I propose to write you a longer, better letter!

Meanwhile, our very warmest wishes to Janet, and all our love to yourself.

As ever,

Winston

Winston ~~Randolph~~

wb/mf

CBS NEWS BONN BUREAU
Pressehaus VI/81, Bonn Phone: 2 59 11

RICHARD C. HOTTELET

8 June 1956

Dear Ed,

Thanks for your letter of May 31. I think it would be a very good idea to turn the script into a book and I will gladly go along with any arrangements you make.

See you soon,

Dick

RECEIVED
1956 JUN -8 PM 3:52
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

NP001 INTL

ZL MOSCOW VIA WUCABLES 13 JUN 8 2016

CBSINC

NYK

08190 BURKE MURROW REYOUR LETTER THIRTYFIRST OKAY REYNAL BOOK REGARDS SCHORR

250PEST..

yr End

CBS NEWS
Foreign Correspondents Club, Marunouchi, Tokyo
Tokyo 27-0161

TOKYO BUREAU

June 5, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS News
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.
U. S. A.

Dear Ed,

Always happy to receive royalties, whatever the source. Frankly I am a little surprised at the idea that a broadcast of that sort would be good in book form. Maybe I underestimate us.

I don't suppose this is really a problem, but I think we should keep the book idea strictly out of our minds until the broadcast is over. Then if Mr. Reynal still wants to take a flier, I am all for it.

As always,

Bob

Bob Pierpoint

RCP:sh

CBS NEWS
26 Hallam Street, London W1 Langham 1166-1167

LONDON BUREAU

June 5, 1956

Dear Ed:

I think the idea of putting the Year End Show between covers is a good one, if only to shame CBS for not doing same itself. However, I think it would make a somewhat slim volume. Would it be an idea to use a few snips of dialogue from previous shows, proving how good or how lousy we were as prognosticators? This might also provide some continuity pertinent to our over-all theme "Years of Crisis," if we sort of traced the development of various suggestions, ideas, and warnings through the years.

As for the royalties, if any, does CBS get a 20 percent cut, in addition to not paying us at all?

Seriously, a problem I would like you to start thinking about is how and with what credentials I can appear on the next Year-End jamboree. Unless I am given a brief trip somewhere like Africa, or conversely unless Howard is given a European trip so he can speak as Chief European Correspondent, there would be no purpose in having two guys from London. How about a small Balkan-satellite swing, if I can get visas, to report on the effects of the new Russian course? Or a refresher trip to the Dark Continent?

Anyway, this should be thought about.

Love to all.

Alex -

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
CBS, New York.

CBS NEWS LONDON BUREAU
26 Hallam Street, London W1 Langham 1166-1167

HOWARD K. SMITH, *Chief European Correspondent*

X

5th June, 1956.

Dear Ed,

I have no objection to the year-end show being published. On the contrary, if anyone can be induced to read it, not to mention pay for it, I am delighted.

Ed Newman has come back from Egypt where he says he learned that CBS had put out a sound recording of the interviews with Ben Gurion and Nasser. Can this be so? I have heard nothing about it.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Howard

Howard K. Smith.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
CBS News,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

CBS NEWS PARIS BUREAU
33 Champs Elysees, Paris VIIIe Elysees 18-47

DAVID SCHOENBRUN

June 2, 1956

Dear Ed:

The Reynal project sounds fine, indeed astonishing.

As for royalties - and if there are any that would be even more astonishing - may I suggest that they be turned over to the George Polk Memorial Scholarship Fund which I believe is administered by Long Island University, n'est-ce pas?

We will be home on July 2nd and are looking forward very much to seeing you, Janet and Casey.

Cordially,

David

David Schoenbrun

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
C.B.S.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

DS/jf

TO Mr. Murrow

FROM Rebe Holder

Up End

June 4, 1956

You said you wanted to get in touch with Mr. Reynal this week.

tomw June 28

REYNAL & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS

221 EAST FORTY-NINTH STREET • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

May 16, 1956

Dear Ed:

I was very glad indeed that you responded so warmly to my suggestion about putting your Year End Roundup in book form and I hope very much that we can go ahead with the project. There are certain mechanical problems in connection with it that I have been tackling this past week, mostly involving manufacture, and I think these can be solved without too much trouble.

As you know, the usual time from final manuscript to complete book is three months with an additional month added for reviewing, which would mean that you would be about ready for the next year's Roundup before the last one got in print. American Book-Stratford Press, who does our printing, assures me however that they will produce the book within one month, and I think we could safely cut reviewing time down to two weeks by using advance galleys and sending the copies air mail, which would mean that if we had a clean copy of the final manuscript on let's say January 1, we could publish the middle of February, which would be perfect from our point of view. January 1 might be a little tight on your end, but I think as long as the book came out before the end of February we would be on sound grounds. We should know the approximate length of the manuscript by the first of September, with present paper shortages, as the paper should be on hand well in advance.

One other question that should raise no difficulties is that I am flying abroad on a long business trip June 15 and will not be returning until August 18. The Viking Press, who handle our distribution for us, have their mid-winter sales conference the first week in September, which means that we should get busy with catalogue copy and particularly the jacket before I get away so that it can all be well in hand for the conference.

If all this sounds right to you, I would like to run over to discuss with you the form of agreement and any other problems that may occur to you. I am really enormously keen about the idea and should be very proud to have such a book on the list.

Both Kay and I enjoyed our dinner with you so much the other evening.

Sincerely yours,

Eugene Reynal

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
580 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

ER:W

May 31, 1956

Dear Eric:

Eugene Reynal, the publisher, has come forward with the idea of making the year end roundup into a book, to be distributed through the Viking Press. He assures me that they can turn out the book within one month of the broadcast date. I have not talked details with him, but he offers the usual royalty arrangements.

I have discussed this with John Day, who sees no reason why we should not proceed. Wouldst let me know soonest what you think?

As ever,

Mr. Eric Sevareid
WTOP
Broadcast House
Washington, D.C.

fc

P.S. The royalties, if any, would of course be divided among the participants.

May 31, 1956

Dear Dan:

Eugene Reynal, the publisher, has come forward with the idea of making the year end roundup into a book, to be distributed through the Viking Press. He assures me that they can turn out the book within one month of the broadcast date. I have not talked details with him, but he offers the usual royalty arrangements.

I have discussed this with John Day, who sees no reason why we should not proceed. Wouldst let me know soonest what you think?

As ever,

Mr. Dan Schorr
Hotel Metropole
Moscow, Russia

fc

P.S. The royalties, if any, would of course be divided among the participants.

May 31, 1956

Dear Dick:

Eugene Reynal, the publisher, has come forward with the idea of making the year end roundup into a book, to be distributed through the Viking Press. He assures me that they can turn out the book within one month of the broadcast date. I have not talked details with him, but he offers the usual royalty arrangements.

I have discussed this with John Day, who sees no reason why we should not proceed. Wouldst let me know soonest what you think?

As ever,

Mr. Dick Hottelet
Presshaus VI-81
Bonn, Germany

fc

P.S. The royalties, if any, would of course be divided among the participants.

May 31, 1956

Dear Alex:

Eugene Reynal, the publisher, has come forward with the idea of making the year end roundup into a book, to be distributed through the Viking Press. He assures me that they can turn out the book within one month of the broadcast date. I have not talked details with him, but he offers the usual royalty arrangements.

I have discussed this with John Day, who sees no reason why we should not proceed. Wouldst let me know soonest what you think?

As ever,

Mr. Alex Kendrick
CBS
26 Hallam Street
London W1, England

fc

P.S. The royalties, if any, would of course be divided among the participants.

May 31, 1956

Dear Winston:

Eugene Reynal, the publisher, has come forward with the idea of making the year end roundup into a book, to be distributed through the Viking Press. He assures me that they can turn out the book within one month of the broadcast date. I have not talked details with him, but he offers the usual royalty arrangements.

I have discussed this with John Day, who sees no reason why we should not proceed. Wouldst let me know soonest what you think?

As ever,

Mr. Winston Burdett
Via Cassia 15
Rome, Italy

fc

P.S. The royalties, if any, would of course be divided among the participants.

May 31, 1956

Dear Dave:

Eugene Reynal, the publisher, has come forward with the idea of making the year end roundup into a book, to be distributed through the Viking Press. He assures me that they can turn out the book within one month of the broadcast date. I have not talked details with him, but he offers the usual royalty arrangements.

I have discussed this with John Day, who sees no reason why we should not proceed. Wouldst let me know soonest what you think?

As ever,

Mr. David Schoenbrun
33 Champs Elysees
Paris, France

fc

P.S. The royalties, if any, would of course be divided among the participants.

May 31, 1956

Dear Bob:

Eugene Reynal, the publisher, has come forward with the idea of making the year end roundup into a book, to be distributed through the Viking Press. He assures me that they can turn out the book within one month of the broadcast date. I have not talked details with him, but he offers the usual royalty arrangements.

I have discussed this with John Day, who sees no reason why we should not proceed. Wouldst let me know soonest what you think?

As ever,

Mr. Robert Pierpoint
Foreign Correspondents Club
Marunouchi
Tokyo, Japan

fc

P.S. The royalties, if any, would of course be divided among the participants.

May 31, 1956

Dear Eric:

Eugene Reynal, the publisher, has come forward with the idea of making the year end roundup into a book, to be distributed through the Viking Press. He assures me that they can turn out the book within one month of the broadcast date. I have not talked details with him, but he offers the usual royalty arrangements.

I have discussed this with John Day, who sees no reason why we should not proceed. Wouldst let me know soonest what you think?

As ever,

Mr. Eric Sevareid
WTOP
Broadcast House
Washington, D.C.

fc

P.S. The royalties, if any, would of course be divided among the participants.

May 31, 1956

Dear Howard:

Eugene Reynal, the publisher, has come forward with the idea of making the year end roundup into a book, to be distributed through the Viking Press. He assures me that they can turn out the book within one month of the broadcast date. I have not talked details with him, but he offers the usual royalty arrangements.

I have discussed this with John Day, who sees no reason why we should not proceed. Wouldst let me know soonest what you think?

As ever,

Mr. Howard K. Smith
CBS
26 Hallam Street
London W1, England

fc

P.S. The royalties, if any, would of course be divided among the participants.

Year End Show

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

CC: Messrs. Murrow
Zellmer
Skedgell

Office Communication

to: Mr. John Day

December 7, 1956

from: Eric Sevareid

Here are a few questions off the top of my head that seem to me ought to figure in the year-end discussion.

Q. Has the culmination of events in the Mid-east and Europe advanced world peace or set it back?

Q. Do these events mean that the ten year polarization of the world between two great powers is frozen into place still more, or is it breaking up with more national counters moving on the board?

Q. Is Russia returning to Stalinism, and is the East-West struggle returning to the worst phase of the Cold War?

Q. Can the U.S. be both leader of the Big Three, and the mediator between France and England on one side and the anti-colonial nations on the other?

Q. Do our mediation efforts mean in effect that the U.S. is moving toward a position of neutrality?

Q. Russia seems to have a chance for a real power gain in the Mid-east but pretty clearly her Mid-European hold is slipping. Is this a time for Western emphasis to be on tightening its defenses, i.e. spurring German rearmament, and keeping pressures on Russia, or is this the time to try to negotiate a European security settlement with Russia on the assumption that she is looking for a way out of Mid-Europe.

Some suggested subsidiary questions:

Q. Does the U.S. bear a responsibility for what happened in the Mid-east and Hungary?

Q. Have Americans been living in a world of rosy dreams about the state of the world these past few years?

Re: Year-ender

Summary of meeting in Day's office on December 12. (1956)

1. Who gained what, where?

2. Examination of gains & losses by regions--Middle East, Asia, Western Europe, etc.

3. For Western losses, were there commensurate gains? Balance sheet.

4. Possibilities for a Third World War?

5. How did we get here? (Careful not to get bogged down in too much detail).

6. Final consideration: What do we do now?

Other possible questions:

Best thing we did your area this year?

What outlook for settlement in Middle East?

Question along line of who absconded with the dough. (Suggestion this be developed by Sevareid and Schorr)

Observations:

Certainly one aspect in which we all been wrong--we didn't think that in a modern police state what happened in Hungary could happen.

The West is confronted with psychological problems--not just problems in terms of power.

Matter of chronology.

Probably no need to go into American election.

eb

Year End.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: John Day

from: Ed Murrow

November 12, 1957

I appreciate the problem it raises, but I feel that we ought to add Smith to the list.

fc

E.R.M.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: MR. EDWARD R. MURROW

from: John F. Day

November 5, 1957

Hoping that your space problem has been, or will be, solved, what do you think of this line-up for YEARS OF CRISIS?

1) Yourself.
2) Kendrick, for Britain.
3) Schoenbrun, for France and Algeria.
4) Sevareid, for the U.S.
5) Burdett, for Italy and Israel.
6) Leiser, for Germany and some of the Iron Curtain countries.
7) Schorr, for Russia and some of the other Iron Curtain countries.
8) Kalischer, for the Far East.

There are four other possible names to be considered, I should think. They are

Collingwood
Smith
Kallsen
and Kearns

You are, of course, fully familiar with the work and current assignments of Smith and Collingwood. Either Kallsen or Kearns would have something to contribute concerning the Arab countries of the Middle East. Kallsen, who currently is in Turkey, has, for the most part of this year, been based in Beirut and has worked in Syria and Jordan a large part of the time. Kearns, as you know, is based in Cairo. He also has traveled in other Arab countries, and he spent several weeks with the Algerian rebels.

jfd/jp

NEWS FROM CBS RADIO
Press Information Department,
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.
Phone: PLaza 1-2345

Special Pgm

MR. ED MURROW
485/17

November 26, 1957

CBS NEWSMEN TO GATHER FOR 9TH ANNUAL "YEARS OF CRISIS: 1957"
REPORT AND ANALYSIS OF YEAR'S MAJOR WORLD DEVELOPMENTS

Edward R. Murrow Will Moderate CBS Radio's Round-Table Discussion
By Nine Veteran Newsmen Covering Foreign and Domestic Assignments

"Years of Crisis: 1957," CBS News' ninth annual year-end broadcast for which CBS News Correspondents are flown to New York from posts around the world to join Edward R. Murrow in reporting and analyzing the year's major news developments, will be presented on CBS Radio Sunday, Dec. 29 at 12:05-12:55 PM, EST; and on CBS Television at 4:00-5:00 PM, EST.

Edward R. Murrow, reporter and news analyst heard nightly on the "Edward R. Murrow with the News" program on CBS Radio, host of CBS Television's "Person to Person," and reporter and co-producer of "See It Now," will be chairman.

The CBS Correspondents joining Mr. Murrow in this special broadcast will include:

Eric Sevareid, Chief Washington Correspondent for CBS News;

Howard K. Smith, whose assignments during the past year included both Washington and London for CBS News;

(More)

Alexander Kendrick, London;

David Schoenbrun, Paris;

Winston Burdett, Rome;

Ernest Leiser, Bonn;

Daniel Schorr, Moscow;

Peter Kalischer, Tokyo.

The newsmen will probe issues ranging from the shifting balances of power throughout the world to the relative merits of the educational systems of various world powers. The reporters will pool their knowledge gained by their experience in their respective sectors of the world.

"Years of Crisis: 1957" will be produced under the general supervision of John F. Day, CBS Director of News. Robert A. Skedgell, Assistant Director of News, Radio, will direct the broadcast on CBS Radio.

* * *

-Wpon-

-10:30-

F 295-3/56

Year End Show

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

Private Wire

PLEASE READ INSTRUCTIONS BELOW BEFORE SENDING YOUR MESSAGE.

Before sending this message please be sure a letter by **REGULAR OR AIR MAIL** would not suffice. Then be brief and indicate the account number to which the message is to be charged. A letter via **REGULAR MAIL** addressed to points in Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York; the New England states, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, Washington, D. C., Montreal and Toronto, and via **AIR MAIL** to points in other states, will normally reach the addressee within a minimum of 12 hours and a maximum of 48 hours after it has been mailed from New York City.

Messages for **WBBM** and **KNX** are normally sent within an hour after receipt in the Communications Room on Mondays through Fridays; messages to other stations are normally transmitted so as to reach the addressee not later than **NOON LOCAL TIME** on the first business day following their receipt in the Communications Room, providing the teletype equipment at the receiving point is attended. Mark your message "Today" **ONLY** if faster service to these other stations is vital.

CC: MR. MURROW -

DATE DECEMBER 3, 1957

CHARGE TO ACCOUNT NO. 514 (Div.) 44 (Dept.) 31

LF

DAVID SCHOENBRUN
COLBROSYS
PARIS

ERNEST LEISER
COLBROSYS
PRESSEHAUS
BONN

WINSTON BURDETT
COLBROSYS
ROME

COLBROSYS
MOSCOW

PETER KALISCHER (HOLD FOR ARRIVAL)
CONTINENTAL HOTEL
SAIGON

EDDAY

/WITHOUT TRYING SET UP QUESTIONS AT THIS TIME WOULD LIKE SUGGEST THERE LEASTLY THREE MAIN AREAS YOU SHOULD BE THINKING ABOUT FOR YEAREND SHOW STOP ONE IS HOW UNITATES POSTURE OF LEADERSHIP OR LACK THEREOF APPEARS TO PEOPLE YOUR COUNTRIES STOP ANOTHER IS THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC DOWNSLIDE AND WHAT RECESSION HERE WOULD DO TO INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES AND WORLD SITUATION STOP THIRD IS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS YOUR COUNTRIES [redacted] COMPARED CONTRASTED WITH AMERICAN WHERE FINALLY RECOGNIZED WE FACE REAL CRISIS IN TRAINING SCIENTISTS WELLS BROAD LEADERS REGARDS

EDDIE

Spec. Pgm

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: YEARS OF CRISIS PARTICIPANTS

from: John F. Day

Here are some "times" you will want to know about:

1) To promote YEARS OF CRISIS, we will do a simulcast closed circuit from Studio 56, Leiderkrantz Hall (111 East 58th Street), at 5 PM today, Monday, December 23.

   Rehearsal will be from 3:30 to 4:30 PM, during which time it will be necessary to place the microphones, check the lighting, and in general plan the show.

2) Both morning and afternoon work sessions will be required through the week -- except for Wednesday, Christmas Day.

3) The Overseas Press Club luncheon will be at 12:30 Friday, December 27, at the Waldorf.

4) Studio 2, 22nd Floor, 485 Madison, has been reserved starting at 2:30 PM Saturday, December 28, to record the Radio show.

5) Broadcast time on Radio will be 12:05-12:55 PM Sunday, December 29. (FYI -- THE BIG NEWS OF '57 also will be broadcast on Radio December 29, from 3:05 to 4:30 PM.)

6) Broadcast time on Television will be 4 to 5 PM Sunday, December 29, from Studio 41. (The Television version of BIG NEWS OF '57 will be broadcast 3 to 4 PM.)

7) Dr. Stanton has planned a cocktail party for you gentlemen and a number of "outside" guests immediately following the telecast, in Studio 42.

8) We will have a roundtable of informal discussions on Monday, December 30, in the Conference Room on the 22nd Floor. 10 am

9) On Tuesday, December 31, in the Conference Room on the 17th Floor, Elmer Lower, Jim Connors and I will meet individually with Messrs. Schoenbrun, Leiser, Schorr, Burdett, Kendrick and Kalischer on bureau budget matters. We will arrange about a half hour or forty-five minutes with each of these correspondents. not sure. Murrow

10) We are again invited to dinner in Washington. The time is Friday evening, January 3.

jfd/jp
12/20/57

JFD

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: YEARS OF CRISIS PARTICIPANTS

from: John F. Day

Received Dec. 23

Here are some "times" you will want to know about:

1) To promote YEARS OF CRISIS, we will do a simulcast closed circuit from Studio 56, Leiderkrantz Hall (111 East 58th Street), at 5 PM today, Monday, December 23.

   Rehearsal will be from 3:30 to 4:30 PM, during which time it will be necessary to place the microphones, check the lighting, and in general plan the show.

2) Both morning and afternoon work sessions will be required through the week -- except for Wednesday, Christmas Day.

3) The Overseas Press Club luncheon will be at 12:30 Friday, December 27, at the Waldorf.

4) Studio 2, 22nd Floor, 485 Madison, has been reserved starting at 2:30 PM Saturday, December 28, to record the Radio show.

5) Broadcast time on Radio will be 12:05-12:55 PM Sunday, December 29. (FYI -- THE BIG NEWS OF '57 also will be broadcast on Radio December 29, from 3:05 to 4:30 PM.)

6) Broadcast time on Television will be 4 to 5 PM Sunday, December 29, from Studio 41. (The Television version of BIG NEWS OF '57 will be broadcast 3 to 4 PM.)

7) Dr. Stanton has planned a cocktail party for you gentlemen and a number of "outside" guests immediately following the telecast, in Studio 42.

8) We will have a roundtable of informal discussions on Monday, December 30, in the Conference Room on the 22nd Floor.

9) On Tuesday, December 31, in the Conference Room on the 17th Floor, Elmer Lower, Jim Connors and I will meet individually with Messrs. Schoenbrun, Leiser, Schorr, Burdett, Kendrick and Kalischer on bureau budget matters. We will arrange about a half hour or forty-five minutes with each of these correspondents.

10) We are again invited to dinner in Washington. The time is Friday evening, January 3.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: MR. DAY

December 19, 1957

from: David Zellmer

cc: Messrs. Murrow
Hewitt
Lowenstein
Johnson
Donghi

The YEARS OF CRISIS closed circuit broadcast will air from 5:00 - 6:00 p.m., on Monday, December 23, from Studio 56 at Liederkranz Hall.

111 E. 58th
1st fl.

Rehearsal will be from 3:30 - 4:30 p.m., during which time it will be necessary to place the microphones, check the lighting, and in general plan the show.

Don Hewitt will direct.

Mr. Donghi: Will you please notify all correspondents concerned.

gd

DAVID ZELLMER

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: MESSRS. MURROW, SEVAREID, SMITH, KENDRICK, SCHOENBRUN, BURDETT, LEISER, SCHORR, KALISCHER

from: John F. Day

cc: Messrs. Mickelson, Skedgell, Zellmer

November 15, 1957

The line-up for the 1957 YEARS OF CRISIS show, as listed in the men to whom this note is addressed, was chosen after consultation with Messrs. Mickelson and Murrow. As you can see, the round-table consists of nine men this year, instead of the eight of last year; but even with nine, we still must leave out some men we would like to include. Year before last, we found that a panel of eight, plus Ed Murrow as moderator, worked very well.

The calendar this year is lousy, and that's about the best you can say for it. There is no way to avoid having you here over Christmas, because December 25th falls in the middle of the week in which we must work on the show. The show date is December 29th, both for radio and television. Radio is scheduled 12:05 to 12:55 PM; television, 4:00 to 5:00 PM. The mid-day Sunday time on radio these days is excellent, as judged from sets-in-use figures.

I think all of you should be in New York by Sunday, December 22nd, so that we can go to work on Monday morning, December 23rd. It is virtually impossible to start the work prior to that Monday because of the NATO meeting in Paris the preceding week.

I have accepted, on your behalf, a luncheon appearance at the Waldorf for the Overseas Press Club on Friday, December 27th. I realize this is something of a nuisance and breaks into one of our most important working days, but it is a real prestige performance and I didn't see how we could turn it down this year in particular. NBC is going to try to emulate our round-table (calling their show "Perspective, 1958", and staging it on December 29th) and undoubtedly would be delighted to have the Overseas Press Club platform from which to launch their first effort.

See you soon.

jfd/jp

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: MESSRS. MEADE, STEINBERG, DORFSMAN, OPPENHEIM, COWDEN, ACKERMAN, LOWENSTEIN, REUBENS

from: John F. Day

November 15, 1957

At the meeting in my office this morning to discuss what we might do to promote the ninth annual YEARS OF CRISIS show and the year-end visit of our top News correspondents, we agreed, I believe, that the following could be done:

(1) A closed circuit on both Television and Radio at 5:00 PM Monday, December 23rd, during which the correspondents would answer questions written in by Radio-Television editors and columnists, at the invitation of our Press Information executives.

(2) Jack Cowden and Lou Dorfsman will investigate the possibilities of paid advertisements, basic materials for which are available from Bill Ackerman.

(3) Either Sig or I will wire the News Directors of CBS affiliated stations, asking for cooperation in promoting our show this year.

(4) We will plug YEARS OF CRISIS on our News shows during the week preceding.

(5) Jack Cowden will set up on-the-air spots in FACE THE NATION and possibly other shows, and will look into the possibility of getting a plug during PERSON TO PERSON

(6) Larry Lowenstein and Charles Steinberg will look into the possibility of having the men appear on such shows as I'VE GOT A SECRET and WHAT'S MY LINE.

(Continued)

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: MESSRS. MEADE, STEINBERG, DORFSMAN, OPPENHEIM, COWDEN, ACKERMAN, LOWENSTEIN, REUBENS

from: John F. Day

November 15, 1957

(7) Steinberg suggested getting sellers of tape recorders to place ads in local newspapers suggesting purchase of recorders to tape such shows as YEARS OF CRISIS.

(8) Bill Ackerman suggested the preparation of a direct mail piece. He will follow through on that.

(9) I will try to round up the men for a picture in front of the Daily News globe, with a view toward use in the Daily News of such a picture.

10) I will investigate the feasibility of getting possibly one question answered by each of the men in a form that could be put out as a release.

jfd/JP

F 29P-3/56

Upcoming

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

Private Wire

PLEASE READ INSTRUCTIONS BELOW BEFORE SENDING YOUR MESSAGE.

Before sending this message please be sure a letter by **REGULAR OR AIR MAIL** would not suffice. Then be brief and indicate the account number to which the message is to be charged. A letter via **REGULAR MAIL** addressed to points in Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York; the New England states, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, Washington, D. C., Montreal and Toronto, and via **AIR MAIL** to points in other states, will normally reach the addressee within a minimum of 12 hours and a maximum of 48 hours after it has been mailed from New York City.

Messages for **WBBM** and **KNX** are normally sent within an hour after receipt in the Communications Room on Mondays through Fridays; messages to other stations are normally transmitted so as to reach the addressee not later than **NOON LOCAL TIME** on the first business day following their receipt in the Communications Room, providing the teletype equipment at the receiving point is attended. Mark your message "Today" **ONLY** if faster service to these other stations is vital.

DATE DECEMBER 10, 1957

CHARGE TO ACCOUNT NO. 514 (Div.) 44 (Dept.) 31

(VIA RCA)

LT

FUTURA

JAKARTA

INDONESIA

OEY BOEN BIE FOR PETER KALISCHER

EXDAY TO PROMOTE YEARS OF CRISIS WE WILL HAVE CLOSED CIRCUIT SIMULCAST 5 TO 6 PM MONDAY DECEMBER 23 DURING WHICH YOULL BE ASKED SOME QUESTIONS SENT IN BY NEWSPAPERMEN PARTICULARLY WRITERS ABOUT TV AND RADIO STOP WE WANT KEEP THIS TO SHOP TALKS MUCHS POSSIBLE STOP CERTAINLY MANY QUESTIONS WILL DEAL WITH STATUS AND OPERATIONS OF TELEVISION IN YOUR COUNTRIES REGARDS

BURKE

CC: MESSRS. MURROW, SEVAREID, SMITH, KENDRICK

F 295-3/56

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

Private Wire

PLEASE READ INSTRUCTIONS BELOW BEFORE SENDING YOUR MESSAGE.

Before sending this message please be sure a letter by **REGULAR OR AIR MAIL** would not suffice. Then be brief and indicate the account number to which the message is to be charged. A letter via **REGULAR MAIL** addressed to points in Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York; the New England states, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, Washington, D. C., Montreal and Toronto, and via **AIR MAIL** to points in other states, will normally reach the addressee within a minimum of 12 hours and a maximum of 48 hours after it has been mailed from New York City.

Messages for **WBBM** and **KNX** are normally sent within an hour after receipt in the Communications Room on Mondays through Fridays; messages to other stations are normally transmitted so as to reach the addressee not later than **NOON LOCAL TIME** on the first business day following their receipt in the Communications Room, providing the teletype equipment at the receiving point is attended. Mark your message "Today" **ONLY** if faster service to these other stations is vital.

DATE DECEMBER 9, 1957

CHARGE TO ACCOUNT NO. 514 (Div.) 44 (Dept.) 31

LT

DAVID SCHOENBRUN
COLBROSYS
PARIS

ERNEST LEISER
COLBROSYS
PRESSEHAUS
Bonn

DANIEL SCHORR
COLBROSYS
MOSCOW

WINSTON BURDETT
COLBROSYS
ROME

[redacted]

EXDAY TO PROMOTE YEARS OF CRISIS WE WILL HAVE CLOSED CIRCUIT SIMULCAST 5 TO 6 PM MONDAY DECEMBER 23 DURING WHICH YOULL BE ASKED SOME QUESTIONS SENT IN BY NEWSPAPERMEN PARTICULARLY WRITERS ABOUT TV AND RADIO STOP WE WANT KEEP THIS TO SHOP TALKS MUCHS POSSIBLE STOP CERTAINLY MANY QUESTIONS WILL DEAL WITH STATUS AND OPERATIONS OF TELEVISION IN YOUR COUNTRIES REGARDS

BURKE

CC: MESSRS. MURROW, SEVAREID, SMITH, KENDRICK

Special Pgm

~~Year End Show~~

HOLIDAY NEWS

Press Information, CBS Television Network
485 Madison Avenue, New York 22

December 12, 1957

CBS NEWSMAN HOWARD K. SMITH TO PROVIDE DOUBLE OUTLOOK ON WORLD CONDITIONS IN YEAR END APPRAISAL DEC. 29

CBS News Correspondent Howard K. Smith, one of the nine outstanding CBS newsmen taking part in "Years of Crisis: 1957," CBS News' ninth annual summary of world conditions (Sunday, December 29, 4:00-5:00 PM, EST, CBS Television), will be wearing two hats for this year's presentation of the award-winning year-end appraisal.

Smith's reassignment to CBS News in Washington last summer marked the completion of an eleven-year stint as CBS News Correspondent in London. As a result, Smith will be providing viewers with a double outlook on "Years of Crisis: 1957." He will offer assessments of British attitudes and policies for the first six months of 1957 and will then turn his attention to prevailing conditions in Washington for the last six months.

Smith's contribution to "Years of Crisis: 1957" will join similar assessments by the eight other CBS newsmen on world conditions, each appraising the social, political and economic changes in the parts of the world to which they are assigned.

Edward R. Murrow is serving again as moderator of the round-table discussion. In addition to Smith, CBS newsmen participating in "Years of Crisis: 1957" are: Eric Sevareid, Washington; Alexander Kendrick, London; David Schoenbrun, Paris; Winston Burdett, Rome; Ernest Leiser, Bonn; Daniel Schorr, Moscow; and Peter Kalischer, Tokyo.

* * *

Special Pgm

Press Information
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.

December 19, 1957

NINE TOP CBS NEWSMEN TO REPORT "YEARS OF CRISIS: 1957"

Ninth Annual Year-End Appraisal of World Situation

To Be Presented On Network Broadcast Sunday, Dec. 29

On Sunday, December 29, 4:00-5:00 PM, EST, CBS News will present its ninth annual year-end appraisal of the world situation, "Years of Crisis: 1957," with nine outstanding CBS News correspondents reporting on the changes in world conditions in their respective areas.

The nine CBS Newsmen, who will report "Years of Crisis: 1957" 'live' from New York over the CBS Television Network, are:

EDWARD R. MURROW.....who serves once again as moderator of "Years of Crisis." Mr. Murrow, perhaps the most honored man in broadcasting, has been with CBS since 1935, covered the London blitz during World War II and is seen regularly on "See It Now" and "Person to Person."

ERIC SEVAREID.....Chief Washington Correspondent for CBS News, Mr. Sevareid covered World War II battlefronts on both sides of the globe for CBS News. A Midwesterner, he is a veteran newspaperman and has written a number of articles and books. He has been with CBS for more than eighteen years.

HOWARD K. SMITH.....presently assigned to CBS News, Washington, spent eleven years in London as CBS Chief Correspondent. He joined CBS News in Berlin in 1941, covered the war in Europe as well as the Nuremberg crime trials for CBS. Author of "Last Train from Berlin." Returned to U.S. this summer from his European post.

(More)

ALEXANDER KENDRICK.....joined CBS News in Vienna in 1948. Prior to that he had worked for various American newspapers for twenty years. Presently CBS News correspondent in London, he has traveled throughout Europe in his work and has covered war from China to Mexico.

DAVID SCHOENBRUN.....CBS News Correspondent in Paris, where he has been stationed since 1947. Holder of the French Croix de Guerre and the Legion of Honor, he once taught romance languages in New York. During the war he was with military intelligence in Europe and North Africa, became a combat correspondent in 1944. This year he wrote a penetrating analysis of France and the French, "As France Goes."

WINSTON BURDETT.....with CBS News since 1942, is stationed in Rome. A Harvard graduate, he was a war correspondent in Moscow, Cairo, Ankara, India, North Africa, Paris, the Balkans and the Mediterranean. He has also reported for CBS News from Washington, New York and the United Nations.

ERNEST LEISER.....CBS News Correspondent in Bonn, West Germany, has been reporting news for over sixteen years. Before becoming CBS News Correspondent in Bonn last year, he was producer-editor of CBS Television's "The Sunday News" and "The American Week." He covered the European Theatre of Operations during World War II for Overseas News Agency and Stars and Stripes.

DANIEL SCHORR.....has been CBS News Correspondent in Moscow since 1955. A veteran of twenty-three years in the news-reporting field, he covered Europe for CBS News, The New York Times and other newspapers before being assigned to CBS News, Washington, from where he went to Moscow. During World War II, he was with Army intelligence in Europe.

PETER KALISCHER.....is CBS News Correspondent in Tokyo, covering Japan and Southeast Asia. Formerly Far East Correspondent for "Collier's Magazine," he was with Counter-Intelligence in the South Pacific during World War II.

"Years of Crisis: 1957" is a CBS News presentation under the direction of John F. Day, CBS Director of News. Don Hewitt is the director.

"Years of Crisis: 1957" will be presented on the CBS Radio Network 12:05-12:55 PM, EST, the same day.

Spec Pgms. Yrs. of Crisis

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication
January 15, 1958

to: Mr. Mickelson

cc: Mr. Day
Mr. Murrow
Mr. Oppenheim

from: Miss Friel

More than 600 letters regarding YEARS OF CRISIS: 1957 have been handled by my office as of this date. The breakdown of this mail follows:

Requests for transcripts	
Addressed to CBS	269
Addressed to Mr. Murrow	225
Comments re the show	
Addressed to CBS	37
Addressed to Mr. Murrow	95
Total	626

All 494 requests have been filled. Another 200 transcripts have been available for distribution in your office and Mr. Day's office, making a total of nearly 700 transcripts given free of charge to the public, including legislators and foreign embassies.

CBS comments have been personally acknowledged, including the half-dozen protests referring to Winston Burdett and the "gloomy" tone of the show. Those comments addressed to Mr. Murrow will be acknowledged with a note over your signature just as quickly as possible.

CF:jod

cf

Hewitt, Don

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: John Day

from: Don Hewitt cc: Messrs. Mickelson, Murrow

January 5, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL

After giving much thought to the failure of this year's YEARS OF CRISIS to live up not only to other years but to the rest of our year-end shows, I have come up with some thoughts for your consideration:

(1.) The only valid reason to gather a group of correspondents around a table for a one-hour show is to provide stimulating conversation.

(2.) The most stimulating conversation can be provided by Murrow, Sevareid, Smith, Kendrick, Schoenbrun, Burdett, Hottelet and Bill Downs. (Based on the experience of other years.)

(3.) There is no reason to departmentalize this show geographically. A discussion of the Far East by Sevareid and Smith would probably provide more food for thought than a report by Kalischer. A discussion of Berlin by Schoenbrun and Hottelet would hold the viewer's interest longer than a straight report by Leiser. The fact that these men do not report from these particular locales is not as important as the fact that they are analysts in the best sense of the word and can evaluate the importance of events in every corner of the globe in respect to the over-all world picture.

(4.) As for straight year-end reports, I think the BIG NEWS OF '58 is a better format for that type of thing.

D. H.

pb

Hewitt, Don

June 12, 1958

Dear Oscar:

There is an able boy in our shop who has been bending my ear for months about the attached informal memo.

Dost thou think it has any merit?

As ever yours,

Mr. Oscar Hammerstein, 2nd
488 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

fc

sent C.C. of memo from D.H.
and sent letter from Oscar
saying so

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Ed Murrow

from: Don Hewitt

June 2, 1958

Not having heard from you re the Murrow-Rodgers-Hammerstein project, I was wondering if you still thought it had merit. If you do, I would appreciate your advice on how to proceed from here. Do you think it might be worth my discussing it with Paley? And if so, I would be most grateful if you would call his attention to it as a program idea for next year.

D. H.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Ed Murrow

from: Don Hewitt

Called

May 7, 1958

I hope I'm not becoming a bloody nuisance BUT I keep thinking that the idea we discussed for a series of Rodgers and Hammerstein musicals in some of the world's major cities could very well turn out to be Television's proudest moment.

Some years ago, SEE IT NOW came on the scene as Television's prestige presentation in the News and Public Affairs field. Why not attempt now to give Television a prestige presentation in the entertainment field?

Since we first discussed this idea I have given considerable thought to this project and see it like this:

Two two-hour shows to be done a year.

I suggest London for a starter. (1) because we both know it so well (you much better than I) and (2) because it is your old stamping ground and a natural kickoff to a new Murrow series.

I propose that Rodgers and Hammerstein take London and do with it what they did with "Green Grow the Lilacs" (Oklahoma).... "Lilliom" (Carousel).... "Anna and the King of Siam" (The King and I).

They would do London in music and lyrics much the way they would if they were preparing it for a Broadway stage. The only difference being that they would be preparing it for actual presentation in the streets of London. A number about Trafalgar Square would be played in Trafalgar Square.... a number about London Bridge would be played on London Bridge....etc., etc. The best way I can express myself on this is to use a rather cornball phrase, but it should be a wedding of the old Fitzpatrick travelogue and "My Fair Lady."

I would like to take a four-camera remote unit to London with video tape and shoot the production numbers in almost the same manner we shot the political conventions, the Army-McCarthy Hearing, World Series ball games and heavyweight fights WITH THE CAMERA AS AN EAVESDROPPER. I think the staging of the numbers should be done by a Michael Kidd, a Jerome Robbins or a Josh Logan. We would merely provide the medium to take the viewer to Trafalgar Square, Bond Street, Picadilly, etc.... television in this case doing what it does so well, merely being a conduit between a Rodgers and Hammerstein number in London and the viewers living room. We should not attempt to superimpose any of television's shennanigans on the Rodgers and Hammerstein's communication with our audience.

I think we would have a winner if we kept in mind all the way through that the only reason to put these numbers on television at all is because it is impossible for you to physically take sixty million people to London to watch it in person. I think the narration holding the production together should be written by Oscar Hammerstein for you so it is in keeping with the mood they want to create. Your role, as I see it, would be that of a story teller.

Editing video tape would present no problem. I would record each production number on a separate tape, then mix them in a master mixing session back in New York. There is no reason why we can't mix video tape in the same manner as we mix audio tape.

Ed, please don't think me a pain in the ass for annoying you on this project, but I am convinced that this one would make an even bigger splash than the inauguration of the SEE IT NOW series.

Let's do what television does best - taking people places and marry it with what the theatre does best - Rodgers and Hammerstein musicals.

As far as my own part in this project I would like to be a member of the firm that packages the productions. I would also like to be executive producer in charge of getting this production from London to American living rooms via video tape. In no way shape or manner do I see myself producing or directing these musical numbers.

If I may be allowed to daydream out loud I would be most proud if the opening credits of the first production read: Edward R. Murrow and Don Hewitt present "Rodgers and Hammerstein's London." Subsequent shows to read: "ERM and DH present:" "Rodgers and Hammerstein's Paris," "Rodgers and Hammerstein's Vienna," "Rodgers and Hammerstein's Rome," "Rodgers and Hammerstein's Tokyo," "Rodgers and Hammerstein's New York."

DH:hg

Cuba -
Latin America -
Canada -

John Day
430 Lex -
19th floor

YEARS OF CRISIS

I. PRESENT

1. What is most important development in your area today - right now?

   All correspondents, maximum 30 secs each
   (four mins overall)

2. Most important single development on whole planet?

   Open to all, 20 secs each
   (2 mins, 40 secs overall)

3. How would you characterize this year?

   Quick 15 secs each (one minute overall)

   Smith
   Kalb
   Schoenbrun
   Kendrick

4. Change in personal leadership, actual and potential.

   Maximum 45 secs each (3 mins overall)

   Smith (actual in US)
   Burdett (actual in Africa)
   Schoenbrun (potential)
   Schorr (potential)
   Hottelet

5. Changed attitude toward neutralism.

   Minute each (3 mins overall)

   ~~Hottelet~~
   Kalischer
   Burdett

6. Chinese-Soviet relations: How "neutral" toward each other?

   Kalb takes one minute
   Hottelet makes brief comment on UN angle,
   also Russian effort to wreck UN
   Kalischer: But would Red China recognize <u>us</u>?

   (Approx 3 mins overall)

7. Are we placing too much emphasis on under-developed countries and neglecting our established allies? ("Eyes of the fool are on the ends of the earth.")

One minute each (5 mins overall)

Smith (Latin America)
Kalischer
Schoenbrun
Hottelet
Burdett

II. FUTURE

8. American leadership in world has become almost a cliche. How much <u>real</u> leadership do we have? How much actual, how much potential?

Murrow opens with Smith. Magnitude of problem. ("What's going to matter is not what we <u>say</u> but what we <u>are</u>.") They take approx 2:30.

9. What is required? What do we do to make our country a real potent force again, in terms of everything from arms to education?

(This should be real, free-wheeling
(discussion with National Goals report
(as guide. Teed up by Smith.

Smith
Schoenbrun - NATO
Burdett - Africa
Kendrick - Six's and Seven's
Kalischer - SEATO, Japan
Hottelet - Latin America, UN. (What happens if UN fails?)
Kalb - Hazards and possibilities of summitry
Schorr - Berlin
Kendrick, Schorr - Will allies share load?

Summary & Conclusions

10. Question nobody asks: Can the American free economy...the so-called free enterprise system...compete successfully with Russian trade monopoly?

Kalb
Kendrick
Schorr
Burdett
Smith
Kalischer

Summary

What's for the longpoint

11. Flashpoints.

12. Three-line summaries, each correspondent. What would you recommend? What must we do to be saved?

13. Murrow wrap

Note: Let-up piece needed. Possibilties: Schorr and Kendrick on the reaction of "despondents" to dollar cutback. Kendrick and Schoenbrun on the attitude of Adenauer and DeGaulle toward "these youngsters" who are assuming power

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: MESSRS. DUNBERT, KAIB, KALINCHER, KIRSHNER, SCHAMBERGER, SCHEER, SMITH

cc: Mr. Barrow

from: John F. Day

November 17, 1960

I told you the other day in the memo announcing YEARS OF CRISIS plans that we probably would have a luncheon session. This seems now to have been set.

We plan to have a luncheon under auspices of Columbia University and the Columbia School of Journalism in the Waldorf Ballroom at 12:30 Friday, December 30.

We will follow pretty much the format used in past years for Overseas Press Club luncheon.

JFD

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: John Day

from: Ed Murrow

December 5, 1960

YEARS OF CRISIS

I think your present schedule for arrival is all right - let's live dangerously.

Suggest we break it down as follows:

THE PRESENT

(We ignore the past except where absolutely essential.)

1. Most important development in your area during the past year (this can include brief mention American prestige where indicated.)

2. Change in leadership, actual and potential.

3. Generalizations about underdeveloped and emerging nations (are we placing too much emphasis and attention upon these rather than established allies?) This would include reports on present position Africa, Cuba, Latin America, Southeast Asia and also, I hope, brief comment on our changed attitudes towards Neutralists.

4. China and Russia (are they involved in real friction with the possibility of ultimate collision or is this merely another interminable ideological debate?)

5. International organizations (present status NATO, SEATO, United Nations) - how adequate is Western collaboration in economic and financial fields?

THE FUTURE

1. What are prospects for Communist block action in Algeria, Off-shore Islands, Berlin?

2. Which way are the Neutrals moving?

3. (And I see this as the real meat of the discussion,) what must we do to be saved? Under this we deal with what we must do domestically regarding arms, education, economics, race relations.

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: John Day

from: Ed Murrow

YEARS OF CRISIS - 2 December 5, 1960

4. Foreign Affairs - disarmament, strengthening of alliances, summitry, propaganda, relations with underdeveloped and neutrals, NATO, the United Nations. Finances and organization - nuclear weapons for allies - Off-shore Islands - what to do to improve our image abroad - prospects brush fire war or big war - should we compete economically with Russian trade monopoly which can operate for political purposes and in violation of normal economic and financial procedures?

I suggest the conclusion ought to go something like this, "In this country it is a time of special reports, studies, and recommendations. You gentlemen have spent a combined total of 140 years looking at our country from the outside. If you now had to deliver yourselves of a three-sentence recommendation regarding future policy, foreign and domestic, what would it be?"

It seems to me we ought to try for a dividend resulting from the fact that this program is preceded by only one conversation, that nobody around the table except old Murrow has a single note. Further, I think the preliminary conversation should concentrate on the amount of time devoted to each segment and not the specific content of the answers. I have the feeling that in the past having a long discussion of content has tended to cause each man to compromise his views just a little in order to accommodate himself to a colleague who holds a different view. This method may produce some confusion unless we can maintain discipline, but at least there ought to be a little healthy controversy.

gw

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: MESSRS. BURDETT, KALB, KALISCHER, KENDRICK, SCHOENBRUN, SCHORR, SMITH

from: John F. Day

cc: Messrs. Mickelson
Murrow

November 15, 1960

We have scheduled a YEARS OF CRISIS program on television 10 to 11 PM Thursday, December 29th. (There will not be a YEARS OF CRISIS show on radio, but BACKGROUND for January 1 will be extended to 50 minutes and some or all of you will be asked to participate in that.)

Ed Murrow will be, as in past years, the moderator.

I have discussed with Sig Mickelson and with Ed the general approach we will take. I believe there is unanimous agreement that we over-produced the last YEARS OF CRISIS we did two years ago. This time I would like to start out with brief memos from each of you as soon as possible suggesting the areas you think we should cover this year. By areas I don't mean geographical areas but rather news areas. From these, Ed and I will block out a general outline. Then on December 28th we will have a session in which we will discuss our show, but we will not undertake to polish it down as we did two years ago or to write a script as we have in past years. We will return to the simple round-table staging, with some sort of background walls rather than shooting in limbo.

All of you should be in New York on the evening of Tuesday, December 27th, so that we can meet no later than 10 AM Wednesday, December 28th.

The show will be done live from a New York studio on December 29th. We probably will have a luncheon session, such as the Overseas Press Club luncheon, while you are in the States. I will give you plans as soon as they are made.

DEC 30

JFD

John Day

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: Ed Murrow

from: John Day

November 30, 1960

Here are some notes I have drawn up as a basis for discussion when we get together for lunch next Tuesday.

(I have asked the men to be in New York by the evening of Tuesday, December 27th so we can have our first meeting at 10 a.m. December 28th. The show is at 10 p.m. December 29th. I wonder if I shouldn't ask them to come on the 26th so we will have Tuesday as well as Wednesday before the day of the show?)

JD

YEARS OF CRISIS, 1960

1. 1960 started a new decade, and for America 1961 starts a new era with the youngest elected President succeeding the oldest ever to serve. What are the problems the new administration faces and what hopes for solution?

2. The question of American leadership and prestige was debated and discussed in 1960. It won't be forgotten in 1961. Eisenhower's Commission on National Goals has made recommendations which jibe with much of what Kennedy has been saying, not with what Eisenhower and Nixon said. This report, dealing with national defense, foreign aid, education, racial discrimination, military alliances, medical insurance, urban renewal, trade policies--and taxes--could well be the basis for a considerable portion of the discussion.

3. The seething, emerging nations. The theme of youth taking over from old hands can't be drawn too far, because such men as Adenauer, Khrushchev, DeGaulle and MacMillan are still there. But there is certainly an emergence of new and young leadership in the African nations, and threats to the old regimes exist around the world-- in Europe itself, but more particularly in Latin America, and in Asia.

4. Point 3 ties into the youth demonstrations which brought new regimes to Korea and Turkey and Japan, threaten to do so in many other parts of the world.

5. We must deal more than briefly with Africa because in a sense it is the synthesis of many problems and themes of the decade of the 60's -- our leadership, the change of regimes, colonialism, all of the actions that go to make up American foreign policy and, most importantly, the new fulcrum of the cold war. Africa has become a much bigger, more important and more dangerous Middle East.

6. We must examine the Castro revolution and its meaning to other countries of Latin America.

7. The growing strength of China and its relationship to the Soviet Union -- this is another for exploration. In offering arms to the Algerian nationalists, China has entered the African picture and she is no longer something seething within her own borders.

8. We must give some attention to what is going on in the United Nations and to its future role and destiny. Khrushchev didn't succeed in destroying it, but he shook it up. And the balance of power is shifting with the addition of new nations. Some basic changes in the UN

structure must be made. For example, Mauretania may bring membership in the General Assembly to 100. A system of weighted voting, depending on population or some other formula, may have to be evolved.

9. We might examine Summitry, with the emphasis on what new steps may be taken toward a Summit or Summits.

I think we must NOT get bogged down in discussion of specific EVENTS of 1960. I see little to be gained, for instance, in rehashing the U-2 incident, the collapse of the Summit, the September UN session, the US election itself.

Also, I don't think we can spend much time on such specifics as what life is like in Berlin these days and how Willy Brandt's campaign is going; the Common Market vs. the European Free Trade Area; Britain's economic situation; DeGaulle's referendum on Algerian independence.

There is so much to be dealt with in the broad sweep of current history in which we are engulfed, the recent events and the obvious specifics must be the TAKING OFF POINTS for examination of the big problems and the seeking for NEW APPROACHES to such matters as foreign aid, colonialism and the systems of alliances.

COPY

3:30-4:00 PM

Sunday - Dec. 31

3:30-4:30

AS BROADCAST

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

ANNOUNCER _____

PRODUCTION Jack Hight

(opening billboard)

ANNOUNCER: Your Chevrolet dealer presents The Challenge of the '50s . . . Years of Crises.

3:30 PM

5-1-1

England, 1950

Edward R. Murrow Trailer #1

for

THE CHALLENGE OF THE '50s — YEARS OF CRISES

This is Ed Murrow with ~~news of~~ a word about an important program. CBS News correspondents are just back from assignments to news centers everywhere. Be sure to see and hear them, and their interviews with key statesmen for, a ~~vital~~ clearer picture of the state of the world.

This is Edward R. Murrow in New York. I am in a goodly company surrounded by nine of Columbia's correspondents. We shall discuss the Challenge of the Fifties.

For the past few months, our foreign correspondents all over the world have been traveling ... interviewing statesmen and ordinary citizens ... trying to get the facts on which they will base the reports they will give you. In all, we estimate that as a group we've covered _____ thousand miles by airplane, railroad, automobile and on foot, to get this story. First, permit them to introduce themselves:

I'm Bill Costello .... just back from the Korean war zone. On the way home, I made a quick survey of conditions in the Philippines, Southeast Asia and India.

--

(SMITH - SELF INTRODUCTION)

(COLLINGWOOD - SELF INTRODUCTION)

(SCHOENBRUN - SELF INTRODUCTION)

(HOTTELET - SELF INTRODUCTION)

SELF INTRODUCTION.

I am Howard K. Smith. My beat for the past five years has been Europe -- all of it, on both sides of the Iron Curtain --- with headquarters in London.

****

kk

COLLINGWOOD: I DIDN'T HAVE TO COME FROM ANY FARTHER AWAY THAN WASHINGTON, D.C. WHERE, AS WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENT, I COVER THAT PLACE AND OTHER WASHINGTON DEPARTMENTS -- WHICH SOMETIMES IS LIKE REPORTING FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

****

kk

SCHOENBRUN -----SELF-INTRODUCTION

I'm David Schoenbrun, Paris correspondent most of the time, but this year on a roving beat through five western European countries: Holland, Belgium, France, Spain and Portugal--- The only thing those countries have in common is an Atlantic coastline --- ~~Come to think of it, that's quite a responsibility to share.~~

****

kk

This is Richard C. Hottelet.

I've come home to report on my territory, which is Germany and Scandinavia.

I'll be broadcasting from Germany again next week -- if it's still there.

****

Self-Introduction.

I am Winston Burdett. My headquarters is Rome, Italy. For this program I visited Belgrade to report on Marshal Tito's regime ... That is as close as an American reporter can get these days to the Cominform side of Europe. (15 sec.)

******

(LE SUEUR - SELF INTRODUCTION)

(CALMER - SELF INTRODUCTION)

I'm Larry Le Sueur. I cover the United Nations...

It's been a big year.... There've been a lot of important changes... I'd like to tell you about it later.

****

CALMER: I'm Ned Calmer. I've done about 15,000 miles of traveling in Central and South America this year, covering both the east and west coasts as far south as Chile and Argentina. As recently as two weeks ago I finished a trip to Mexico, Cuba and Puerto Rico. -- ~~and I must say I was tempted to stay down~~ there ~~in all that sunshine~~.

SEVAREID:

Question 1. Introduction 15 secs.

Eric Sevareid, CBS Washington Correspondent.

I haven't been out of the country this year, but I have been out in the country a great deal with long reporting trips through the midwest in particular working on the principle that you can't put both ears to the ground without burying your head in the sand.

MURROW: Now, a word from Bud Colyer for Chevrolet.

COPY

(first commercial)

ANNOUNCER: At the beginning of this year, your Chevrolet dealer had the privilege of bringing you a summary of the world situation by many of the same distinguished news analysts gathered here today. Now, twelve months later, we are again glad to present these significant, first-hand reports from around the globe as a further contribution to public knowledge and understanding of international problems. And for himself, your Chevrolet dealer would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your friendship and patronage during these past twelve months. In 1950, as for the entire twenty year period since 1931, more people bought Chevrolets than any other make. Not only that, but more people bought Chevrolets this year than in any previous year, necessitating the production of the 25 millionth Chevrolet less than six months after completion of the 24 millionth. For this record-breaking endorsement of Chevrolet value, Chevrolet and your Chevrolet dealer are sincerely grateful.

MURROW: This afternoon we shall attempt to examine our relations with the aggressive forces of world communism... the strength and willingness of our allies... what can be done by individual nations or thru collective action and finally these friends and fellow reporters will give you their personal estimates as to whether a general war is imminent.. In Asia there is bloody collision between the forces of free world and communism.. Bill Costello has just come from there .....

2.35 secs.

QUESTION 1

COSTELLO:

In the Far East, the cold war came to an end last June.. with the invasion of South Korea. It seems fairly well agreed that communism resortodto armed force because political devices for the conquest of Asia had produced only a stalemate. Communism had shown its ability to create unrest in Asia -- and to conquer by force in China -- but it had not been able to win a single political victory, even by capitalizing on the great twentieth-century social revolution which was taking place throughout Asia. On the other hand, the Reds found they could win by force because most Asians are too backward politically to make an intelligent choice between democracy and communism. They see little or no difference. None of them has ever had any economic privileges, or personal liberties. The great mass of peasants ~~had nothing to lose by a change in the outward forms of government. They~~ were not prepared either to welcome or oppose communism.

A vast number of Asiatics might have been willing to oppose communism if they had been able to see through its ideological disguise, and identify it for what it is; the third great wave of modern imperialism. All Asians learned to hate the first -- the European -- wave of imperialism which over-ran Asia in the last century. They hated and helped to defeat the second -- the Japanese -- wave of imperialism which tried to supplant European colonialism in the Second World War.

(More)

[redacted] They still do not see that Soviet Russia-- with the collaboration of China-- is now embarked on a third attempt to dominate the backward little nations of the Far East. Hence, they're not aware that their passionate desire for self-government is again threatened. The United States and the western democracies have not made the issue clear to them.

Communism has taken advantage of this confusion of thought -- and of the military and economic weakness -- in Asia to launch three invasions ... in Korea, in Tibet and in Indo-China.
The communist decision to use bullets, instead of ballots, in futherance of its expanionist program in Asia has driven us back on the defensive ... and we are threatened with the loss of vast areas simply because Asia is too feeble and too apathetic to defend itself. Our fault is that we have given Asia no reason to fight, even for the preservation of its own aspirations.

6ro

(MURROW INTROES SMITH)

Bill Costello has told us about the enemy in Asia. The conflict in Europe takes a different form. Here's Howard K. Smith with his analysis.

630

"How are we doing with our enemies (in Europe?)"

.....

SMITH: Well, our situation vis-a-vis the Russians is a little better at the moment in Europe than it is in Asia. The instruments of Russia's initiative in the Cold War are the native Communist parties in each country. In Asia, they are big and growing stronger. In Europe on the other hand, they have been growing weaker ~~and weaker~~. Thanks to Marshall aid, life all over Western Europe has grown much better .... with the consquences of demoralization in the ranks of Russia's fifth columns. This has been the first year since the war that the French and Italian Communists have not been able to muster enough strength to carry out any of those big nation-wide strikes -- near civil wars -- that marked 1947, 48 and 49. In every European election this year, the Communist vote has fallen radically.

But now, with Korea, and the beginning of rearmament, the situation is beginning to change. Europe's economics are just barely convalescent. Rearmament will certainly send most of them back into a state of very precarious health. As a British paper put it recently, rearmament -- bringing inevitably rising prices and falling real wages to Europe's already low-paid workers -- may create more communists in Western Europe than it contains in Eastern Europe.

(more)

SMITH: (continued)

The fear in Europe is that the Russians, by maintaining a threat of war and provoking Europe to rearm, may create a situation whereby they can get Europe from within without making war. That is our dilemma in Europe, and we might as well face it.

803

--

(MURROW INTROES COLLINGWOOD)

We've heard a summary of the crisis as it looks to the Europeans and the people of Asia. Now.. what about America.. how do our people feel about it? Here's Charles Collingwood our White House correspondent.

8/3

First piece on year-end show.

CHARLES COLLINGWOOD: I think that American leaders would agree with the general outline of the crisis as presented by Howard Smith and Bill Costello. However, Washington, naturally enough, sees it from a somewhat different perspective. While American leaders are perfectly aware of the long term problem of economic, social and political rehabilitation that Howard and Bill have been talking about, I think it is fair to say that right now their principal pre-occupation is with the military aspect of the situation. This, they think, must be solved first or we'll never get a chance to do anything else. Washington is acutely aware of the fact that militarily Russia is stronger than we. The other day I was talking with Stuart Symington, who is uniquely qualified to make an appraisal -- He saw the military side as Secretary of the Air Force, and now sees the economic side as one of our top mobilization planners -- and this is what he said: 907

830

9-

(BRIEF EXCERPT FROM SYMINGTON TAPE)

SYMINGTON:

I think we all should realize that for over 5-yrs. whereas this country has been working towards peace, the communists have been carefully planning steady aggression. As a result of that long lead, over this period of years, it's obvious to anybody that they're far superior to us on the land. It's also obvious that they're superior, in our opinion anyway, under the sea. On the sea, we are superior. But in the air, it's my belief that now they are superior. And, therefore, if we don't face up to this menace, immediately, we're liable to meet disaster. (45 sec.)

951

COLLINGWOOD:

That's a pretty grim picture, and our military problem is further complicated by the fact that this administration is firmly committed to the principal that American security can only be assured if world security is assured. From President Truman on down, every top American leader is convinced that it would be folly to pull back our defenses to our own shores. General Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, made this point when I talked to him in the Pentagon.

(SHORT BRADLEY TAPE)

BRADLEY:

As things go, we really face a few problems, one, is fighting this war in the East and trying to protect this nation and help carry out the edict of the United Nations. But at the same time we realize that there are threats .. other places, in fact, greater threats to the security of the United States.

COLLINGWOOD:

What General Bradley was talking about was Europe. The defense of Europe is part of our dual military problem. Now its perfectly clear that the United States can't defend Europe by itself. The main burden must rest on the Europeans. That's why the United States has been pressing so hard for an integrated European Army, why we have sent General Eisenhower over to command it.

1100

It's also why Washington is sometimes irritated and dismayed by the failure of Europe to organize its defenses as quickly as we think is necessary.

1113

(MURROW INTROES "IS WESTERN EUROPE DEFENSIBLE"-
INTROES SCHOENBRUN)

We turn now to the question: "Can Western Europe be defended?"

1119 We hear first from David Schoenbrun.

IS WESTERN EUROPE DEFENSIBLE?

SCHOENBRUN: I've asked that question myself at least a hundred times in the course of a reporting trip through France, Spain and Portugal.. These past 3 weeks asked it of ordinary people and of chiefs of state. Perhaps the most effective answer came from a cynical little Parisian sports writer one night about two weeks ago. We were sitting at ringside in the Palais des Sports waiting to watch ~~American World champion Sugar Ray Robinson go into action against~~ a French fighter. My friend pointed up to Robinson, and said: "He's going to win all right, but he'll know he's been in a scrap.. That's the only thing that counts," said the Frenchman, "to put up a real tough fight. If you can make it tough enough maybe the other fellow won't start it."

12 Those, I think, are words of wisdom that apply particularly to the problem of Western European defence. No one seriously thinks the Red Army can be stopped on the continent. But if Europe can build up enough punch on land and in the air to make aggression a costly adventure then maybe there won't be any aggression.

~~I heard this view expressed more elegantly but essentially the same idea by the French Prime Minister who told me in an interview prepared for this report~~: "If we all merge our forces urgently -- materials and manpower --- we can achieve an effective posture of defense and discourage an eventual aggressor."

12/30

- more -

-09

SCHOENBRUN: (CTD) But the most dramatic expression of this viewpoint came for me just twelve days ago in Spain, in an interview with the Chief of State, General Franco.

You know, the case of Spain is becoming one of the hottest issuesof the day. It's an open secret that the military men of the western world are urging the political leaders to bring Spain into the western defense program. They stress Spain's military assets for the west: notably air bases behind the Pyrenees and some 22 Spanish army divisions, more than twice as many as the allies now have in western Europe. I went down to Spain to find out how they felt about it, and was fortunate enough to be granted an interview with General Franco himself, just twelve days ago. I brought back a recording of that interview -- Let's listen a second to General Franco in Spanish: (TAPE)

That was General Franco saying that he hoped for better understanding and friendship in America. He went on to say this. I quote: "It is incredible, in view of today's danger, to find so many countries divided by weakness, selfishness and hesitations." Franco said then that all the Western Nations should get together on a common policy against aggression.

Spain, said Franco, feels united in spirit with the fighting forces of the United Nations. As for an eventual aggressor, Franco said that Spain was lacking in arms but had enough to sell its independence dearly. This was a pretty clear hint that Spain wants arms aid and is ready to share in western defense responsibilities if asked.

- more -

SCHOENBRUN: (CTD) This year of challenge has made strange bed-fellows: Democratic America and communist Yugoslavia; France and Germany. Now Franco Spain emerging from isolationism.

The question of Europe's defense is evoking some extraordinary answers.

1470

Mercrot

There's general agreement that Western Europe cannot be defended without German troops and German production. Dick Hottelet lives and works in Germany.

14 30 HOTTELET: From where I sit the prospect of European defense is not encouraging. Look at the situation in Germany and Scandinavia.

In Eastern Germany the Russians have massed an army group of some 360,000 men. They are well trained and armed to the teeth, backed up by thousands of planes and tanks; and behind them, as far east as White Russia are other still stronger forces.---- The troops and their leaders are tough-- drunk with military glory and poisoned by a propaganda which makes any war against the non-communist world a holy war for the defense of Soviet Russia. They can jump off on a full scale offensive in seven days or less. Between them and the English Channel lies a political and military vaccum which the west is only now beginning to fill. ~~In Germany the western powers~~ have effective ground forces of two British and two American divisions plus three mediocre French divisions and a few handfuls of Belgians, Danes and Norwegians. The only natural line of resistance to a Russian advance is the Rhine River, and competent military observers believe that the Soviet army can cross it and reach the Atlantic Coast in about three weeks.

15 - 15 30

The west is slowly improving and expanding its forces, but I must say that in travelling around Germany and Scandinavia this month I found little evidence that large scale, immediate expansion is planned - or possible. -- Sweden, for instance, with the strongest army in northern Europe, clings to the hope of neutrality. It does not intend to fight unless it is attacked. It would stand by while Russia overran the entire continent, and even northern Norway. tb

16 -

~~with the strongest army in northern Europe, clings to the hope of neutrality. It does not intend to fight unless it is attacked. It would stand by while Russia overran the entire continent, and even northern Norway.~~

As for Germany- the allies are starting from scratch to get the help without which western Europe cannot be held. The German people are still reluctant to take up arms and it will take some time before they are willing to shoulder the risks and duties of this alliance. Then - when this political hurdle has been cleared - the west can begin organizing armed units out of the disorganized civilian mob which is Germany today.

1630

Of course there are certain risks in this for the allies as well. In Frankfort, the other day I put the question to the American High Commissioner in Germany, John J.McCloy. This is what he replied:

1648

MCCLOY: German militarism in the past has caused us great distress, caused the world great distress and misery, but I think it is necessary to permit the Germans to defend themselves and also if that defense takes the form of their incorporation and integration into the European community, I believe that we have sufficient safeguards to take the risk.

17'

1715

MURROW INTRO TO BURDETT FOR TITO, ITALY)

tb

Yugoslavia has the largest army on the continent of Europe -- outside Russia. Winston Burdett was in Yugoslavia a few days ago.

1775

IS WESTERN EUROPE DEFENSIBLE?

YUGOSLAVIA. TIME 3:00
BURDETT. WITH TAPE.

There's been a good deal of anxious speculation this winter about the possibility of Yugoslavia's becoming a "European Korea" in the Spring. The Yugoslavs are the victims of a total economic and political siege by the Cominform countries. Well, you would never suspect it when you first arrive in Belgrade. There is no war scare there... there's hardly a visible sign of the Yugoslavs' very real ~~and deep~~ anxiety. They are about the only people I know who have managed to keep a big army at a high pitch of war readiness... without yielding to panic.

18- This is one striking difference between Yugoslavia and many west European countries. The Yugoslavs have steady nerves. They are not hypnotized by the legend or the reality of Soviet power. They are the opposite of defeatists. They do not fatalistically accept the inevitability of Soviet victory in a major war. The Yugoslav leaders- Tito and his group- are unintimidated men, clear-headed, tough-willed, and securely self-reliant.

This was my first impression after talking last week to
1830 Moshe Pijade, a leading member of the ruling nine-man Politburo, and after talking also with Yugoslav men in the Street.
1838 Here is the voice of one of them:
(12 SEC TAPE FROM YUGOSLAV LAWYER)

YUGO

Well, I think that everything is possible. We Yugoslavs feel that everything can be expected from Russia. But they will not walk in, they would have to fight their way through.

1851

BURDETT CONTINUED:

Communist Yugoslavia today is our strongest military ally on the continent of Europe. Yugoslavia is also one of the few places where our foreign policy this year has been both enterprising and successful. The reason for our success is simple. We have had a definite end in view. Both we and the Yugoslavs have something definite to offer. The Yugoslavs have 32 divisions, a total of 500 thousand fighting men; and that is a minimum estimate. It is more than the combined land armies of all of Atlantic Pact Europe. We have to offer our material aid to the Yugoslav regime. It is economic aid today: we, the United States, are feeding the Yugoslav Army this winter. It will almost certainly be military aid tomorrow: military equipment to enable Tito to keep pace with the rapid military expansion of his Cominform enemies...Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria... whose armies already are double the size allowed by the peace treaties.

From our point of view, aid to Tito is a sound investment in western strength. From Tito's point of view, aid from us is a simple matter of national survival. ~~The unofficial alliance which is now beginning to bind Tito to the west has nothing to do with sentiment... nothing to do with what we think of his internal regime. It is strictly a mutual security arrangement.~~

In event of war, the Yugoslavs would probably have to pull back rapidly from their long, exposed frontiers, and fight a guerrilla battle in the mountain fortress of central Yugoslavia. Most people expect that it would be a long and unrelenting battle.

Britain is our strongest ally. Howard Smith, our Chief European correspondent, makes his headquarters in London. Howard, can western Europe be defended?

30 40

TIME: 1:38 with tape

SECTION THREE: H. K. SMITH

"Is Western Europe defensible, and what are we going to do about it?"

SMITH: Well, Great Britain is one of the few pieces of Europe that is definitely defensible. It is an island, and, even if we do not build up an equal land force to the Russians, if we keep roughly equal air power and our overwhelming superiority at sea, the west can hold it.

21- Like the Yugoslavs, the British will fight, and they can and doubtless will carry their weight. Britain still has the second biggest navy on earth ... and she leads the world, including us, in jet-plane research and development.

But Britain faces one great difficulty. It is economic. Her island produces little of its own food and almost none of its industrial raw materials. Right now, in a peace economy, she is barely paying her way in buying those things from abroad. She will 21 30 not, without a resumption of dollar aid, be able to pay her way on a war economy. However, in my opinion, there is no better defense investment America can make outside the US than Great Britain.

SMITH: Here is what Britain's Defense Minister, Emmanuel Shinwell told me in an interview in London the other day:

2145

SHINWELL: (11 secs) We have a clear responsibility to these people and to the world to see that freedom shall not go down for lack of defense.

2156

MURROW INTRO TO FAR EAST ...

We are committed not only to the defense of western Europe but alo to vast areas of Asia. Bill Costello, what can the people of Asia do to help defend themselves?

TIME 2 Minutes

COSTELLO:

On my trip through Asia, I made a special point of asking about military strength. It was something of a shock to realize that aside from China, no country in Asia today is capable of defending itself against outside aggression. The Philippines, for example, have barely one division...about fifteen thousand men... 2230 and that little army is completely tied down by the depredations of some eight thousand Hukbalahap guerrillas. The Siamese have an army of approximately two divisions, with virtually no heavy weapons and no tanks. Japan has no military force of any kind...and no arsenals in which to create weapons. India has an army of perhaps a quarter of a million, which is costing 46 per cent of its national budget... ~~and the Indians live in perpetual fear of another outbreak of fighting with Pakistan.~~ In startling contrast to this catalog of 23- weakness, the Chinese communists army numbers at least two million men who are fully armed, and perhaps an equal number in organized units which are partly equipped.

Besides manpower, the communists have another colossal advantage in the basic structure of their armies. ~~They are rooting out the old Confucian relationship between ranks.~~ They do not regard officers as social superiors to enlisted men. 2330 The Reds are teaching that commanders are responsible for the welfare of their troops -- just as we do -- and as a result they have a vastly more effective fighting machine than the armies of Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek ~~and others who still believe that officers are a privileged class.~~

COSTELLO CTD:

are responsible for the welfare of their troops...just as we do... and as a result they have a vastly more effective fighting machine than the armies of Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek and others who still believe that officers are a privileged class. The United States cannot possibly find effective allies in Asia until the ruling classes out there learn how to organize effective armies. Our job is to modernize military psychology as skillfully as the communists are changing it in the areas they control.

24-

2407

Murrow:

The defense of Latin America is perhaps as vital as our own.

What's the feeling down there, Calmer.

MURROW QUESTION SOMETHING LIKE: "WHAT'S THE PICTURE IN LATIN AMERICA?"

CALMER: Latin America gave us a lot of vital help in the last war. I went down there this year to look around and see what the prospects are of it should happen again. We need Latin America's strategic minerals...nitrates and copper and tin and oil and raw sugar...all vital war products. Well, we're still getting them, and in larger and larger volume. The fact is, Latin America is our ace in the hole. If worst comes to worst ... If we should lose both Asia and Europe... it becomes, with friendly Canada, our single great reservoir of military and economic help. ..w~~ith the notable exceptio~~n of ~~Peron's Argentina~~. The Latin Americas, with the possible exceptio of Peron's Argentina, is bound to us and the people know it. Listen for example, to the President of Cuba whom I saw two weeks ago...

24 30

24 59

(ten secs. tape)

PRESIDENT CUBA: The people of Cuba...side by side with the people of the United States and we are eager to share and help in the future.

CALMER: Or the governor of Puerto Rico, who was marked for death by the same band of assassins who tried to kill President Truman:

25 15

GOVERNOR PUERTO RICO: We must continue in exhilarated form the purpose to resist aggression with increasing success wherever aggression may develop. That is the obvious immediate need.

25 30

CALMER: We have real friends in Latin America. There's not much worry about Communism -- many signs that it's on the WANE in Latin America -- There's much hatred of Soviet tactics, and a feeling which I found fairly widespread to the effect that the United States better use the atom bomb before the RUSSIANS do. The Latin Americans do NOT expect the war to be carried to their doorsteps. Like the rest of the world, they're now watching developments in Europe.

(MURROW INTRO TO SEVAREID)

MURROW: Most of us in this country are listening to a new "great debate".. should Western Europe be defended. Eric Sevareid if the chief of our Washington correspondents. How does Washington feel about it, Eric?

7608

SEVAREID: TIME 2:20 WITH TAPE

Several times, the National Security Council has argued out this basic question of our defending west Europe; each time, it agreed unanimously that we must. In the Atlantic Treaty we pledged ourselves to go to war if any one of those nations was attacked; in so doing, we were trying to prevent war, by giving the clear notice to Russia that we failed to give the Kaiser or Hitler. Technically it is quite true that in ratifying the treaty, the Senate did not bind us to arming those treaty nations. But those nations hardly dreamed we would fail to help arm them. If we fail, then it is not really a military alliance. Then it is a bad joke at Europe's expense. Then Europe is like a defenceless woman we push in front of us, saying to the gangster, "if you murder her, you'll hear from us later."

26 30

By giving Russia notice in this treaty, we hoped to prevent war itself. If that hope is gone, as it may well be, we must still prevent defeat. Our most responsible military leaders in Washington are agreed that aside from losing Europe's industry if places like Iceland, Britain, Norway or North Africa are taken or outflanked, we would have a desperate time even hitting russia with our air power; the chances of our own defeat would be enormously increased.

27 00

Certainly, the administration still regards the European alliance as a point of strength, not, as does Mr. Hoover, as a point of weakness...

27 30

SEVAREID: I asked secretary Acheson what he regards as our major points of strength. In part, this was his reply----

2742

TAPE "In the first place we have the tremendous source of strength that our cause is right. We are on the side of freedom and on the side of the great spiritual values which have created our country. In the second place we have friends who believe in the same values that we believe and that's a great source of strength. In the third place we and our friends have the greatest industrial capacity in the world, which in turn can make us and our friends strong. And in the fourth place we have not merely potential strength but strength in being.....we have not only these forces in being but we have the power to retaliate against any aggressor who attacks us and our friends...."

2800

2830

Intro to Marshall tape

"I said that in June 1940"

(MURROW TO 2ND COMMERCIAL)

2844

tb

Murrow

We have now tried to sum up for you an answer to the question: Can Western Europe be defended. In a minute we'll look at another source of strength for the free world. But first here's Bud Collyer with a message from Chevrolet.

28 44

COPY

2844

(second commercial)

ANNOUNCER: In no other country is transportation so highly developed as in the United States. It is - at any time and under all conditions - an essential part of our daily life and our national strength. As America's largest motor car manufacturer, Chevrolet has long recognized a responsibility to provide fine, dependable transportation for the greatest possible number of people at the lowest possible cost. You may see the latest expression of this purpose in the new 1951 Chevrolet introduced three weeks ago. It is refreshingly new in styling with longer, lower, more sweeping lines. It is finer in appointments, easier to drive. It is safer . . . with completely new brakes, largest in its field. But, above all, it is soundly and solidly built throughout to serve you well and faithfully over a long time with a minimum of operating and maintenance expense. Your Chevrolet dealer cordially invites your inspection of the new 1951 models now on display.

2940

MURROW: We have neglected one possible method of avoiding this terrible collision which appears to be imminent. There are those here and abroad who regard the United Nations as merely a talking shop without power or resolution. Larry LeSeuer spends most of his time out at the U. N. Let's here what he has to say.

29 sec

TIME: 2:45

LE SUEUR: Ed, before I answer that I'd like to say that a lot of Western European representatives that I've talked to around the delegates' lounge at Lake Success, think that we've been defending Western Europe for the past five years against a Russian occupation... Think we've been protecting it with one atom bomb and the air power to carry them any place in the world. We must not forget that for three years now, there have been a number of American planes capable of carrying the atomic bomb, actually stationed in Britain...For the defense of that Island and of Western Europe, too... Many people think that it's been the presence of the atomic bomb that has protected Western Europe when it was at its weakest...

But to turn to my particular beat, the United Nations, I think that this year the UN has passed one very important test...the test of survival... This country has helped it find ways to function in anything short of total war...

In fact, when we talk about the UN now, we're really talking about our allies...ever since the events of last June, the UN has moved and changed faster than most people may be aware. Here's what happened -- One of the biggest changes is the transformation of the UN from simply a forum to register world opinion, into an action body. ~~How well the UN will succeed in enforcing its first armed decision, is now, of course, part of the fortunes of war. But the UN has actually leaped from its~~

31 00

LE SUEUR: (CTD)

How well the UN will succeed in enforcing its first armed decision, is now, of course, left to the fortunes of war ... But the UN has actually leaped from its role as mediator and conciliator, into an enforcement body...

Without changing the charter, the UN has found a way of getting around its old bug-bear, the VETO ... Now the world assembly has assumed the power to translate its recommendations into ACTION ..

31 30

This in turn has exposed certain weaknesses in the set-up... Things which lead Americans to mutter remarks like the UN dying to the last American..

For as yet, there in NO way for the UN Assembly to compel any member state to follow through on a recommendation for action... It can't compel them to furnish the man-power to back up a decision.. And that's the greatest problem the free nations face today, to confront the Soviet States with equality in man-power...

But it's a fact that the free nations have now voted overwhelmingly to earmark a part of their armed forces to carry out United Nations action...

32

- more -

LE SUEUR (CTD)

But I don't want to give the idea that this drastic change in the UN from a forum into an action body, will no longer permit it to serve as a means of trying to mediate the world struggle. I think the great effort of the UN this year, in trying to keep the Korean war from spreading, leaves no doubt that it remains at least a hopeof averting general war ...

3rd

MURROW: Now, just before we see how the rest of the free world feels about the United Nations, let's pause 15 seconds for station identification.

3r35

This is CBS ... the COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM.

3r36

(15 sec pause)

3r51

Again to the question of how the rest of the free world feels about the United Nations.

BILL COSTELLO.....

whiparound

TIME: 20 SECONDS

COSTELLO: A year ago, the nations of Asia had virtually no interest in the United Nations. Today, it is my impression they have one hope --- that the U.N. may be able to offer them some guarantee of collective security. They don't want intervention which smacks of imperialism, but they desperately need military and economic aid which has the moral sanction of the free world.

33-

33 70

(MURROW PASSES TO SMITH)

tb

MURROW: How About Britain, Smith?

TIME: 18 SECONDS

SMITH: More, successful British history has been made by talking at international conference tables than by fighting on battlefields. There's an English adage, "where there's talk, there's hope". So, in Britain support for the UN as a last meeting ground with the Communists is never even called into question.

33 30

33 40

(MURROW TO SCHOENBRUN)

tb

MURROW: How does the United Nations look to the countries you've covered, Schoenbrun?

SCHOENBRUN: There are almost as many attitudes towards the UN as there are countries to report from in western Europe.

Spain, which is not in the UN, would like to be.

Portugal, [redacted], says it doesn't care one way or the other, and will pin its faith to the North Atlantic banner.

34-

As for France, it supports the UN in principle, but is frankly much more interested in by-passing it through direct negotiations with the Russians in a four-power conference.

34 0 6

(MURROW TO HOTTELET)

tb

MURROW: Now-- Dick Hottelet.

TIME: 15 SEC.

HOTTELET: In Germany and Scandinavia ordinary citizens and their leaders seem to have a new faith in the UN since it met the challenge of aggression in Korea. The UN has survived the kind of crisis which killed the old League of Nations; and people hope, but are not sure, that it will stand the strain which lies ahead.

34"

(MURROW TO BURDETT)

MURROW: The Yugoslavs have played both sides of the fence in the UN. Where do they stand now, Burdette?

TIME 20 SECONDS

BURDETT: Yugoslavia has a tremendous stake in the United Nations; The Yugoslavs know they could not survive alone in a general war: they could only survive as a partner in a system of collective security that works. That is why they are today passionately devoted to the U.N., with its pledge to protect the independence of small countries. The Charter of the United Nations is, in fact, a charter for Yugoslavia's national existence.

34 VJ

(MURROW TO CALMER)

mf.

MURROW: Tell us about Latin-America and the United Nations, Calmer.

TIME: 20 SEC

CALMER: The Latin American countries [redacted] found a new world position in the United Nations. It dignifies the small democracies of the south -- it helps unify them, too -- and each nation, however small, can rise and speak its piece in the U.N. on equal footing with every other power. There's no question that they support our side ---

35'8

(MURROW TO SEVAREID)

MURROW: Now Sevareid suppose you sum up the American view.

TIME: 20 SEC

SEVAREID: Most Americans have realized that in the pinch as now, the effectiveness of the UN is no more, no less than the effective power of America and the free nations. But Washington will try to proceed to the end, under UN sanction; not only because this country has signed a contract to that effect, but because it is the best counter to the communist propaganda picture of us as the lone, aggressive wolf.

3547

MURROW: It appears that the United Nations has generated hope almost everywhere, however forlorn or desperate. But we'll need more to meet the enemy. Where else can we look.. what can we do... all of us. Howard Smith can you suggest a solution for the problems of Wester Europe?

36 -

SMITH: TIME 2:15 WITH TAPE

Well, I said earlier, Western Europe is virtually indefensible.. in its present state. Its present state is this: In a space half the size of the U.S., there are in Western Europe 16 nations, choking one another to slow economic death.

Every little national market is being protected from its neighbors by high trade barriers. Behind that protection, 36 30 inefficient, uneconomic industries exist. In our time, when the world has shrunk so small, those national frontiers are an anachronism. They are a main source, I believe, of Europe's weakness, her dependence on foreign aid, and her poverty.

If those national frontiers were obliterated, there would be a single big market of 200 million consumers. Without frontier protection, uneconomic industries would die from petition, and costs of production would drop. Serving a market that vast, the 37 00 remaining efficient industries could standardize their products, rationalize and become much more efficient...bringing still lower costs, which means a higher standard of life.

There would be prosperity, so that Native Communism would dwindle. There could be at long last a big margin of national wealth to spend on defense, so that Russia would no longer dare to probe at ~~and threaten~~ Western Europe.

The beginnings of integration in Europe have begun in the form of the Schumann Plan. Here is what the author of that plan, 37 30 M. Jean Monnet, told my colleague David Schoenbrun about its purpose:

MONET: (45)

The Schuman Plan is a revolutionary attempt to break down national barriers on industry and trade. We would work directly with the materials of life, take German coke and French iron and ore, on both sides of the river Rhine. Together, they mean steel and power; jobs for millions; more and better homes. Nature put them together there - men have kept them apart by turning the Rhine watershed into a political frontier. What we're doing in the Schuman Plan is to tear down these false barriers and giving industry a chance to expand for the greatest good of the greatest number.

38-

38-8

[redacted]

[redacted]

MURROW: Dick Hottelet you've been stationed in Germany.. you've talked with statesmen in Scandinavia.. How would you attack the problem?

38 27

TIME: 2:05 with tape

HOTTELET: It seems to be plain today that the greatest danger is war with the Soviet bloc, and that democracy's greatest need is to survive. None of the other problems of the free world has become any less acute...economic progress, social stability and political reorganization. They have simply been overshadowed by the military might of the Soviet bloc, by its manifest intention to destroy where it cannot persuade.

Once the immediate danger is past there is time once again to do the long-term job which will prevent repetition.

39-

Before I came back to New York last week I had an interview with Halvard Lange, Foreign Minister of Norway who emphasized the need of doing first things first ... here is what he said:

39 12

TIME 40 secs

LANGE: At this moment the major problem for the democratic countries is two-fold: First, the attackers must be repelled through collective action. Secondly, the conflict must be contained 39 30 to prevent its spreading to the rest of the Far East and ultimately to all the world. Events of the past few months have convinced us in Norway as they have convinced other Atlantic treaty nations, that we must achieve a reasonable degree of military preparedness in a much 39 48 shorter time than at first anticipated.

HOTTELET: As long as there is a Soviet bloc, military strength must remain an important part of democratic planning, even though it means a lower standard of living and the restriction of certain 40 00 freedoms. With confidence in its own strength the free world can claim the respect for its legitimate demands which all its conferences plans and protests have failed to extra from Russia in the past five 40 15 years.

REVISED

MURROW: Bill Costello has been asking the leaders of Asia how they would build up strength against Communism.

40 sec

TIME: 2:25

COSTELLO: A trip through Asia today is depressing because it is obvious there is no quick easy way of building allies against communism. We have to start right at bed-rock. It is not enough to provide economic aid through the Point Four Program, as we are doing. It is not enough to send arms and machinery. It is even useless to obtain bases from which our own military forces can operate until we give the people of Asia a reason for opposing communism. Every ~~other~~ Asian, is first of all, a nationalist.... and he will only fight against communism when he sees quite clearly that communism threatens the independence of his country. The Asiatics will begin to help themselves...and permit us to help them.. when they are convinced their new freedom is in danger.

40 30

41 00

(CONT'D)
COSTELLO: From a purely military point of view, Japan occupies a vital place in Asia. The Japanese have the only modern, balanced industrial economy in the whole Far East. Those factories are the greatest single prize in that part of the world. In communist hands, they could produce for China and Siberia, and could make communism almost invulnerable in Asia. On the other hand, if the Japanese are provided with raw materials, and given the rights of sovereignty and self-defense, they can buttress the whole free world in Asia. Japan occupies the same relative position in Asia that Germany does in Europe. The Japanese today are basically hostile toward communism and friendly toward the United States, but they might easily switch sides if they felt national survival depended on an economic alliance with communism on the continent.

America's primary problems in Asia are: to paint communism in its true imperialist colors...and to maneuver Japan back into a position as the industrial workshop for the backward nations of the Far East.

tb

MURROW: In this problem, as in so many others, much of the world looks to America for a solution.. or the suggestion of a solution. Here's our White House correspondent.. Charles Collingwood.

4v30

TIME: 3:00 with Bradley tape

COLLINGWOOD: It's clear enough that there are two parts to any solution we may find to the problems and paradoxes which now confront us. There is the long range problem of creating a world in which aggression cannot flourish. There is the short range problem of bringing to a halt the aggression which is now on the March. Therefore, the free world, under American leadership, must move on two fronts. We must press for the economic and political integration of Europe, as Howard Smith has said. We must convince Asia by words and deeds that we do not stand in the way of her rightful evolution, as Bill Costello has said. We must never lose sight of the kind of world we want eventually to live with. But at the same time we must not forget that the immediate and most pressing task is to frustrate the present threat posed by communist aggression. Something like this is the course on which American policy is now embarked.

43

COLLINGWOOD: (CTD) Americans know that if they are to bear with honor the responsibilities that have been thrust upon them, they must make difficult and unpleasant sacrifices.

(BRADLEY TAPE)

General Omar Bradley, our Chief of Staff, in an interview for this program, put it this way:

BRADLEY 55 ----------

Now we're beginning to understand as we understood in the days of the beginning of our country, that the survival of America is not a permanent free gift. The survival of America is something which we will all have to work for and I say that if we tackle this problem, hoping against hope that a total world war doesn't come, and each American citizen will have to serve in some way the common cause - freedom is not a prize that we can take for granted just because we were born American citizens. Democracy is not a free ride. And each citizen must help America earn this common freedom. So instead of asking, 'what's in it for me?' -- I believe every citizen should say, "What can I do for my country".

-more-

COLLINGWOOD: (CTD) We are going to have to work harder and get less for it, pay taxes that hurt the way they've never hurt before, put our young men into uniform, turn the vast American productive machine from making for us the good things of life to turning out the goods of war. Americans have accepted this with good enough grace, but if they are to continue to accept it, they will want to know that their partners in this enterprise are willing to make equivalent sacrifices. To put no finer point upon it, a great many people in this country feel, rightly or wrongly, that America's friends do not have their hearts in their own defense.

45

45rd

MURROW: Certainly, that's an issue worth examining. And we will after this message from Bud Collyer for Chevrolet.

45-28

COPY

4538

(third commercial)

ANNOUNCER: Of all the the recent developments in the automotive world, only the automatic transmission equals the self-starter in its advancement of motoring ease and conveniences. And just as Chevrolet was first in its field to bring you the self-starter, so Chevrolet was first to offer an automatic transmission. And Chevrolet's time-proved Powerglide automatic transmission is coupled to a special 105-horsepower valve-in-head engine and works through a special EconoMiser rear axle designed to give you more miles per gallon of gasoline. With Powerglide, there is no clutch pedal, no gearshifting. Optional on De Luxe models at extra cost, Powerglide has proved its efficiency and dependability in the hands of hundreds of thousands of owners over a billion miles of driving. Your Chevrolet dealer welcomes the opportunity to demonstrate the exclusive advantages of a new 1951 Chevrolet with Powerglide.

46 xx

Just about everyone in this country is asking the same question: Will our allies fight if there is a war? Let's break that into two questions and see what kind of answer we can produce.

46 30

First, will our allies fight. Howard Smith, suppose you take the first crack at it?

46 39

TIME 20 seconds

.....

Well, the British will certainly fight on our side.

The British disagree with us on many matters of policy, especially right now in Asia. But if there must be a fight, Britain will - whatever the circumstances - go in where we go in. As Anthony Eden said in the House of Commons recently, so long as America and Britain stick together there is some hope ... If they split, there is none.

47-

4707

....

MURROW: Burdette, what about Tito's people.. what about the Italians?

47:10

BURDETT: Most Yugoslavs think of their country as belonging to the western world. They like America, and they welcome their newly won contacts with us. But that is not the reason they are on our side. They are up against the gun right now. Their will to fight is obvious. They will fight because their life, their independence is at stake. They are maintaining their big army at high combat efficiency, at high cost to ~~their economy and~~ to their living standards. They are paying for their national survival with the grimmest austerity regime to be found anywhere in western Europe.

47 30

In Italy, it's a different story. The Italians are on our side, of course; but they feel very small in this world crisis. Their general attitude is one of passive discouragement, plus a sense of helplessness. ~~Their great fear is that their country may become a battlefield.~~ They mistrust American leadership; they are afraid some sudden American impulse may touch off the conflagration. Moreover, if war should come in 1951, there's really very little that you could expect Italy's under-staffed, under-trained and poorly equipped army to do!

48-

48 19

tb

MURROW: Schoenbrun, will the French fight?

48"

TIME: 45 secs

SCHOENBRUN: The French will follow our lead on practically everything short of war, dragging their feet as they go. They bought German rearmament. They accepted our leadership in the UN. They are with us in spirit but, let's face it, not in body. The French are the most realistic people in the world, and they won't fight against obviously hopeless odds. If we can cut those odds down, in a rearmament program, the French will take new heart and come along.

As for the Spanish, General Franco may or may not have been speaking for the Spanish people when he told me if any nation tries to conquer 28 million Spaniards, many millions of aggressors will die in the attempt.'

4858

MURROW: The Germans have started quite a few wars in this last century. Hottelet are they ready for another one? 49:03

HOTTELET: I don't think I can sum up the German attitude much better than a bitter joke now going the rounds in Germany. Asked what part Germany can play in the big defense plan the man on the street answers - That's easy. America provides the air power, Britain the ships, France the ground troops and Germany the war criminals.'

4975

tb

MURROW: Calmer, how about the people.. the leaders of Latin-America?

CALMER: Everywhere I went this year down there, Ed, people were anxiously watching the world crisis develop. In my opinion, Latin Americans as a whole WILL fight on our side if war comes to them. They did the last time. They will again. Typical is the statement President Prio Socarras of Cuba says: "Cubans will stand as a single soldier beside the soldiers of the United States in any war."

49 50

MURROW: Costello, will the people of Asia fight?

(MORALE) Time: 20 sec.

COSTELLO: The South Koreans fought willingly against communism... and they died to the last man rather than surrender or go over to the other side. They fought because they understand the danger, and we gave them guns. The Japanese and Filipinos would also fight, if they had arms.... and others would probably join them if they felt they had a personal, spiritual stake in victory.

50

50'?

MURROW: Now let's pose the question to which we're all seeking an answer: Is there going to be a war. Dick Hottelet, is there going to be a war?

50-28

TIME 1 minute

HOTTELET:

Is there going to be a war sounds an almost strange question. It was obvious in 1946 that the Kremlin had ended the wartime alliance and gone back to death and damnation marxist conflict with the non-communist world.

The past four years have seen the logical consequence. Russia has pushed its imperialist aims by any and all means - always prepared to negotiate and bargain where that worked best; but on the other hand always ready to take a worthwhile new position by force of arms. The Kremlin now finds itself in a dead end. Soviet communism is politically bankrupt, the free world is farther from economic collapse than ever before and fifth columns are fading away. Stalin has two alternatives - either to abandon every main line of soviet policy, everything he has lived by or to press ahead even though it means world war.

51-

All the signs point to war - and sooner rather than later, because forces have been set in motion which would make general war too risky for Russia if it were long delayed.

51 30

MURROW: Howard K. Smith from London.

SMITH:

Well, logically, I do not see how a general war can break out in the forseeable future of say the next two or three years. Russia has now the initiative in the limited war. She is doing very well for herself by the system of one-step-at-a-time aggressions carried out by her satellites and by maintaining the threat of war as a pressure on Europe's weak economies. With things going her way, I see no reason for Russia to start a war. We of the west, on the other hand, have nothing to start a war with; No--

I rather predict that we are in for intensifying piece-meal, localized conflicts...cold war...war of nerves. For me, the chief imperative of the fifties is -- prepare to lose local conflicts ...sell what we must lose as dearly as possible ... and build cool-headedly towards the day when we shall have a force strong enough to break the Russian initiative.

. . .

MURROW: Bill Costello, whom I last saw at Pusan in Korea.

57 38

TIME 1 Minute

COSTELLO:

My recent trip through Asia merely reinforced an earlier conviction that war is not only inevitable but perhaps even imminent. In 1949, communism was gradually losing the initiative in the cold war -- and the western democracies were making an almost sensational comeback. Contrary to all Stalinist predictions, capitalism showed no signs of collapse. At the same time, the communists found themselves winning in every area where they could use force. All the evidence indicates that the Politburo in Moscow has changed its fundamental policy, and intends to seek a quick military victory in Europe, Africa and Asia. In all my talks with leaders in government throughout Asia, I encountered a desperate sense of fear. The question They asked is not whether there will be a world struggle between communism and democracy, but how soon it will come.

53-

S-330

54

. . . .

MURROW: Larry Le Seuer who covers the United Nations.

TIME: 45 sec.

LE SUEUR: Limited war -- yes... Atomic war -- NO. We're in a limited war right now, and the prospects of more limited wars by Russia's satellites appears a strong possibility... It's my conviction that Stalin hopes to drive American influence off the continents of Europe and Asia during his lifetime, by a series of local wars and revolutions, like Czecho-slovakia and Korea...

But I covered Russia in the last war and I think one of the determining factors that keeps Russia from fighting a total war, besides, of course, the atom bomb, is the fear of what the strain of such a struggle would do to the Russian regime itself...Remembering that the last war disclosed great enmity to Moscow in big parts of Russia like the Ukraine and the Crimea..!

54-

54 20

MURROW: Winston Burdette, is there going to be a war?

BURDETT: In Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia, I talked ten days ago with a group of western diplomats who had just spent three months in the Cominform countries. What impressed them most...what alarmed them most...was the war psychosis which they found everywhere behind the Iron Curtain. The campaign of hatred against the West is now a daily stream of hysteria. The relentless bombardment of Russian propaganda has in one way overshot its mark. The Russians have sought to instil hatred and militancy in the satelites of East Europe instead they have created universal fear, a dreadful conviction that war is inevitable ...and imminent.

Psychologically, the Russians have completed all the preparatory steps. They have pushed the peoples of eastern Europe to the very ledge, the borderline. And psychologically, it is a small, small step from the war psychosis of today to the reality of war itself.

tb

MURROW: David Schoenbrun is there going to be a war?

time -- 1 minute

SCHOENBRUN: I agree with Howard Smith. I don't think there will be a general war in the forseeable future. War or peace today, is in the hands of two powers: The USSR and the USA. I don't think that we Americans will start the war --- as for Russia -- right now Russia has the advantage in the hot-and-cold running wars around the globe. The Americans are committed in Korea, the British in Malaya, the French in Indo-China and not a single Soviet soldier has had to move. Our economic strength and our manpower are being strained to the utmost. And since we're not directly at war with Russia our atomic power is neutralized. Right now Russia has much to lose and little to win by making general war.

So, I don't forsee one for the next year or two, which is as far ahead as anybody can dare look these days.

MURROW: Eric Sevareid, is there going to be a war?

SEVAREID: I feel that war is almost certain. I have to say that even tho I know that the mere saying so adds one more mite toward making it certain. Because war or peace is decided in the minds of human beings.

And the concept that the third world war is coming has entered the subconscious of millions. Emotionally, our triggers are set; even a small jar now could set them off. In this year of 1950, the free world switched, from a great effort to organize against war, to a great effort to organize against defeat.

56 30

The desperate paradox is that until the possibility of defeat was accepted in our minds, we were unable or unwilling to take the steps toward strength which might have held off war itself... We have to believe there is still a chance, in other words, that there is Time. The terrible lesson of Korea is that Stalin is perfectly willing to risk world war now. Which must mean that he is confident he cannot be defeated - now. We can only pray for Time to change that - rather, let us pray for the courage and energy to use what time there may be. That is our only chance to remain the masters of our fate.

57

I asked Secretary Acheson if he could offer us a prescription for this time of trouble... This is what he told me:

57 30

ACHESON TAPE: "The prescription which we need today is the prescription that Mr. Churchill gave to England in 1940 -- blood and toil, sweat and tears. And may I add to that -- faith, faith in ourselves, faith in our country, faith that the great task before us can be done and that it will be done."

57 51

5640

5751

MURROW: In this examination we have found our allies ill-prepared

58 ..as we are.. We have found the forces of freedom everywhere on the defensive... We are not agreed as to the prospect of early total war ...But none of these men...of integrity and ability expressed belief in the possibility of an honorable compromise with the forces of aggressive communism.. We are in our own land divided... we are debating what we must do...what we can do... As a nation we have come into our full inheritance at a tender age... We are strong, and

58 30 reckless, and too much afraid.. We are living in a state of perpetual crisis...for we have inherited the role of defender of the faith... We are the principle custodians of centuries of sacrifice and bloodshed and progress... That responsibility is the price of power... If we flinch or fail..we welcome the long nite of barbarism... By all means let us argue our course... let us be vigilant lest we lose our liberties while preparing to defend them. Let us remember that the

59 great strength of a totalitarian state is that it may force those who fear it to imitate it...

MURROW (CTD)It is, I think, true that we are facing fearful odds... but we have faced worse...This is no little struggle...It is for the world....Let it be told to the future world, that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet and repulse it...say not that thousands are gone...turn out your tens of thousands... throw not the burden of the day upon providence but show your faith by your works...that God may bless you... a man named Tom Paine wrote that when most men save Americans despaired of the life of this infant land... He further wrote... Tis the business of little minds to shrink...but he whose heart is firm and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death...

59 30

60-

COPY

(sign off)

6005

ANNOUNCER: Your Chevrolet dealer counts it a privilege to have presented this significant review of world conditions today. We wish to thank the news analysts and correspondents who have brought you their own viewpoints of the international scene gathered by personal observations around the world. Their unrestricted exchange of private views and opinions has been, we hope, both interesting and informative to you. And now — with every best and hopeful wish for the New Year — this is Bud Collyer saying good afternoon for your Chevrolet dealer.

6037

AS BROADCAST SCRIPT
FOR MR. CHESTER

ANNOUNCER: Your Chevrolet dealer presents The Challenge of the '50s . . . Years of Crises.

This is Edward R. Murrow in New York. I am in a goodly company surrounded by nine of Columbia's correspondents. We shall discuss the Challenge of the Fifties.

For the past few months, our foreign correspondents all over the world have been traveling ... interviewing statesmen and ordinary citizens ... trying to get the facts on which they will base the reports they will give you. In all, we estimate that as a group we've covered 70,000 thousand miles by airplane, railroad, automobile and on foot, to get this story. First, permit them to introduce themselves:

COSTELLO: I'm Bill Costello .... just back from the Korean war zone. On the way home, I made a quick survey of conditions in the Philippines, Southeast Asia and India.

SMITH: I am Howard K. Smith. My beat for the past five years has been Europe -- all of it, on both sides of the Iron Curtain --- with headquarters in London.

ma

COLLINGWOOD: I didn't have to come from any farther away than Washington, D.C., where, as White House Correspondent, I cover that place and other Washington departments -- which sometimes is like reporting from foreign countries.

SCHOENBRUN: I'm David Schoenbrun, Paris correspondent most of the time, but this year on a roving beat through five western European countries: Holland, Belgium, France, Spain and Portugal---The only thing those countries have in common is an Atlantic coastline.

HOTTELET: This is Richard C. Hottelet.
I've come home to report on my territory, which is Germany and Scandinavia.
I'll be broadcasting from Germany again next week -- if it's still there.

BURDETT: I am Winston Burdett. My headquarters is Rome, Italy. For this program I visited Belgrade to report on Marshal Tito's regime ... That's about close as an American reporter can get these days to the Cominform side of Europe.

LE SEUER: I'm Larry Le Sueur. I cover the United Nations...
It's been a big year ... There've been a lot of important changes... I'd like to tell you about it later.

ma

CALMER: I'm Ned Calmer. I've done about 15,000 miles of traveling in Central and South America this year, covering both the east and west coasts as far south as Chile and Argentina. As recently as two weeks ago I finished a trip to Mexico, Cuba and Puerto Rico.

SEVAREID: ERIC SEVAREID, CBS WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT

I haven't been out of the country this year, but I have been out in the country a good deal with long reporting trips through the midwest in particular working on the principle that you can't put both ears to the ground without burying your head in the sand.

MURROW: Now, a word from Bud Colyer for Chevrolet Dealers:

ma

(FIRST COMMERCIAL)

ANNOUNCER: At the beginning of this year, your Chevrolet dealer had the privilege of bringing you a summary of the world situation by many of the same distinguished news analysts gathered here today. Now, twelve months later, we are again glad to present these significant, first-hand reports from around the globe as a further contribution to public knowledge and understanding of international problems. And for himself, your Chevrolet dealer would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your friendship and patronage during these past twelve months. In 1950, as for the entire twenty year period since 1931, more people bought Chevrolets than any other make. Not only that, but more people bought Chevrolets <u>this</u> year than in any previous year, necessitating the production of the 25 millionth Chevrolet less than six months after completion of the 24 millionth. For this record-breaking endorsement of Chevrolet value, Chevrolet and your Chevrolet dealer are sincerely grateful.

ma

MURROW: This afternoon we shall attempt to examine our relations with the aggressive forces of world communism... the strength and the willingness of our allies...what can be done by individual nations or thru collective action and finally these friends and fellow reports will give you their personal estimates as to whether a general war is imminent.. In Asia there is bloody collision between the forces of free world and communism..Bill Costello has just come from there .....

COSTELLO: In the Far East, the cold war came to an end last June.. with the invasion of South Korea. It seems fairly well agreed that communism resorted to armed force because political devices for the conquest of Asia had produced only a stalemate. Communism had shown its ability to create unrest in Asia -- and to conquer by force in China -- but it had not been able to win a single political victory, even by capitalizing on the great twentieth-century social revolution which was taking place throughout Asia.

-MORE-

ma

COSTELLO:
(CONT.)

On the other hand, the Reds found they could win by force because most Asians are too backward politically to make an intelligent choice between democracy and communism. They see little or no difference. None of them has ever had any economic privileges, or personal liberties. The great mass of peasants were not prepared either to welcome or oppose communism.

A vast number of Asiatics might have been willing to oppose communism if they had been able to see through its ideological disguise, and identify it for what it is; the third great wave of modern imperialism. All Asians learned to hate the first -- the European -- wave of imperialism which over-ran Asia in the last century. They hated and helped to defeat the second -- the Japanese -- wave of imperialism which tried to supplant European colonialism in the Second World War. They still do not see that Soviet Russia-- with the collaboration of China-- is now embarked on a third attempt to dominate the backward little nations of the Far East.

-MORE-

ma

COSTELLO: (CONT.) Hence, they're not aware that their passionate desire for self-government is again threatened. The United States and the western democracies have not made the issue clear to them.

Communism has taken advantage of this confusion of thought -- and of the military and economic weakness -- in Asia to launch three invasions ... in Korea, in Tibet and in Indo-China. Our fault is that we have given Asia no reason to fight, even for the preservation of its own aspirations.

MURROW: Bill Costello has told us about the enemy in Asia. The conflict in Europe takes a different form. Here's howard K. Smith with his analysis.

SMITH: Well, Ed,our situation vis-a-vis the Russians is a little better at the moment in Europe than it is in Asia. The instruments of Russia's initiative in the Cold War are the native Communist parties in each country. In Asia, as Bill Costello said, they are big and growing stronger. In Europe on the other hand, they have been growing weaker. Thanks to Marshall aid, life all over Western Europe has grown much better ... with the consequences of demoralization in the ranks of Russia's fifth columns.

-MORE-

ma

SMITH:
(CONT.)

This has been the first year since the war that the French and Italian Communists have not been able to muster enough strength to carry out any of those big nation-wide strikes -- near civil wars -- that marked 1947, 48 and 49. In every European election this year, the Communist vote has fallen radically.

But now, with Korea, and the beginning of rearmament, the situation is beginning to change. Europe's economics are just barely convalescent. Rearmament will certainly send most of them back into a state of very precarious health. As a British paper put it recently, rearmament -- bringing inevitably rising prices and falling real wages to Europe's already low-paid workers -- may create more communists in Western Europe than it contains in Eastern Europe. The fear in Europe is that the Russians, by maintaining a threat of war and provoking Europe to rearm, may create a situation whereby they can get Europe from within without making war. That is our dilemma in Europe, and we might as well face it.

ma

MURROW: We've heard a summary of the crisis as it looks to the Europeans and the people of Asia. Now..what about America.. how do our people feel about it? Here's Charles Collingwood, our White House correspondent.

CHARLES COLLINGWOOD: I think that American leaders would agree with the general outline of the crisis as presented by Howard Smith and Bill Costello. However, Washington, naturally enough, sees it from a somewhat different perspective. While American leaders are perfectly aware of the long term problem of economic, social and political rehabilitation that Howard and Bill have been talking about, I think it is fair to say that right now their pre-occupation is with the military aspect of the situation. This, they think, must be solved first or we'll never get a chance to do anything else. Washington is acutely aware of the fact that militarily Russia is stronger than we.

-MORE-

ma

CHARLES COLLINGWOOD: (CONT.) The other day I was talking with Stuart Symington, who is uniquely qualified to make an appraisal -- He saw the military side as Secretary of the Air Force, and now sees the economic side as one of our top mobilization planners -- and here is a recording of what he said:

(BRIEF EXCERPT FROM SYMINGTON TAPE)

(SYMINGTON:) I think we all should realize that for over 5-yrs. whereas this country has been working towards peace, the communists have been carefully planning steady aggression. As a result of that long lead, over this period of years, it's obvious to anybody that they're far superior to us on the land. It's also obvious that they're superior, in our opinion anyway, under the sea. On the sea, we are superior. But in the air, it's my belief that now they are superior. And, therefore, if we don't face up to this menace, immediately, we're liable to meet disaster.

ma

COLLINGWOOD: That's a pretty grim picture, and our military problem is further complicated by the fact that this administration is firmly committed to the principal that American security can only be assured if world security is assured. From President Truman on down, every top American leader is convinced that it would be folly to pull back our defenses to our own shores. General Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, made this point when I talked to him in the Pentagon.

(SHORT BRADLEY TAPE)

(BRADLEY:) As things go, we really face a few problems, one, is fighting this war in the East and trying to protect this nation and help carry out the edict of the United Nations. But at the same time we realize that there are threats .. other places, in fact, greater threats to the security of the United States.

---

ma

COLLINGWOOD: What General Bradley was talking about was Europe. The defense of Europe is part of our dual military problem. Now it's perfectly clear that the United States can't defend Europe by itself. The main burden must rest on the Europeans. That's why the United States has been pressing so hard for an integrated European Army, why we have sent General Eisenhower over to command it. It's also why Washington is sometimes irritated and dismayed by the failure of Europe to organize its defenses as quickly as we think is necessary.

MURROW: Well, Charlie, in view of those questions that are being asked, let's turn now to the question: "Can Western Europe be defended?" We hear frist from David Schoenbrun.

SCHOENBRUN: I've asked that question myself at least a hundred times in the course of a reporting trip through France, Spain and Portugal..These past 3 weeks.... asked it of ordinary people and of chiefs of state. Perhaps the most effective answer came from a cynical little Parisian sports writer one night about two weeks ago.

-MORE-

ma

SCHOENBRUN: (CONT.)

We were sitting at ringside in the Palais des Sports waiting to watch Sugar Ray Robinson go into action against a French fighter. My friend pointed up to Robinson, and said: "He's going to win all right, but he'll know he's been in a scrap.. That's the only thing that counts," said the Frenchman, "to put up a real tough fight. If you can make it tough enough maybe the other fellow won't start it."

Those, I think, are words of wisdom that apply particularly to the problem of Western European defence. No one seriously thinks there the Red Army can be stopped on the continent. But if Europe can build up enough punch on land and in the air to make aggression a costly adventure then maybe there won't be any aggression.

The French Prime Minister put it another way when he told me in an interview prepared for this report: "If we all merge our forces urgently -- materials and manpower -- we can achieve an effective posture of defense and discourage an eventual aggressor." Perhaps most dramatic expression of this viewpoint came for me just twelve days ago in Spain, in an interview with the Chief of State, General Franco.

ma

SCHOENBRUN: (CONT.)

You know, the case of Spain is becoming one of the hottest issues of the day. It's an open secret that the military men of the western world are urging political leaders to bring Spain into the western defense program. They value highly Spanish air bases behind the Pyrenees and the 22 Spanish army divisions, more than twice as many as the allies now have in western Europe. I've just returned from Spain with an exclusive interview on this subject with General Franco:

(TAPE)

That was General Franco saying that he hoped for better understanding and friendship in America. He went on to say this. I quote: "It is incredible, in view of today's danger, to find so many countries divided by weakness, selfishness and hesitations." Franco said then that all the Western Nations should get together on a common policy against aggression.

Spain, said Franco, feels united in spirit with the fighting forces of the United Nations. As for an eventual aggressor, Franco said that Spain was lacking in arms but had enough to sell its independence dearly.

-MORE-

ma

SCHOENBRUN: (CONT.) This sounds like a pretty clear hint that Spain wants arms aid and is ready to share in western defense responsibilities if asked. This year of challenge has made strange bed-fellows: Democratic America and communist Yugoslavia; France and Germany. Now Franco Spain emerging from isolation.

The question of Europe's defense is evoking some extraordinary answers.

MURROW: There's general agreement that Western Europe cannot be defended without German troops and German production. Dick Hottelet lives and works in and reports from Germany.

HOTTELET: From where I sit the prospect of European defense is not encouraging. Look at the situation in Germany and Scandinavia.

In Eastern Germany the Russians have massed an army group of some 360,000 men. They are well trained and armed to the teeth, backed up by thousands of planes and tanks; and behind them, as far east as White Russia are other still stronger forces.---- The troops and their leaders are tough--drunk with military glory and poisoned by a propaganda which makes any war against the non-communist world a holy war for the defense of Soviet Russia.

ma

HOTTELET: (CONT.)

They can jump off on a full scale offensive in seven days or less. Between them and the English Channel lies a political and military vacuum which the west is only now beginning to fill, and they can jump off on a full-scale offensive in seven days or less.

The west is slowly improving and expanding its forces, but I must say that in travelling around Germany and Scandinavia this month I found little evidence that large scale, immediate expansion is planned - or possible -- Sweden, for instance, with the strongest army in northern Europe, clings to the hope of neutrality. It does not intend to fight unless it is attacked. It would stand by while Russia overran the entire continent, and even northern Norway.

As for Germany- the allies are starting from scratch to get the help without which western Europe cannot be held. The German people are still reluctant to take up arms and it will be some time before they are willing to shoulder the risks and duties of this alliance. Then - when this political hurdle has been cleared - the west can begin organizing armed units out of the disorganized civilian mob which is Germany today.

ma

HOTTELET: (CONT.) Of course there are certain risks in this for the allies as well. In Frankfort, the other day I put the question to the American High Commissioner in Germany, John J. McCloy. This is what he replied:

(McCLOY:) German militarism in the past has caused us great distress, caused the world great distress and misery, but I think it is necessary to permit the Germans to defend themselves and also if that defense takes the form of their incorporation and integration into the European community, I believe that we have sufficient safeguards to take the risk.

MURROW: Yugoslavia has the largest army on the continent of Europe -- outside Russia. Winston Burdett was in Yugoslavia just a few days ago.

BURDETT: There's been a good deal of anxious speculation this winter about the possibility of Yugoslavia's becoming a "European Korea" in the Spring. The Yugoslavs today are the victims of a total economic and political siege by the Cominform countries. Well, you would never suspect it when you first arrive in Belgrade.

ma

-MORE-

BURDETT: (CONT.) There is no war scare there... there's hardly a single visible sign of the Yugoslavs' very real anxiety. They are about the only people I know who have managed to keep a big army at a high pitch of war readiness... without yielding to panic.

There is this striking difference between Yugoslavia and many west European countries. The Yugoslavs have steady nerves. They are not hypnotized by the legend or the reality of Soviet power. They are the opposite of defeatists. They do not fatalistically accept the inevitability of Soviet victory in a major war. The Yugoslav leaders-Tito and his group- are unintimidated men, clear-headed, tough-willed, and securely self-reliant.

This was my first impression after talking last week to Moshe Pijade, a leading member of the ruling nine-man Politburo, and after talking also with Yugoslav men in the Street. Here is a recording of the voice of one of them:

(12 SEC TAPE FROM YUGOSLAV LAWYER)

(YUGO:) Well, I think that everything is possible. We Yugoslavs feel that everything can be expected from Russia. But they will not walk in, they would have to fight their way through.

ma

BURDETT:
(CONT.)

Communist Yugoslavia today is our strongest military ally on the continent of Europe. Yugoslavia is also one of the few places where our foreign policy this year has been both enterprising and successful. The reason for our success is simple. We have had a definite end in view. Both we and the Yugoslavs have something definite to offer. The Yugoslavs have 32 divisions, a total of 500 thousand fighting men; and that is a minimum estimate. It is more than the combined land armies of all of Atlantic Pact Europe. We have to offer our material aid to the Yugoslav regime. It is economic aid today: we, the United States, are feeding the Yugoslav Army this winter. It will almost certainly be military aid tomorrow: military equipment to enable Tito to keep pace with the rapid military expansion of his Cominform enemies...Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria...whose armies already are double the size allowed by the peace treaties.

From our point of view, aid to Tito is a sound investment in western strength. From Tito's point of view, aid from us is a simple matter of national survival.

ma

BURDETT: (CONT.) In event of war, the Yugoslavs would probably have to pull back rapidly from their long, exposed frontiers, and fight a guerrilla battle in the mountain fortress of central Yugoslavia. Most people expect that it would be a long and unrelenting battle.

MURROW: Britain is our strongest ally. Howard Smith, our Chief European correspondent, makes his headquarters in London. Howard, can western Europe be defended?

SMITH: Well, Ed, Great Britain is one of the few pieces of Europe that is definitely defensible. It is an island, and, even if we do not build up an equal land force to the Russians, if we keep roughly equal air power and our overwhelming superiority at sea, the west can certainly hold Britain.

Like the Yugoslavs, the British will fight, and they can and doubtless will carry their weight. Britain still has the second biggest navy on earth... and she leads the world, including us, in jet-plane research and development.

ma

SMITH: (CONT.) But Britain faces one great difficulty. It's the old one -- It is economic. Her island produces little of its own food and almost none of its industrial raw materials. Right now, in a peace economy, she is barely paying her way in buying those things from abroad. She will not, without a resumption of dollar aid, be able to pay her way on a war economy. However, in my opinion, there is no better defense investment America can make outside the U.S. than Great Britain.

Here is what Britain's Defense Minister, Emmanuel Shinwell, told me in a recorded interview:

(SHINWELL:) (11 SEC.) We have a clear responsibility to these people and to the world to see that freedom shall not go down for lack of defense.

MURROW: We are committed not only to the defense of western Europe but also to vast areas of Asia. Bill Costello, what can the people of Asia do to help defend themselves?

COSTELLO: On my trip through Asia, I made a special point of asking about military strength. It was something of a shock to realize that aside from China, no country in Asia today is capable of defending itself against outside aggression.

ma

-MORE-

COSTELLO: (CONT.)

The Philippines, for example, have barely one division... about fifteen thousand men... and that little army is completely tied down by the depredations of some eight thousand Hukbalahap guerrillas. The Siamese have an army of approximately two divisions, with virtually no heavy weapons and no tanks. Japan has no military force of any kind..and no arsenals in which to create weapons. India has an army of perhaps a quarter of a million, which is costing now 46 per cent of its national budget... In startling contrast to this catalog of weakness, the Chinese communists army numbers at least two million men who are fully armed, and perhaps an equal number in organized units which are partly equipped.

Besides manpower, the communists have another colossal advantage in the basic structure of their armies. Unlike the old-fashioned War-Lords, they are rooting out the old Confucian relationship between ranks. They do not regard officers as social superiors to enlisted men. The Reds are teaching that commanders are responsible for the welfare of their troops -- just as we do -- and as a result they have a vastly more effective fighting machine than the armies of Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek and others who still believe that officers are a privileged class. -MORE-

ma

COSTELLO (CONT.) The United States cannot possibly find effective allies in Asia until the ruling classes out there learn how to organize effective armies. A big part of our job is to modernize military psychology as skillfully as the communists are changing it in the areas they control.

MURROW: The defense of Latin America is perhaps as vital as our own. What's the feeling down there, Calmer.

CALMER: Latin America gave us a lot of vital help in the last war. I went down there this year to look around and see what the prospects are if it should happen again. We need Latin America's strategic minerals... nitrates and copper and tin and oil and raw sugar... all vital war products. Well, we're still getting them, and in larger and larger volume. The fact is, Latin America is our ace in the hole. If worst comes to worst ... If we should lose both Asia and Europe... it becomes, with friendly Canada, our single great reservoir of military and economic help.. Latin America, with the possible exception of Peron's Argentina, is bound to us and the people know it. Listen for example, to the President of Cuba whom I recorded two weeks ago...

(TEN SECS. TAPE)

ma

(PRESIDENT)
(CUBA:) The people of Cuba stand side by side with the people of the United States and we are eager to share and help in the future.

CALMER: Or the Governor of Puerto Rico, who was marked for death by the same band of assassins who tried to kill President Truman:

(GOVERNOR)
(PUERTO)
(RICO:) We must continue in accelerated form the purpose to resist aggression with increasing success wherever aggression may develop. That is the obvious immediate need.

CALMER: We have real friends in Latin America. There's not much worry there about Communism -- many signs that it's on the WANE in Latin America as it is in Europe. There's much hatred of Soviet tactics, and a feeling which I found fairly widespread to the effect that the United States better use the atom bomb before the RUSSIANS do.

MURROW: Most of us in this country are listening to a new "great debate" .. should Western Europe be defended. Eric Sevareid, the Chief of our Washington correspondents. How does Washington feel about it, Eric?

ma

SEVAREID: Several times, the National Security Council has argued out this basic question of our defending west Europe; each time, it agreed unanimously that we must. In the Atlantic Treaty we pledged ourselves to go to war if any one of those nations was attacked; in so doing, we were trying to prevent war, by giving the clear notice to Russia that we failed to give the Kaiser or Hitler. It is quite true that in ratifying the treaty, the Senate did not bind us to arming those treaty nations. But those nations hardly dreamed we would fail to help arm them. If we fail, then it is not really a military alliance. Then it is a bad joke at Europe's expense. Then Europe is like a defenceless woman we push in front of us, saying to the gangster, "if you murder her, you'll hear from us later."

By giving Russia notice in this treaty, we hoped to prevent war itself. If that hope is gone, as it may well be, we must still prevent defeat. Our most responsible military leaders in Washington are agreed that aside from losing Europe's industry if places like Iceland, Britain, Norway or North Africa are taken or outflanked, we would have a desperate time even hitting Russia with our air power; the chances of our own defeat would be enormously increased.

ma

SEVAREID: (CONT.) Certainly, the administration still regards the European alliance as a point of strength, not, as does Mr. Hoover, as a point of weakness....I asked secretary Acheson what he regards as our major points of strength. In part, this was his reply------

TAPE:

(ACHESON:) "In the first place we have the tremendous source of strength that our cause is right. We are on the side of freedom and on the side of the great spiritual values which have created our country. In the second place we have friends who believe in the same values that we believe in and that's a great source of strength. In the third place we and our friends have the greatest industrial capacity in the world, which in turn can make us and our friends strong. And in the fourth place we have not merely potential strength but strength in being... we have not only these forces in being but we have the power to retaliate against any aggressor who attacks us and our friends...."

ma

SEVAREID: All agree we must build strength. It is Secretary of Defense Marshall who must determine how, and at what pace we should build. And here is what he says:

(MARSHALL TAPE)

(MARSHALL:) A caution that I gave under somewhat similar circumstances, in June of 1940, I find equally cogent today. I then said: "Let me strongly emphasize the fact that we must not become involved by impatience or ignorance in a new considered over-night expansion which would smother well considered methods and leave us in a dilemma of confused results half baked and fatally unbalanced." I said that in June - 1940.

MURROW: We have now tried to sum up for you an answer to the question: Can and should Western Europe be defended. In a minute we'll look at another source of strength for the free world. But first here's Bud Collyer with a message from Chevrolet Dealers.

ma

(SECOND COMMERCIAL)

ANNCR: In no other country is transportation so highly developed as in the United States. It is - at any time and under all conditions - an essential part of our daily life and our national strength. As America's largest motor car manufacturer, Chevrolet has long recognized a responsibility to provide fine, dependable transportation for the greatest possible number of people at the lowest possible cost. You may see the latest expression of this purpose in the new 1951 Chevrolet introduced three weeks ago. It is refreshingly new in styling with longer, lower, more sweeping lines. It is finer in appointments, easier to drive. It is safer . . . with completely new brakes, largest in its field. But, above all, it is soundly and solidly built throughout to serve you well and faithfully over a long time with a minimum of operating and maintenance expense. Your Chevrolet dealer cordially invites your inspection of the new 1951 models now on display.

ma

MURROW: We have rather neglected one possible method of avoiding this terrible collision which appears to be imminent. There are those here and abroad who regard the United Nations as merely a talking shop without power or resolution. Larry LeSeuer spends most of his time out at the U.N. Let's hear what he has to say.

LE SUEUR: Ed, before I answer that I'd like to say that a lot of Western European representatives that I've talked to around the delegates' lounge at Lake Success, think that we've been defending Western Europe for the past five years against a Russian occupation...Think we've been protecting it with one atom bomb and the air power to carry them any place in the world. We must not forget that for three years now, there have been a number of American planes capable of carrying the atomic bomb, actually stationed in Britain...Many people think that it's been the presence of the atomic bomb that has protected Western Europe when it was at its weakest.....

But to turn to my particular beat, the United Nations, I think that this year the UN has passed one very important test...the test of survival.

ma

LE SUEUR: In fact, when we talk about the UN now, we're really talking about our allies...ever since the events of last June, the UN has moved and changed faster than most people may be aware. Here's what happened -- One of the biggest changes is the transformation of the UN from simply a forum to register world opinion, into an action body.

How well the UN will succeed in enforcing its first armed decision, is now, of course, left to the fortunes of war ... But the UN has actually leaped from its role as mediator and conciliator, into an enforcement body...

Without changing the charter, the UN has found a way of getting around its old bug-bear, the VETO... Now the world assembly has assumed the power to translate its recommendations into ACTION ..

But as yet, there is NO way for the UN Assembly to compel any member state to contribute to a recommendation for action.....It can't compel them to furnish the man-power to back up a decision...And that's the greatest problem the free nations face today, to confront the Soviet States with equality in man- power....

-MORE-

ma

LE SUEUR: (CONT.) But it's a fact that the free nations have now voted overwhelmingly to earmark a part of their armed forces to carry out United Nations action....

But I don't want to give the idea that this drastic change in the UN from a forum into an action body, will no longer permit it to serve as a means of trying to mediate the world struggle. I think the great effort of the UN this year, in trying to keep the Korean war from spreading, leaves no doubt that it remains at least a hope of averting general war....

MURROW: Now, just before we see how the rest of the free world feels about the United Nations, let's pause 15 seconds for station identification.

This is CBS ... the COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

(15 SEC PAUSE)

Again to the question of how the rest of the free world feels about the United Nations. What about Asia, Costello?

(whiparound)

COSTELLO: A year ago, the nations of Asia had virtually no interest in the United Nations.

ma

-MORE-

COSTELLO: (CONT.) Today, it is my impression they have one hope -- that the U.N. may be able to offer them some guarantee of collective security. They don't want intervention which smacks of imperialism, but they desperately need military and economic aid which has the moral sanction of the free world.

MURROW: How do the British feel about the U.N., Smith?

SMITH: Well, Ed, more, successful British history has been made by talking at international conference tables than by fighting on battlefields. There's an English adage, "where there's talk, there's hope". So, in Britain support for the UN whether it succeeds in stopping aggression as a last meeting ground or not is never even called into question.

MURROW: How does the United Nations look to the countries you've covered, Schoenbrun?

SCHOENBRUN: There are almost as many attitudes towards the UN as there are countries to report from in western Europe.

Spain, which is not in the UN, would like to be.

Portugal says it doesn't care one way or the other, and will pin its faith to the North Atlantic banner.

ma

SCHOENBRUN: As for France, it supports the UN in principle, but is frankly much more interested in by-passing it through direct negotiations with the Russians in a four-power conference.

MURROW: Now-- Dick Hottelet.

HOTTELET: In Germany and Scandinavia ordinary citizens and their leaders seem to have a new faith in the UN since it met the challenge of aggression in Korea. The UN has survived the kind of crisis which killed the old League of Nations; and people hope, even if they are not sure, that it will stand the strain which lies ahead.

MURROW: The Yugoslavs have played both sides of the fence in the UN. Where do they stand now, Burdett?

BURDETT: Well, Ed, Yugoslavia has a tremendous stake in the United Nations; the Yugoslavs know they could not survive alone in a general war: they could only survive as a partner in a system of collective security that works. That is why they are now passionately devoted to the U.N., with its pledge to protect the independence of small countries. In fact, the Charter of the United Nations is a charter for Yugoslavia's national existence.

ma

MURROW: Tell us about Latin-America and the United Nations, Calmer.

CALMER: The Latin American countries, Ed, found a new world position in the United Nations. It has dignified the small democracies of the south -- it helps unify them, too - - and each nation, however small, can rise and speak its piece in the U.N. on equal footing with every other power. And, of course, there's no question that they support our side ---

MURROW: Now, Eric Sevareid, suppose you sum up the American view.

SEVAREID: Most Americans have realized that in the pinch as now, the effectiveness of the UN is no more, no less than the effective power of America and the free nations. But Washington will try to proceed to the end, under UN sanction; not only because this country has signed a contract to that effect, but because it is the best counter to the communist propaganda picture of us as the lone, aggressive wolf.

ma

MURROW: Well, it appears that the United Nations has generated hope almost everywhere, however forlorn or desperate. But we'll need more to meet the enemy. Where else can we look.. what can we do... all of us. Howard Smith can you suggest a solution for the problems of Western Europe?

SMITH: Well, those of us who cover Western Europe have indicated that Western Europe is virtually indefensible.. in its present state. Its present state being this: In a space half the size of the U.S., there are in Western Europe 16 nations, choking one another to slow economic death which the Marshall Plan staved off.

Every little national market is being protected from its neighbors by high trade barriers. Behind that protection, inefficient, uneconomic industries exist. In our time, when the world has shrunk so small, those national frontiers are clearly an anachronism. They are a main source, I believe, of Europe's weakness, her dependence on foreign aid.

If those national frontiers were obliterated, there would be a single big market of 200 million consumers.

-MORE-

ma

SMITH: (CONT.) Without frontier protection, uneconomic industries would die from competition, and costs of production would drop. Serving a market that vast, the remaining efficient industries could standardize their products, rationalize and become much more efficient...bringing still lower costs, which means a higher standard of life.

There would be prosperity, so that Native Communism would dwindle. There could be at long last a big margin of national wealth there isn't now to spend on defense, so that Russia would no longer dare to probe at Western Europe.

The beginnings of integration in Europe have begun in the form of the Schuman Plan. Here is what the author of that plan, M. Jean Monnet, told my colleague David Schoenbrun about its purpose:

(MONET:) The Schuman Plan is a revolutionary attempt to break down national barriers on industry and trade. We would work directly with the materials of life, take German coke and French iron and ore, on both sides of the river Rhine. Together, they mean steel and power; jobs for millions; more and better homes. Nature put them together there - men have kept them apart by turning the Rhine watershed into a political frontier.

ma

(MONET:)
(CONT.)

What we're doing in the Schuman Plan is to tear down these false barriers and give industry a chance to expand for the greatest good of the greatest number.

MURROW: Dick Hottelet you've been stationed in Germany for many years, and you've talked with statesmen in Scandinavia..How would you attack the problem?

HOTTELET: It seems to be plain today that the greatest danger is war with the Soviet bloc, and that democracy's greatest need is to survive. None of the other problems of the free world has become any less acute...economic progress, social stability and political reorganization. They have simply been overshadowed by the military might of the Soviet bloc, by its manifest intention to destroy where it cannot persuade.

Only when the immediate danger is past there is time once again to do the long-term job which will prevent repetition.

Before I came back to New York last week I had an interview with Halvard Lange, Foreign Minister of Norway who emphasized the need of doing first things first .... here,recorded, is what he said:

(LANGE:) At this moment the major problem for the democratic countries is two-fold: First, the attackers must be repelled through collective action. Secondly, the conflict must be contained to prevent its spreading to the rest of the Far East and ultimately to all the world. Events of the past few months have convinced us in Norway as they have convinced other Atlantic treaty nations, that we must achieve a reasonable degree of military preparedness in a much shorter time than at first anticipated.

HOTTELET: As long as there is a Soviet bloc, military strength must remain an important part of democratic planning, even though it means a lower standard of living and the restriction of certain freedoms. With confidence in its own strength the free world can then start the political counter-offensive for its legitimate demands and perhaps achieve what all its conferences, plans and protests have failed to extract from Russia in the past five years.

MURROW: Bill Costello has been asking the leaders of Asia how they would build up their strength against Communism.

ma

COSTELLO: A trip through Asia today, Ed, is depressing because it is obvious there is no quick, easy way of building allies against communism. We have to start right at bed-rock. It is not enough to provide economic aid through the Point Four Program, as we are doing. It is not enough to send arms and machinery. It is even useless to obtain bases from which our own military forces could operate until we give the people of Asia a reason for opposing communism. Every Asian, is first of all, a nationalist.....and he will only fight against communism when he sees quite clearly that communism threatens the independence of his country. The Asiatics will begin to help themselves...and permit us to help them..when tbey are convinced their new freedom is in danger.

From a purely mulitary point of view, Japan now occupies a vital place in Asia. The Japanese have the only modern, balanced industrial economy in the whole Far East. Those factories are the greatest single prize in that part of the world. In communist hands, they could produce for China and Siberia, and could make communism almost invulnerable in Asia.

-MORE-

ma

COSTELLO: (CONT.) On the other hand, if the Japanese are provided with raw materials, and given the rights of sovereignty and self-defense, they can buttress the whole free world in Asia. Japan occupies the same relative position in Asia that Germany does in Europe. The Japanese today are basically hostile toward communism and friendly toward the United States, but they might easily switch sides if they felt national survival depended on an economic alliance with communism on the continent.

America's primary problems in Asia are: to paint communism in its true imperialist colors... and to maneuver Japan back into a position as the industrial workshop for the backward nations of the Far East.

MURROW: In this problem, as in so many others, much of the world looks to America for a solution.. or the suggestion of a solution. Here's our White House correspondent..Charles Collingwood.

COLLINGWOOD: It's clear enough that there are two parts to any solution we may find to the problems and paradoxes which now confront us.

COLLINGWOOD: (CONT.) There is the long range problem of creating a world in which aggression cannot flourish. There is the short range problem of bringing to a halt the aggression which is now on the March. Therefore, the free world, under American leadership, must move on two fronts. We must press for the economic and political integration of Europe, as Howard Smith has said. We must convince Asia by words and deeds that we do not stand in the way of her rightful evolution, as Bill Costello has said. We must never lose sight of the kind of world we want eventually to live with. But at the same time we must not forget, as Dick Hottelet has pointed out, that the immediate and most pressing task is to frustrate the present threat posed by communist aggression. Something like this is the course on which American policy is now embarked.

Americans know that if they are to bear with honor the responsibilities that have been thrust upon them, they must make difficult and unpleasant sacrifices.

General Omar Bradley, our Chief of Staff, in a recorded interview for this program, put it this way:

(BRADLEY TAPE)

ma

(BRADLEY:) Now we're beginning to understand as we understood in the days of the beginning of our country, that the survival of America is not a permanent free gift. The survival of America is something which we will all have to work for and I say that if we tackle this problem, hoping against hope that total war doesn't come, and each American citizen will have to serve in some way the common cause - freedom is not a prize that we can take for granted just because we were born American citizens. Democracy is not a free ride. And each citizen must help America earn this common freedom. So instead of asking, "what's in it for me?" -- I believe every citizen should say, "What can I do for my country"?.

COLLINGWOOD: (CONT.) We Americans are going to have to work harder and get less for it, pay taxes that hurt the way they've never hurt before, put our young men into uniform, turn the vast American productive machine from making for the good things of life to turning out the goods of war.

-MORE-

ma

COLLINGWOOD: (CONT.) Americans have accepted this with good enough grace, but if they are to continue to accept it, they will want to know that their partners in this enterprise are willing to make equivalent sacrifices. To put no finer point upon it, a great many people in this country feel, rightly or wrongly, that America's friends do not have their hearts in their own defense.

MURROW: Certainly, Charlie, that's an issue worth examining. And we will after this message from Bud Collyer.

ma

(THIRD COMMERCIAL)

ANNOUNCER: Of all the recent developments in the automotive world, only the automatic transmission equals the self-starter in its advancement of motoring ease and convenience. And just as Chevrolet was first in its field to bring you the self-starter, so Chevrolet was first to offer an automatic transmission. And Chevrolet's time-proved Powerglide automatic transmission is coupled to a special 105-horsepower valve-in-head engine and works through a special EconoMiser rear axle designed to give you more miles per gallon of gasoline. With Powerglide, there is no clutch pedal, no gearshifting. Optional on De Luxe models at - extra cost, Powerglide has proved its efficiency and dependability in the hands of hundreds of thousands of owners over a billion miles of driving. Your Chevrolet dealer welcomes the opportunity to demonstrate the exclusive advantages of a new 1951 Chevrolet with Powerglide.

MURROW: It seems to me just about everyone in this country is asking the same question: Will our allies fight if there is a war? Let's break that into two questions and see what kind of answer we can produce. First, will our allies fight. Howard Smith, suppose you have the first try at it?

ma

SMITH: Well, the British will certainly fight on our side.

The British disagree with us on many matters of policy, especially right now in Asia. But if there must be a fight, Britain will - whatever the circumstances - go in where we go in. As Anthony Eden said in the House of Commons recently, so long as America and Britain stick together there is some hope for Britain. But if they split, there is none.

MURROW: Burdett, what about Tito's people.. what about the Italians?

BURDETT: Most Yugoslavs think of their country as belonging to the western world. They like America, and today they welcome their chance to renew their contacts with us. But that is not the reason they are on our side. They are up against the gun right now. Their will to fight is obvious. They will fight because their life, their independence is at stake. They are maintaining their big army at high combat efficiency, at high cost to their living standards. They are paying for their national survival with the grimmest austerity regime to be found anywhere in western Europe today.

ma

BURDETT: (CONT.) In Italy, it's a different story. The Italians are on our side, of course; but they feel very small in this world crisis. Their general attitude is one of passive discouragement, plus a sense of helplessness. They tend to mistrust American leadership; they are afraid some sudden American impulse may touch off the conflagration. Their great fear is that their country may become a battlefield. Moreover, if war should come in 1951, there's really very little that you could expect Italy's under-staffed, under-trained and poorly equipped army to do.

MURROW: Schoenbrun, will the French fight?

SCHOENBRUN: The French, as you know, are the most realistic people in the world, and they won't fight against obviously hopeless odds. But if we can cut those odds down, in a rearmament program, the French will take new heart and come along. And only last night, at midnight in Paris, the French Parliament gave the Government a rousing vote of confidence and passed a two billion dollar rearmament project, the biggest in French history.

ma

SCHOENBRUN: (CONT.) As for the Spanish, General Franco may or may not have been speaking for the Spanish people, but he told me if any nation tries to conquer 28 million Spaniards, many millions of aggressors will die in the attempt.

MURROW: The Germans have started quite a few wars in this last century. Hottelet, are they ready for another one?

HOTTELET: The answer, Ed, is no. I think the German attitude is well summed up in a bitter joke now going the rounds in Germany. Asked what part Germany can play in the big defense plan the man on the street answers - "That's easy. America provides the air power, Britain the ships, France the ground troops and Germany the war criminals."

MURROW: Calmer, how about the people.. the leaders of Latin-America?

CALMER: Everywhere I went this year down there, Ed, people were anxiously watching the world crisis develop.

-MORE-

ma

CALMER: (CONT.) In my opinion, Latin Americans as a whole WILL fight on our side if war comes to them. They did the last time. They will again. Typical is the statement President Prio Socarras of Cuba, who said:

(PRESIDENT) (OF CUBA:) "Cubans will stand as a single soldier beside the soldiers of the United States in any war."

MURROW: Costello, will the people of Asia fight?

COSTELLO: The South Koreans fought willingly against communism.. and they died to the last man rather than surrender or go over to the other side. They fought because they understand the danger, and we gave them guns. The Japanese and Filipinos would also fight, if they had arms.... others would probably join them if they felt they had a personal, spiritual stake in victory.

MURROW: Now, Gentlemen, let's pose the question to which we're all seeking an answer: Is there going to be a war? Dick Hottelet, is there going to be a war?

HOTTELET: Is there going to be a war, Ed, sounds an almost strange question. It was obvious in 1946 that the Kremlin had begun its conflict with the non-communist world.

-MORE-

ma

HOTTELET: (CONT.) The five-year plan is a war-industry plan, and the Russian propaganda from circus clowns to kindergartens has been war propaganda. In these past four years Russia has pushed its imperialist aims by any and all means - always prepared to negotiate and bargain where that worked best; but on the other hand always ready to take a worthwhile new position by force of arms. The Kremlin now finds itself in a dead end. Soviet communism is politically bankrupt, the free world is farther from economic collapse than ever before and fifth columns are fading away and aggression is being met. Stalin has two alternatives - either to abandon every main line of Soviet policy, everything he has lived by or to press ahead even though it means world war.

All the signs point to war - and sooner rather than later, because in the free world forces have been set in motion which would make general war too risky for Russia if it were long delayed.

MURROW: Howard K. Smith from London.

ma

SMITH: Well, logically, I do not see how a general war can break out in the forseeable future of say the next two years or so. Russia has now the initiative in the limited war. She is doing very well for herself by the system of one-step-at-a-time aggressions carried out by her satellites and by maintaining the threat of war as a pressure on Europe's weak economies. With things going her way, I see no reason for Russia to start a war. We of the west, on the other hand, have nothing to start a war with.

I rather predict that we are in for intensifying piece-meal, localized conflicts...cold war...war of nerves. For me, the chief imperative of the fifties is -- prepare to lose local conflicts and sell what we must lose as dearly as possible ... and build cool-headedly towards the day when we shall have a strong force, strong enough to break the Russian initiative.

MURROW Bill Costello, whom I last saw at Taegu in Korea.

ma

COSTELLO: My recent trip through Asia merely reinforced an earlier conviction that war is not only inevitable but perhaps even imminent. The invasion of Korea was the clearest kind of evidence. In 1949, communism was gradually losing the initiative in the cold war -- and the western democracies were making an almost sensational comeback. Contrary to all Stalinist predictions, capitalism showed no signs of collapse. At the same time, the communists found themselves winning in every area where they could use force. All the evidence now seems to indicate that the Politburo in Moscow has changed its fundamental policy, and intends to seek a quick military victory in Europe, Africa and Asia. In all my talks with leaders in government throughout Asia, I encountered a desperate sense of fear. The question they asked is not whether there will be a world struggle between communism and democracy, but how soon it will come.

MURROW: Larry Le Sueur who covers the United Nations. Do you think there'll be a general war?

ma

LE SUEUR: Limited war -- yes, Ed, Atomic war -- NO. We're in a limited war right now, and the prospects of more limited wars by Russia's satellites appears a strong possibility... It's my conviction that Stalin hopes to drive American influence off the continents of Europe and Asia during his lifetime, by a series of local wars and revolutions, like Czecho-slovakia and Korea....

But I covered Russia in the last war and I think one of the determining factors that keeps Russia from fighting a total war, besides, of course, the atom bomb, is the fear of what the strain of such a struggle would do to the Russian regime itself... Remembering that the last war disclosed great enmity to Moscow in big parts of the Soviet Union like the Ukraine and the Crimea...

MURROW: Winston Burdett, is there going to be a general war?

BURDETT: Well, Ed, intellectually, I agree entirely with Howard Smith that all the logic is against war, and yet, in my heart I fear that war is coming. In Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia, I talked ten days ago with a group of western diplomats who had just spent three months in the Cominform countries.

BURDETT: (CONT.) What impressed them most..what alarmed them most.. was the war psychosis which they found everywhere behind the Iron Curtain. In one way the Russian campaign of hatred against the West has overshot its mark. The Russians have sought to instill hatred and militancy in the satellites of East Europe. Instead, they have created universal fear, a dreadful conviction that war is inevitable...and imminent.

The Russians have now pushed the peoples of eastern Europe to the very ledge, the borderline. Psychologically, it is a small, small step from the war psychosis of today to the reality of war itself.

MURROW: David Schoenbrun, do you think there's going to be a war?

SCHOENBRUN: No, I don't think so -- not in the foreseeable future. War or peace today, is in the hands of two powers: The USSR and the USA. I don't think that either wants to start a war -- right now Russia has the advantage in the hot-and-cold running wars around the globe. We Americans are committed in Korea, the British in Malaya, the French in Indo-China and not a single Soviet soldier has had to move.

SCHOENBRUN: (CONT.) Our economic strength and our manpower are being strained to the utmost. And since we're not directly at war with Russia our atomic power is neutralized. Right now Russia has much to lose and little to win by making general war.

So, I don't forsee one for the next year or two, which is as far ahead as anybody dares look these days.

MURROW: Eric Sevareid, is there going to be a war?

SEVAREID: I feel that war is almost certain. I have to say that even tho I know that the mere saying so adds one more mite toward making it certain. Because war or peace is decided in the minds of human beings.

And the concept that the third world war is coming has entered the subconscious of millions. Emotionally, our triggers are set; even a small jar now could set them off. In this year of 1950, the free world switched, from a great effort to organize against war, to a great effort to organize against defeat.

The desperate paradox is that until the possibility of defeat was accepted in our minds, we were unable or unwilling to take the steps toward strength which might have held off war itself. -MORE-

ma

SEVAREID: (CONT.) The terrible lesson of Korea is that Stalin is perfectly willing to risk world war now. Which must mean that he is confident he cannot be defeated - now. We can only pray for Time to change that - rather, let us pray for the courage and energy to use what time there may be. That is our only chance to remain the masters of our fate.

I asked Secretary Acheson if he could offer us a prescription for this perilous time....This is what he told me:

(ACHESON:) (TAPE) "The prescription which we need today is the prescription that Mr. Churchill gave to England in 1940 -- blood and toil, sweat and tears. And may I add to that -- faith, faith in ourselves, faith in our country, faith that the great task before us can be done and that it will be done."

SEVAREID: Perhaps that is the sum and substance of most of what we have said. Ed Murrow, how would you cast up this afternoon's accounting?

MURROW: In this examination we have found our allies ill-prepared....as we are... We have found the forces of freedom everywhere on the defensive...We are not agreed as to the prospect of early total war.....

MURROW: (CONT.) But none of these men...of integrity and ability expressed belief in the possibility of an honorable compromise with the forces of aggressive communism.. We are in our own land divided...we are debating what we must do...what we can do.... As a nation we have come into our full inheritance at a tender age....We are strong, and reckless, and too much afraid....We are living in a state of perpetual crisis.....for we have inherited the role of defender of the faith.....We are the principal custodians of centuries of sacrifice and bloodshed and progress.. That responsibility is the price of power....If we flinch or fail..we welcome the long nite of barbarism....By all means let us argue our course... let us be vigilant lest we lose our liberties while preparing to defend them. Let us remember that the great strength of a totalitarian state is that it may force those who fear it to imitate it.....

It is, I think, true that we are facing fearful odds...but we have faced worse...This is no little struggle....It is for the world...

-MORE-

ma

MURROW:
(CONT.)

"Let it be told to the future world, that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet and repulse it...say not that thousands are gone...turn out your tens of thousands... throw not the burden of the day upon providence but show your faith by your works...that God may bless you".... a man named Tom Paine wrote that when most men save Americans despaired of the life of this infant lands..... He further wrote.... "'Tis the business of little minds to shrink....but he whose heart is firm and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death".....

Those of us around this table join in wishing you a full measure of the spirit of Tom Paine, for the years of crises ahead.

ma

ANNCR: Your Chevrolet dealer counts it a privilege to have presented this significant review of world conditions today. We wish to thank the news analysts and correspondents who have brought you their own viewpoints of the international scene gathered by personal observations around the world. Their unrestricted exchange of private views and opinions has been, we hope, both interesting and informative to you. And now -- with every best and hopeful wish for the New Year -- this is Bud Collyer saying good afternoon for your Chevrolet dealer.

THIS IS CBS, THE COLUMBIA
BROADCASTING SYSTEM

AS BROADCAST
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

ANNOUNCER _____

PRODUCTION _____

CBS RADIO NETWORK

AMOCO PROGRAM:

CHALLENGE OF THE 50's - YEARS OF CRISIS

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1951
4:00 to 5:00 P.M.

5-8-6

4 pm

NO WRITTEN SCRIPT
PROGRAM RECORDED ON
ALL-DAY TAPE FILE

AMERICAN OIL COMPANY OPENING COMMERCIAL

"YEAR OF CRISIS" - Edward R. Murrow Sunday, 12-30-51

Oil serves the nation! The American Oil Company and Amaco dealers from Maine to Florida present "YEARS OF CRISES" with Edward R. Murrow and seven CBS correspondents flown in from the capitals of the world for this very special year-end global report to America!

AS BROADCAST

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

ANNOUNCER Dixon

PRODUCTION Herr

G

The headlines in the papers these days are big, black and important. Compared to them news about a motor fuel, especially news that happened thirty-seven years ago, may seem unimportant. Yet that motor fuel has played and continues to play an important part in the lives of many people.

For that news was the development, in 1915, by the American Oil Company, of the first - the original special motor fuel. They called it Amoco-Gas. Before its development, there was just one kind of gas you could buy for your car. Just plain, ordinary, run-of-the-mill gasoline. Amoco-Gas changed all that. It was different, made from a different formula. It was so much better than ordinary gas that it revolutionized both the petroleum and automotive industries. It gave engineers something new to work with, made it possible for them to develop the better, higher-compression engines you enjoy today.

If you have owned any car in the last thirty-seven years, you have benefited. Even if you have never owned a car, you have benefited. Every time you have ridden in a friend's car, or
G even in a taxicab, you have enjoyed a smoothness, a quietness, an ease of riding that Amoco-Gas helped to make possible.

The relationship between the man who sells and the man who buys should be more than a "pay your money - wrap it up - take it away" relationship. For whether the seller is a baker, or a grocer, or a service station man, there's a human element there, too. With your Amoco man, perhaps it begins with a little thing, like water to cool down a hot radiator, or scrubbing extra hard to get a stain off the windshield. It is a friendship strengthened by emergencies - a car down the road out of gas, a woman driver who doesn't know what to do with a flat tire, a tourist in a strange town seeking help. Above all, it is a neighborhood friendlines and this we are especially proud of. Most Amoco men were born and raised in the neighborhoods they serve, and whether little Mary has recovered from her cold is a question that often comes before "Shall I add a quart of Permalube Motor Oil?" This mutuality of interest - this honest desire of Amoco men to serve their customers as friends, - this you will find at any Amoco station. It is a very important reason why so many millions of car-owners look for the Amoco Sign of Greater Values - from Maine to Florida for famous Amoco Products.

G

AMERICAN OIL COMPANY CLOSING COMMERCIAL

"YEARS OF CRISIS" - Edward R. Murrow Sunday, 12-30-51

This program has been brought to you by the American Oil Company. The Amoco product family includes the famous Amoco-Gas, Permalube Motor Oil, Amoco Approved Lubricants, Amoco Tires, Batteries and Accessories. But there are people in the Amoco family, too -- the thousands of Amoco dealers from Maine to Florida. Some of them live in your town, some right in your own neighborhood. All of them - your neighbor and every other Amoco man from Maine to Florida - wish you a happy and peaceful New Year. The best to you - in '52!

This is the CBS.RADIO Network

g

YEARS OF CRISES HEBB

CBS RADIO NEWS

AIR: SUNDAY, DECEMBER 30th, 1951 - 4:00 to 5:00 P.M.

DIXON: Oil serves the nation! The American Oil Company and Amoco dealers from Maine to Florida present "YEARS OF CRISES" with Edward R. Murrow and seven CBS correspondents flown in from the capitals of the world for this very special year-end global report to America! Now.....Mr. Murrow. — Change from cue sheet

400 23 22

2 SECONDS PAUSE

MURROW: 23 Good Afternoon. I find myself in goodly company, surrounded by seven CBS Radio Correspondents who have flown into New York from their various assignments at home and abroad. The year that is ending has witnessed a substantial increase in the military and economic power of the free world and of the communist world. It is our purpose to examine what has occurred in this year of continuing crisis, and what results may be expected to flow from these developments. How much power do we have? And what are we going to do when we get even more? First permit these correspondents to introduce themselves, ~~with a brief summary of what has happened in the area to which they are assigned.~~ And tell us how the U.S. is doing around the world.

ras

COSTELLO: I'm Bill Costello. My beat is Asia, home of nearly 60 percent of the world's people. In terms of power, communism in the last year has been losing headway in Asia.. the non communist countries have grown stronger. This means the position of the United States is better than at any time since the end of World War 11. If we're tactful in handling Asiatic problems, our influence from now on should increase.

130

NIVEN: I'm Paul Niven. My beat is London, with trips to the continent often enough to remind me that Britain is an island. In 1951 that insularity has disturbed Britain's neighbors and clouded, in the eyes of Americans, the return to power of Winston Churchill. But Britain was, is, and will continue to be our strongest and our closest ally.

HOTT 153

SCHOENBRUN: I'm David Schoenbrun, reporting out of Paris and neighboring Atlantic capitals. In that area our friends grew stronger, our enemies weaker, this year. The added strength was military....on the economic front pinch got tighter...so we still can't afford any relaxation.

ras

210

HOTTELET: I'm Richard C. Hottelet...my job is covering Germany. -- There, the United States has something pretty solid to show for its efforts. American forces have more than doubled, and this living proof that we are linked to Europe has helped to encourage our allies and stabilize ~~the situation~~ Western Germany. ~~Stability has brought Western Germany economic prosperity and social peace.~~

228

KENDRICK: I'm Alexander Kendrick, based in Vienna, and covering Austria, Yugoslavia, and the rest of eastern Europe. The United States is doing better in that part of the world than for a long time. And it's not only because of what we are doing, but also because of what the Communists are doing to the people in Communist territory.

242

CALMER: I'm Ned Calmer. I cover the Mediterranean and the Middle East. I'd say we've definitely gained ground, ~~Ed~~ in our general relations with Italy, Greece and Turkey -- but that the Middle East has become the area of our greatest weakness....And, as a power vacuum, perhaps 3 our greatest danger. All through that vast hinterland from Egypt over to Iran, revolt is flaring up against the West ~~-- Britain is being chased out. Americans are regarded with increasing hostility.~~

ras 310

308

SEVAREID: I'm Eric Sevareid, assigned to the United States. In practical terms, we're in better shape. We have mobilized men and machines very considerably and without any serious economic dislocations at home. In terms of the moral and political unity that must support this build up, we're probably worse off.

325

330

MURROW: Now gentlemen, let's go round the table again with each of you summarizing for us the significant events in terms of power that have occurred in each of your areas.

341 337

HOTTELET: Germany is the makeweight in any European balance of power. In this year we have taken important steps to bring that weight down on the WESTERN side. ~~The agreement with~~ military General Eisenhower ~~promising the Germans equal dignity in the common defense. Nothing could better have~~ did a great deal to overcome the Germans' cynical neutralism, ~~which played so strongly into Russian hands a year ago. Since then~~ full agreement has been reached on at least the military side of a European Army. 1953 will see the first German divisions under western command. --- Enormous help has come in from abroad too.

-more-

ras

HOTTELET: (CTD) The western allies have guaranteed the German Federal Republic and the city of Berlin against invasion or revolution. In this past year ~~three~~ 200000 men ~~American infantry and one armored divisions, two British armored divisions, a Canadian brigade, French and Belgian units~~ and ten thousand German ~~border police~~ have reinforced the troops already in Germany. ~~The Schuman Plan was signed in April and will be ratified by the German Parliament next week - adding German heavy industry to the western potential. Last Spring most of the remaining industrial controls were removed, and~~ Economically the mighty foundries of the Ruhr - the chemical plants - the machine tool makers and instrument factories are working for the west. Production is rising all the time. Politically Germany in this year has sped along the road toward full internal sovereignty and a position of influence in European affairs. Chancellor Adenauer is respectfully heard at international meetings. By and large his government and the parliament enjoy his country's esteem. The German trade union movement is large and powerful, and there is an outspoken, active political opposition.

-more-

ras

HOTTELET: (CTD) Most people recognize these benefits - most people, too, share in the rising standard of living. They are coming to see how large a stake they have in the preservation of western democracy.--- These all - economic, military, political and social - are the elements of power. But don't forget. Germany is cut in two. In the Soviet Zone the Russians have not been asleep either. Their armies and their German auxiliaries have been enlarged and improved. The Communist Party has strengthened its hold, and industry has been geared more closely to the Soviet Five Year Plan. --- The western gain in RELATIVE strength, therefore, may not be quite so dramatic. 536

MURROW 610

NIVEN: On October 25th, one percent of the British people brought Winston Churchill back to power. Only that small group had changed allegiance since the last election. There is no sign of a further swing; the island seems permanently, even dangerously divided into two monolithic and roughly equal blocs. It's clear already, however, that these parties themselves have much in common. For six years the Labor Party has become less and less socialistic, the Conservative Party more and more socialistic.

ras -more-

NIVEN: (CTD) Labor learned that nationalization didn't bring Utopia; Tories learned that people liked cheap food and free medical service. There is a fundamental cleavage on rearmament. A big Labor rebel group, led by Aneurin Bevan, defies Churchill and Attlee both. The doctrine called "Bevanism" claims that Britain can't afford to rearm; that Atlantic rearmament produces inflation which in turn produces communism instead of stopping it; and that money should be spent instead on free teeth and spectacles at home and helping backward countries abroad. Bevanism is a barometer, unique in the world, of the success or failure of Western defense. What Britain did not do in 1951 was often more noteworthy than what she did. She did not join the Schuman Plan or the European army ~~plan. Opposition leader Churchill had founded and led the unofficial movement, United Europe. Prime Minister Churchill was as cool to European union as Clement Attlee had been. Prodded by Western pressure, he finally promised close association with the schemes -- but Britain could never actually join them, he said, because of her Commonwealth commitments.~~

-more-

ras

NIVEN: (CTD) Churchill set one supreme goal for the government which he formed a few days before his 77th birthday. "If I remain in public life", he said, "it is because I believe...that I can make an important contribution to the prevention of a third world war." Mr. Churchill has set his sights high; and he is 77.

MURROW

KENDRICK: Well, Eastern Europe used to be unfriendly territory all the way from the Baltic to the Adriatic, behind that famous Iron Curtain. But during this past year the United States signed a military agreement with Yugoslavia, and the West has been giving Marshal Tito considerable economic aid. So now we have an ally in the Balkans, 35 divisions' worth. Tito of course is playing his own game, but at this point he's also playing our game, and his anti-Cominform propaganda is the best in the business. We're doing all right with the Yugoslavs..sometimes I think they're the only people in all Europe who really like us. And they're doing all right for themselves. They have the will to fight, if necessary, and this year they've made many liberalizing political and economic changes..along what we consider to be democratic lines.

-more-

ras

KENDRICK: (CTD) They've improved relations with our friends the Greeks, and they want to patch up things with our friends the Italians. So that southern flank in Eastern Europe looks a lot better. Inside the Cominform countries, the Russians and their satellites have continued to arm frantically and to increase their military forces. That's a loss for us on the balance sheet, but I don't think it's a net loss. Because we definitely have frightened them with our rearmament program, and stepping up their arms program has caused considerable strain and dislocation in their economic systems. That brings more pressure from Moscow, and the pressure brings more strain. I think that's a factor we're inclined to overlook. 900 950 Moscow's growing troubles are a clear gain for us.

MURROW: Leads to Calmer.

ras

907 955

CALMER: Ed, that boot sticking down into the Mediterranean on your map might be called the Sick Limb of Europe. 10- Italy's sick because her population is rapidly increasing and five million of her people are wholly or partly unemployed. Italy's sick because as everywhere, inflation is gnawing at the roots of its economy. Incidentally, there are ugly signs of a fascist revival that could be dangerous. In spite of these basic drawbacks, a lot could be done to improve Italy's shaky situation if other countries would accept her unemployed workers as coal miners, for one instance, and if Italy could get orders for her large industrial potential. But the real challenge to the West lies on the other side of the Mediterranean--in Egypt, in ALL the Moslem countries all the way to ~~and including~~ the borders of India. Talk about overpopulation and undernourishment--THERE is where you see it at the worst, and it's no wonder that the gradual awakening of these backward peoples from their ignorance has provided fertile soil for nationalism. That little man from Iran--Mosadegh-showed the OTHER Moslem peoples how you could defy the British and get away with it. Egypt followed suit. Irak may be next in line.

(MORE)

asm

11:04 1015

CALMER (CONTD) Of course, this path means the economic ruin of these countries--but the men in power don't seem to care about that. Russia doesn't have to do a thing--just sit back and watch chaos spread. ~~What should be the next move by the West?~~ How should we use our power in that area? Answer that one and you're smarter than anybody I know.

11:20 1033

MURROW: Leads to Costello.

11:25

1037 1125

COSTELLO: Well, Ed, from the American point of view, Asia today is something like Ancient Gaul -- it's divided into three parts, each with its own center of power. The first of these is the continent, from Siberia to Singapore. That land mass is dominated by China...and if there is a general war in this generation, we can assume that communism, spilling over from China, would over-run the continent. The second part is the maritime belt of Asia, the islands lying off shore, extending all the way from the Aleutians down through Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia to Australia and New Zealand. Before the last war, Japan dominated or threatened to dominate these island areas of the western and southern Pacific...and Japan today -- because it possesses the only modern industrial plant in the entire region -- is still the center of economic power. In the event of a major war, the United States could probably control this part of Asia by exploiting its naval and air superiority. What remains is the great sub-continent of Asia which includes India and Pakistan and their bordering principalities.

-more-

ras

COSTELLO: (CTD) Only recently, American planners have recognized that India's allegiance has become a matter of absolutely vital concern to the United States. If communism should control the mainland, and the United States should dominate the Pacific Islands, India would then hold the balance of power in Asia. In peace or in war -- to win out against communist expansionism -- we must in the long run have India on our side. In the last year, the American position has been strengthened in the maritime belt by mutual security treaties with Japan, with the Philippines, and with Australia and New Zealand. We have made only a minimum of progress with Indonesia...and with India, although big-scale plans for the future are taking form. ~~Our position will not be considered secure until we know that India, too, feels compelled to align itself with the non-communist world.~~ STET

stet

1328

MURROW: Leads to Schoenbrun.

ras

SCHOENBRUN: This has been Eisenhower Year in France and neighboring countries...and this first year of his Supreme Command brought some notable changes. When he came to Paris last January there were only eight combat divisions between the Elbe and the Channel. Today there are eighteen ready divisions and eleven more in training. Much of this increase is due to Eisenhower's personal prestige...now at a peak. As a potential President of America Eisenhower speaks to European statesmen as the man who may hold the purse-strings of American aid next year--so they think twice about refusing his requests. A word from Ike last spring about the Dutch Defense Ministry dragging its feet...and the Dutch Cabinet fell. A hint to France that the airbase schedule was far behind... and ten new contracts were placed. That's one reason, by the way, that Ike refuses to say whether he will run for the Presidency. If he keeps them guessing he keeps them co-operating. This can't last forever--in fact not much longer--but he's pressing his advantage while he can, exercising authority in fields normally outside a General's competence. Ike has become a crusader for European federation, has endorsed the Pleven Plan for a European Army--one of the top stories of the year on my beat.

(MORE)

asm

1430 1353

SCHOENBRUN: (CONTD) This is frankly a device for re-arming the Germans with safeguards to satisfy French fears... an integrated command to prevent the re-birth of a German General Staff and a free-wheeling Wehrmacht. This Plan is still far from general acceptance... but its industrial counterpart, the Schuman Plan, ~~did make history this year...That Treaty was signed~~ this year & will be fully ratified next month — the only treaty was signed by six nations, ratified by two, France and Holland... ~~and the others~~, Germany, Italy, Belgium and ~~Luxembourg expect to follow through next month~~. This merger of coal and steel resources is the cornerstone of a new European unity--a basic goal of American foreign policy. Through it Europe may yet become something more than a name on a map.

1530 1428

MURROW: Leads to Sevareid.

1541

SEVAREID: So far, world peace has always been based on power, and the United States has been engaged in a tremendous power exercise this last year; our use of power in Korea may have advanced the day when peace will be based on law. At least we stopped the aggression there and held the U.N. together. We made good strides in building and organizing the power of the free world-- in the Pacific with the Japanese Treaty and the Pacific Alliance, in Europe with extension of the Atlantic Treaty, the sharp increase in European defenses, and the first steps toward European unity, which are due in considerable measure to American pressure, unwelcome though that may be at times to Europeans. We are a steadier ally than we appeared to be a year ago. The tragic Korean retreat then did not panic us into atomic warfare or direct war on China which might have meant world war; the MacArthur crisis did not lead to full involvement in Asia and it did not fundamentally divide the American people, not for very long. Where our actions hurt the free alliance this year, it was indirect. We hurt it by buying too much too quickly in world markets without controls, thereby throwing the British and French economies into another tailspin. But it would have been a lot worse for the free world if we had let our own economy fall into an inflationary tailspin.

:EDG

SEVAREID: Actually, the rate of inflation here this year was remarkably slow, all things considered. We helped keep starvation out of India, helped keep Indo-China a going concern, preserved a center of relative Chinese freedom in Formosa, planted a few very pregnant seeds with the technical program of Point Four. We did not prevent the disintegration in Persia, but not even America can plug every dike around the world. Yet, we failed to get a settlement in Korea; that one can still explode and if it does it may upset all the other carefully balanced apples in the cart.

MURROW: Now that you've summarized in general terms the outstanding developments of the year in your place of work, suppose we try, in a few words, to establish the most powerful individual or the most powerful force in your different sections of the world.

COSTELLO: In Asia, it's Prime Minister Nehru.

NIVEN: In Great Britain, it's Patience!

SEVAREID: Here in the United States, it's money!

HOTTELET: In Germany, it's Soviet Imperialism!

KENDRICK: In Eastern Europe, it's the weakness of Communism!

CALMER: In the Middle East, it's Nationalism!

LPC

SCHOENBRUN: In France, it's Eisenhower!

MURROW: Suppose we pause for a minute...fellows...now that Dave has mentioned General Eisenhower...have any of you, on your daily assignments found the answer to one question of interest to most Americans. It's this: Is Ike going to run for President? No speculation, please!

(5 seconds of silence)

MURROW: Very eloquent - and about as definite as most comments on the subject.

Well, gentlemen, so far we've viewed the military and economic power of a vast area of the world. There is another power that could be a determining factor in where we go from here. The power of ideas...we usually call it psychological warfare. How are we.. the free nations...doing in this field...have we won any victories, lost any decisions in this psychological war? So why don't you fellows take time out to think that over while we hear from our sponsor.

(TWO SECOND PAUSE

DIXON: The headlines in the papers these days are big, black and important. Compared to them news about a motor fuel, especially news that happened thirty-seven years ago, may seem unimportant. Yet that motor fuel has played and continues to play an important part in the lives of many people. (MORE)

DIXON: (CTD) For that news was the development, in 1915, by the American Oil Company, of the first - the original special motor fuel. They called it Amoco-Gas. Before its development, there was just one kind of gas you could buy for your car. Just plain, ordinary, run-of-the-mill gasoline. Amoco-Gas changed all that. It was different, made from a different formula. It was so much better than ordinary gas that it revolutionized both the petroleum and automotive industries. It gave engineers something new to work with, made it possible for them to develope the better, higher-compression engines you enjoy today. If you have owned any car in the last thirty-seven years, you have benefited. Even if you have never owned a car, you have benefited. Every time you have ridden in a friend's car, or even in a taxicab, you have enjoyed a smoothness, a quietness, an ease of riding that Amoco-Gas helped to make possible.

MURROW: A moment ago, gentlemen, we set up the problem of psychological warfare... the strength of ideas in this global conflict. How have we been doing in the psychological battle... any victories... any defeats? Dick Hottelet, let's start with Germany.

LDG

2025 -35-

HOTTELET: The United Nations decision to investigate the possibility of free elections in East and West Germany is an outstanding political victory. It has smashed one of Moscow's most profitable propaganda monopolies. Russia has refused to permit such an investigation in the Soviet Zone, thus admitting that it will not allow a genuinely free ballot, that it will accept German unity only on Communist terms. -This admission ~~will do Moscow no good, either inside Germany~~ or before world opinion. More than ~~that, it~~ has given the West a chance to counterattack in eastern Germany and in the satellites as the real champion of self-determination, backed by the authority of the large and small United Nations. This may be a strategic victory for the west if it's properly developed. But in this past year the western political warriors displayed a tactical stupidity, ~~which was less shameful only than their attempts to cover it up.~~ The huge communist youth festival in East Berlin in August gave hundreds of thousands of kids their one chance to sneak across the border for a look at western life. An almost complete lack of western planning left them with little more to do than wander through the streets. A great deal could have been done to plant a few doubts and a few ideas. Our political warfare is not yet quick enough on its feet. ~~It still~~ has not learned what every business man knows - that in these days of fierce competition it's not enough to have a good product, you've got to go out and sell it.

20- 2108 22

LDG

MURROW: Leads to Niven.

NIVEN: American successes or failures in this field are ipso-facto British successes or failures. So close are the two countries. As an example of how close we are in psychological warfare, leading members of the new Conservative government have said bluntly, "We must keep in step with America at all costs." They would sometimes like the pace to be a little slower, the bark to be a little softer, to win these battles. For example, there was a marked difference between Secretary Acheson's speech at the United Nations General Assembly and that of Foreign Secretary Eden. Acheson's was an indictment of Soviet misdeeds and malpractices, fully and bitingly documented. Eden, who is fully aware of those misdeeds, chose not to mention them; he sought instead to narrow as much as he could the area of conflict.

MURROW: Leads to Kendrick.

KENDRICK: Our biggest psychological victory in Eastern Europe this year was our treaty with Yugoslavia -- and that's more than psychological warfare. And I think our relations with the Cominform states have also passed the stage of psychological warfare. In Vienna it's not called the cold war any more, but the dark war.

(MORE)

asm

KENDRICK: (CONTD) We try to influence people to run away, to rebel, to commit sabotage. We use spies and agents, counter-spies and counter-agents. But I don't think we've made up our minds yet how far we can go--or want to go--with the dark war.

MURROW: Leads to Calmer.

CALMER: I think the Russian propagandists are AHEAD of us in holding the attention of the Middle East, Ed. And it's for a simple reason--WE direct our appeal more to the educated, sophisticated groups, while the Russians talk to the people who work with their hands. We don't seem to have the common touch to the extent the Russians do out there--we don't seem able to talk to the great masses of the poor and resentful in terms they understand. When they listen to OUR radio programs, for example, they prefer the MUSIC--to the extent that all Middle Eastern music is taking on a jazzy rhythm. Whether that represents progress I would doubt.

MURROW: Leads to Costello.

COSTELLO: Yes, Ed, we can claim two important psychological victories in Asia...and they help explain why the non-communist nations out there are growing stronger. First, in Korea, we proved we were willing to fight for our principles. Then, at San Francisco we solved the riddle of the Japanese Peace Treaty -- ~~and silenced the Red propaganda machine~~ -- by mobilizing 47 other nations to sign with us. We lost some ground by quibbling over ~~where~~ WHEAT-to-India. But, by one act of war in Korea and another of peace in Japan, we showed a new attitude of resoluteness, a new in Asian affairs. ~~We inspired courage in weak nations and a hope for stability~~. Asians respect these evidences of power because one of their principal criticisms of us has been that we lacked steadiness of purpose. They have looked to us for moral leadership -- and in the past they often thought we let them down -- but now they think they know where we stand.

MURROW: Leads to Schoenbrun.

SCHOENBRUN: Our greatest psychological success in France ~~was~~ Truman's ouster of Mac Arthur...the French took it as a sign we wouldn't get involved in a bigger war on the Chinese mainland.

ras

-more-

SCHOENBRUN:
(CTD) We also suffered some setbacks in psychological warfare; particularly at the current UN session in Paris. The voting shows we influenced a lot of people but we also built up a lot of resentment by snapping the whip to get the vote out. For example, we told the Latin Americans to give up their candidate for two big UN jobs to support an American favorite. Now they say sarcastically: You know, some of our best friends are North Americans. 2435

MURROW: 26 One thing most Americans want to know from all returning travelers is what our allies are doing... what's happening to our aid...our investment in Europe...in Asia. You fellows have the advantage over the traveler. Yours is a daily assignment.. a constant eye and ear on our allies. Are they carrying their own weight in this struggle? Niven, what about England? 56 ~~Is the area pulling its weight in defense?~~

2621

NIVEN: Rearmament, Ed, makes strange bedfellows. Mr. Churchill 25 the other day confirmed a prediction of Mr. Aneurin Bevan's. Bevan had said last Spring that Britain's 1951 arms program was physically incapable of fulfillment.

ras -more-

2635 2510

NIVEN: (CTD) Now, in Parlimant, Churchill told him: "You were right". Now that doesn't mean that Britain is shirking; it means just the opposite. She bit off all she could chew and a little more. Before Korea she had a bigger arms budget, per capita, than any of her allies, including the United States. She still has more men under arms, per head of population, than any other Western country. Furthermore, she has had no American aid for fifteen months, and is ~~beginning~~ starting to pay back the 1946 loan. It may be that her goal is still too high; that Churchill will have to make further concessions to the Bevanite dissenters. But a population inured to hardship and patience, a generation reared amidst blood, sweat, toil and tears, can be depended on more than most to make its maximum possible contribution. 56.

2723

MURROW: Leads to Hottelet. 2601

2727

HOTTELET: In one sense the Germans are definitely carrying their own weight. They have stood firm against the fiercest kind of political pressure and the most attractive blandishments.

-more-

ras

HOTTELET: (CTD) The Cominform has spent millions to undermine the Western German government and to lure it into the Soviet orbit. It has subsidized strikes, riots and political agitation. It has set up more than a hundred front organizations to catch young and old, men and women, smart and stupid. Its appeals range from the most brazen rightwing nationalism for ex-nazis and former officers to the smoothest Christian pacifism for muddleheaded religious idealists. -- None of these tactics has brought success. The Western German government and the Parliament have contemptuously refused to turn their backs on the West and make a deal with the East. But in another way the Germans are NOT pulling their weight - in defense. German production is still practically on a peacetime basis. One reason is that German business is glad to take over rich consumers goods markets from other nations which have shifted to war production, and German consumers are glad to make up what they've been missing for ten years. But another reason is the allies' inability to agree on what defense good Germany may produce. The French, for what they consider safety's sake, refuse to let the Germans make rifle bullets - they may make either the projectile or the charge, but not both. 55 2729

MURROW: Leads to Kendrick.

ras

KENDRICK: Well, I think by carrying too much Russian weight, the satellites are making a little weight for us. And the Yugoslavs are certainly carrying their own weight, with the second largest army in Europe. I believe Tito has been our best investment since the Panama Canal. And like the Panama Canal, he's going westward--in an easterly direction.

MURROW: Leads to Calmer.

CALMER: In the Middle East, Ed, we simply can't talk in terms of allies carrying their own weight. There are very few allies--Turkey is the only strong one--and there's very little weight, as yet. It'll be a long time before the proposed Middle East defense pact comes into being. The Egyptian crisis must be settled first--not to mention Iran's crisis, or the relentless hatred of the whole Arab world for Israel.

MURROW: Leads to Costello.

COSTELLO: Asia did a great deal last year to help itself. The South Koreans died in heaps to defend their republic. The Japanese worked energetically to supply our war needs--and accepted our dollars gratefully. The Filipinos started carrying out American recommendations for social and economic reform...and they completely reorganized and revitalized their Army.

(MORE)

asm

2851

COSTELLO: (CONTD) The Vietnamese swarmed to enlist in their new national army, which is being equipped with American guns. In the southern regions, the under-developed countries overcame their 29 distrust of our Point Four program, and began cooperating with our technical missions. Police forces were modernized. Tax collections improved. The countries of Asia still suffer from weakness and instability-- ~~from the chaos of Japanese aggression and the cold war but~~ they are beginning to paddle their own canoe. American help in Asia has been doled out sparingly- perhaps too sparingly- but less and less of it is going down a rat-hole. 2925

3035

MURROW: Leads to Schoenbrun.

3100 2929

SCHOENBRUN: The French contribution is a tough one to evaluate, Ed. ~~On the record, France has the biggest defense budget in Western Europe: 32% of national income...so you could say she is pulling her weight.~~ ~~Yet~~ France has only delivered five of the ten combat divisions she promised to put under Ike's command this year...so you could argue she's dragging her feet. The French ~~point out that they're~~ are still fighting in the five-year old Indochina War, bleeding her best divisions.

(MORE)

asm

48

SCHOENBRUN: (CONTD) That war has cost France more than all the Marshall Aid we gave her. ~~The real bad boy of the West is Belgium--luxury living and a low defense effort. They've been asked to step up their defense budget next year by 35%...a measure of how far behind they are.~~ Some of our allies certainly could do a lot more next year.

53

3150

MURROW: Leads to Sevareid.

3158

3000

SEVAREID: I'd say this--Congress is going to return next week with a strong feeling that many of our allies are not pulling their own weight. Korea is at the heart of this feeling. South Koreans aside, we have suffered about ninety-three percent of the casualties in that United enterprise. ~~British and French explanations of their troubles in Malaya and Indo-China and so on, carry some weight with congressmen but not very much. They~~ feel that the British and French people, to say nothing of others like the Dutch who've hardly been seen around Korea, just aren't much interested in the Korean war; and that, they resent. They resent the tiny fraction of their national income that a few others like the Danes are putting into their own national defense.

(MORE)

asm

SEVAREID: (CONTD) I think they do appreciate the spartan living of some Europeans like the British and the Norwegians; but they resent the inability of the French, for example, despite all the Marshall Aid, to improve the condition of their working classes; they're sore about profiteering among the rich Greeks. They think the moves towards European union are going too slowly, and rightly or wrongly, they tend to hold the British chiefly responsible. People in the executive branch of government are less critical of Britain and more resentful of the Germans' hard, rather arrogant bargaining; Congressmen, for some reason, seem to overlook any German faults. I should say this--there is a dim, dark fear in the back of many Washington minds that Europe simply cannot make it, economically, without permanent American subsidies--short of real European union. And subsidies will be harder and harder to get from Congress; they're tired of endless stop gaps and emergencies; Secretary Acheson may remind them that Europe has done more in the last four years towards unity than it did in the previous five hundred, but that still isn't fast enough for most congressmen. They're worried about a big budget deficit here and they'd like to see a way out--now.

33

53

asm

3138

MURROW: Very interesting, Eric. Now, before we go into the next question, let's pause 15 seconds for station identification. This is the CBS RADIO network.

3404 34 48

(15 SECONDS STATION BREAK)

34-20 204

MURROW: Gentlemen, I think you'd all agree with me in saying that probably the most significant thing that's happened since we met last year is the growth of allied power...the increasing strength of America...of our allies. Sometimes we get word from abroad that our allies are on occasion a bit apprehensive about American power...about what we're going to do with it when..in Charlie Wilson's phrase...we have enough military hardware to fill all of Texas. What do our allies feel about this power? Dick Hottelet, you're right under the guns in Germany, let's hear from you.

3450 3235

HOTTELET: Seen from Germany, where the elbowroom is pretty small, the question might better be- what does power do with us? ~~As western strength grows we reach the point where a policy of containing Soviet expansion is not enough.~~ 35 Once we have outgunned Russia, containment becomes ~~a static, brittle concept~~ a sort of defeatist idea that the world can and ought to go on indefinitely half slave and half free.--A balance of power, on the other hand, which, many people believe the only acceptable basis of peace, is a live, moving process. (MORE)

33

asm

HOTTELET: (CONTD) It offers the chance of improving and extending the prospects of democracy.3309 In either case the sheer existense of great power brings risk and enormous responsibility. World power is not a convenient commodity, to be turned on and off, and kept in the custody of any one nation as in a storage battery. Power radiates its influence in all directions, imposes its own laws of action on those who think they hold it, as well as upon those against whom it is directed. Once out of balance it upsets them both.----- But, this is no place for an essay. I have in mind one hypothetical case which can become a real possibility. When and if we reach the peak of our military strength the western coalition will have strong forces stationed in Germany, including right along the Czech frontier. Czech patriots who are now lying low might well be stirred by the presence 34- of such power. Suppose they rebelled, took over Prague radio and began to call for help. Could the West afford NOT to send it? What if Marshal Tito, with strong NATO forces behind him should get a similar call from ~~Radio Sofia~~? Bulgaria

3639

MURROW: Leads to Schoenbrun:

3421

SCHOENBRUN: There is today in Continental Europe almost as much fear of America's power build-up as there is the prayer to be protected by it. Much of this fear springs from misunderstandings. Europeans don't know how to distinguish between the facts of American foreign policy and the sensational domestic speeches and fights about it. Americans try to explain this away by saying, "Well, you know, we are a young nation". This just makes things worse. Youth is a quality Europeans do not admire, particularly in great nations. No one wants a baby to juggle a bomb. Another manifestation of American youthfulness is our tendency to think in absolutes; get a formula, launch a program and set a firm date to wrap it up. That sort of power-drive has made America the greatest industrial power in the world, produces a lot of cars, radio sets and refrigerators...but Europeans don't think it's the way to produce peace.

3742

MURROW: Leads to Niven.

3523

NIVEN: Britain has less than her share of communism, neutralism and anti-Americanism. But there is a genuine doubt in the British mind about our ability to build up strength and resist the temptation to use it.

3800 3535

(MORE)

asm

3535

NIVEN: (CONTD) The English, in their annoying smug way, consider themselves the world's best diplomats. They think of us as generous, well-meaning, and bungling. Looking at the many political tinderboxes around this globe, they wonder if a stray American match may not someday be dropped in one. They look too at the American bomber bases in East Anglia, which could be used to start an atom war, and remember that Soviet bases in Germany are only an hour away. So British statesmen say repeatedly and carefully to us: We support rearmament, but never forget that the purpose of strength is not war, but negotiation. 3612

38 37

MURROW: Leads to Kendrick.

38:42 3618

KENDRICK: Well, the thing the Yugoslavs are afraid of-- not only for themselves but for the other small nations-- is the politics of big powers, meaning ourselves and the Russians. They think the two Great Powers of the world are bound to behave like Great Powers, to consider only their own interests, to make deals in their own interests. In other words, let interests become more important than principles.

(MORE)

asm

3640

KENDRICK: (CONTD) There doesn't seem to be much danger of a deal at the moment, but the Yugoslavs are a prime example of a country that was the prisoner of its policy--Soviet policy--and broke out of jail. Now they wonder if we are the prisoners of our policy of anti-Communism, or whether we can bust out. After all, they consider themselves Communist too. And their big question is, Are we Americans just anti-Communist, or are we against Communist aggression? They're not sure yet--and I guess a lot of us aren't either.

3935 3712

MURROW: Leads to Calmer.

3941 3718

CALMER: This growing American power frightens our foreign friends for many reasons, Ed. One of the CHIEF ones I've heard expressed is the fear that the tremendous stress on rearming will carry us into war by its own psychological momentum--in other words, that a war psychosis developed by the American people will end by making war seem so inevitable that even if the Russians don't move we'll launch the war from our side. Americans think more and more of Russia as an enemy that may strike at any moment. Mideasterners believe less and less that Russia dares to attack, at all. (MORE)

4000

3753

CALMER: (CONTD) So they ask--what's the hurry in getting ready to fight? On ECONOMIC grounds, I've heard people say this great rearmament drive will eventually, within the next two or three years, ablige us to USE the immense force we've built up--or else face the worst economic collapse in our history.

3807

MURROW: Leads to Costello.

4037 3811

COSTELLO: I feel Asians are less alarmed than Europeans by the buildup of American power. Out there, you know, they have two hot wars actually in progress---in Korea and Indochina. They can see for themselves we don't have too much power--in fact, we don't have enough to win either war decisively. They can see we have exercised restraint and moderation in not extending these limited wars into a general conflict. The people of Asia are beginning to recover from the dread they felt when communism first invaded South Korea, but they're not at all complacent about the future. The Filipinos, Japanese, Vietnamese and others want more arms for themselves, as well as an industrial structure capable of supplying their armed forces. It's evident to them that China has the only really dangerous concentration of power in the Far East.

(MORE)

asm

3904

COSTELLO: (CONTD) ~~None of the other countries could be aggressive it wanted to even with American help.~~ As they see it, China is now modernizing its armies with Russian equipment, and the non-Communists need American help to keep pace with China. ~~They are being hard headed and realistic in wanting to be able to defend their new freedom.~~ They feel that, for years ahead, any power the United States can build up in Asia will be purely defensive. If Asians have any fear of America's intentions, it's a fear that we may try to use our power to dominate them economically. 42

MURROW: 4202 Well, that sums up pretty well the question of alarm over this country's growing power. In a minute we'll talk about some of the reactions to this fear of power. But before we turn to that matter it is time again, for a message from our sponsor.

3943

2 SECOND PAUSE

3945 4217

DIXON: The relationship between the man who sells and the man who buys should be more than a " pay your money-wrap it up-take it away" relationship. For whether the seller is a baker, or a grocer, or a service station man, there's a human element there, too. 40

(MORE)

asm

DIXON: (CONTD) With your Amoco man, perhaps it begins with a little thing, like water to cool down a hot radiator, or scrubbing extra hard to get a stain off the windshield. It is a friendship strengthened by emergencies--a car down the road out of gas, a woman driver who doesn't know what to do with a flat tire, a tourist in a strange town seeking help. Above all, it is a neighborhood friendliness and this we are especially proud of. Most Amoco men were born and raised in the neighborhoods they serve, 43- and whether little Mary has recovered from her cold is a question that often comes before "Shall I add a quart of Permalube Motor Oil?" This mutuality of interest- this honest desire of Amoco men to serve their customers as friends, - this you will find at any Amoco station. It is a very important reason why so many millions of car-owners look for the Amoco Sign of Greater Values- from Maine to Florida for famous Amoco Products. 110

4327 4217 3945

MURROW: 4330 There is little doubt that most of you detect a substantial fear over America's possible use of her growing strength..fear about what we're going to do with our military might when the time comes that we have much more of it..on hand..not just ordered.

(MORE)

asm

MURROW: (CONTD) ~~But what do our offices want us to do, what do they expect us to do~~? Eric, how do you fellows in Washington feel about ~~this~~? these foreign fears

52 4/27 pause

SEVAREID: Many of these foreign fears of us are based on a false premise. 4400 ~~We are not hurrying, as Calmer suggested~~. We just are not mobilizing the way we did in world war ~~one~~ TWO, when we built such a mammoth stack of planes that we cut plane production in half, six months before the Normandy invasion. You aren't going to see an America armed to the teeth, glaring at Russia with a nervous trigger finger; not unless the Cold War gets a lot worse. We're making weapons, yes; but billions of dollars are now going into armament plant capacity: much of that will stay idle, 42- but ready; much will be run at fractional output. This is an entirely new scheme. ~~It helps explain why arms production is slow right now, too slow for many Congressmen~~. We're not trying to hit a gusher: we're trying ~~to~~ make a faucet that you can turn up or down at any speed you want. You're going to see money appropriations for arms go down, not up. The same goes for manpower. If we get universal military training, we get a great soldier reserve capacity, 4500 not a vast, teeming army of impatient men--a capacity which remains in civilian life.

(MORE)

asm

SEVAREID: (CONTD) Remind your worried European friends that we are eighteen million more people than ten years ago, that our economic plant is nearly twice what it was then. The men under arms at any one time, the assembly lines used for arms production at any one time will be only a small fraction of the total American system...Economics won't drive us to war; and there's no real war psychosis in this country--certainly less than a year ago; with reasonable behavior by the Russians, all this can be managed.

4540

MURROW: But the fact remains, Eric, that all the men here report that Europe and Asia are watching our flexing muscles with more than a suspicious eye. And there seems to be a good deal of fear because of intemperate speeches by some of our Congressmen and some of our Generals. What would our allies like us to do? They want us to quit or ease up? Schoenbrun, just what do they want in Europe?

4603

SCHOENBRUN: Power politics is an old story to Europeans. History, they say, teaches us that there is no such thing as a final settlement. You can only use power to settle past and present conflicts--not future ones... so we must learn to be patient, to accept the fact that this is not just an emergency but a permanent problem--We have got to be strong always and be ready to negotiate always. (MORE)

asm

-56

SCHOENBRUN: (CONTD) Even if we fight and lick the Russians that won't bring Utopia. Some other villain 44 5 will come along--they always have. What Europe prays for is a steadiness and continuity of purpose in ~~its~~ American leadership. ~~A use of power with courage tempered by wisdom and patience.~~

4408
4650

MURROW: Leads to Hottelet.

4414 56

HOTTELET: Great power, like a great ship is best controlled when it's moving. It must 4700 be given a direction, a function. To the Germans its immediate function is to cause Russia peacefully to pull out of Eastern Europe, back to its 1938 frontiers. The Germans, and many others, consider that quite practicable, provided that a balance is maintained. Which means that, on the one hand, the West remains strong enough to discourage a war and that, on the other, the West makes it clear beyond doubt that it will not create a vacuum by destroying the traditional Russian nation or the Russian people's hope for freedom and democracy. The long-term, maximum objective is to help the Russian people cast off Soviet dictatorship.

4740 58

MURROW: Leads to Niven.

46 4503

NIVEN: I can say more emphatically what the British would not have us do. They would not have us use our power, or threaten to use it, to restore civil liberties in every capital in Eastern Europe. They would rather draw a line, along the present Iron Curtain, and say to the Russians: 48 "Cross this, and the big show begins." It's likely that this very moderate basis for ~~peace~~ settlement would not satisfy our own Congress ~~and~~ OR public opinion. But Europe -- or at least my corner of it -- would not go along with a more ambitious one.

LDG

4815 33 Change - write in edit

MURROW: Good enough, Paul. Now, many of our allies are primarily concerned with settling the big problem -- the cold war with Communism. But right now we are actively engaged in trying to settle a hot war in Korea. All of us are concerned with this settlement. We seem to be exercising some power in Korea, but obviously not enough to win. What about this Korean problem, Costello? -59

4836 11/00

COSTELLO: I think there's no doubt, Ed, that Russia and China do want an armistice in Korea. The Chinese armies were hurt badly, and their defeat was a setback for communism throughout Asia. The truce negotiations which began last June are an evidence that our national mobilization program is paying real dividends. The negotiations have been slow because China was not decisively beaten, 49- and the Reds see no reason to settle on any terms we dictate. But it's pretty obvious to them that, if the war doesn't end, the United States may lose patience, may carry the fighting to Manchuria and China proper -- and that could lead to a global conflict for which the Reds are not prepared. But I think we should remember that, even if there is a truce in Korea, the danger is not over. We'll have to keep a large army there. The Chinese have already turned their attention southward and will probably intensify the war in Indo-China. They might conceivably attack Formosa or Burma. (MORE)

4935 4700

COSTELLO: (CTD) This simply means that the need for American power in Asia is likely to grow larger in the months ahead. ~~There are many Europeans who live in dread of another World War, but the fear in our State Department is that we may prepare for such a global struggle, and then have to fight a series of lesser Asiatic wars for which we're not prepared. It all seems to add up to the fact~~ that a balance of power has not yet been achieved in Asia. 50-

4710 05 any more than in Europe

MURROW: Leads to Hottelet.

10-

HOTTELET: Some people in Europe agree there may well be an armistice in Korea. But they think the Cominform can work just as well in the uneasy twilight between peace and war. United Nations forces will be held in Korea without the communists suffering. And the Red air force will be free to move elsewhere in a hurry. -35

MURROW: Leads to Sevareid.

37 4741

SEVAREID: Washington expects that we may have to keep a considerable garrison in Japan for a long time; that's why we wrote the Japanese Treaty the way we did, and that's why we're engaged in a big effort now to train an effective South Korean army. Of course, a really relaxed peace in Korea might mean too much relaxation here at home; 48 but I think Americans are 52 beginning to understand the need for the steady pace.

4805

MURROW: We have at this point examined some of the major military and economic factors in vast stretches 10 of the world. It would seem to me that we might spend a moment on another danger...a sort of built-in domestic threat...the threat of inflation. It could be a greater enemy than Communism. How strong is the Grand Alliance, economically? Sevareid?

5135 26

SEVAREID: I think the American economic system is pretty strong. But not permanently safe. Inflation here need not get out of hand -- the real test comes in '52. But the danger is that we may be over-capitalizing. Production capacity is growing at a faster rate than consuming capacity. So, theoretically we could run into another 1929. But that may be a long time in coming. 49

MURROW: Leads to Schoenbrun.

5205 4853

SCHOENBRUN: Inflation replaced invasion as Europe's greatest worry this year. In France -- more a garden 49 than a country -- there's been a really disgraceful 20 percent rise in food prices this year. Much of the blame must fall on a government which failed to cushion civilian economies against the impact of re-armament. Europeans are wondering whether this uncontrolled re-armament might not wreck the way of life it is designed to protect.

30 18

MURROW: Leads to Costella.

4922

COSTELLO: So far inflation hasn't hurt the Far East as much as it has the industrial West. Countries like Malaya, Indonesia, the Phillippines and India are producers of raw materials which at the moment are scarce and profitable to produce. But this prosperity may be only temporary, because the nations of Asia haven't yet found a solution for their greatest built-in weakness -- the problem of over-population. 53 In the next ten years, India's population will increase fifty million. So will China's. No matter how fast they build factories and increase food production, the general standard of living cannot rise. 50- ~~No one sees a way out of this dilemma, and no one dares predict that Asia will be either prosperous or politically stable~~ in this century. If the United States hopes for strong, permanent allies in the Far East, it looks as though someone will have to emulate De Lawd in "The Green Pastures" -- he'll have to "rear back and pass a miracle." 17

MURROW: Leads to Calmer.

5340 5022

CALMER: No matter how many temporary economic expedients we propose, Ed, it's hard to see more than superficial improvement ahead in the area I cover, at best. The ancient basic problems are still unsolved -- in Italy, beset by creeping inflation, a status quo government is not doing much to correct the underlying evils. (MORE) 54-

50 40

CALMER: (CTD) The food and agriculture section of the United Nations, which has its world headquarters in Rome, is one of the most neglected organs of the U.N. Yet if F.A.O. were employed to its fullest extent it could become a more valuable instrument for removing the causes of war than a whole year of speeches by politicians. In the Middle East, unrest will continue 51 as long as terrorist governments, abetted by reactionary religious leaders, stimulate the hatred of the wretched and resentful masses against the West as international political blackmail. The governments of these countries can be no more substantial than the economic foundations they rest upon -- and will not be SECURE until, through Point Four or some other scheme, conditions are improved. 51 23

MURROW: Leads to Niven.

NIVEN: 54 52 In Britain, everything costs more: the six-page London newspapers, the matchbox-sized meat ration. This inflation may bring paralyzing industrial warfare to a country with a remarkable record, since the war, of freedom from strikes. The election result won't help. A Labor member of Parliament said to me the other day, "How can Winston Churchill keep railroad men working for fourteen dollars a week. Only a Labor government could perpetuate such injustice." 52

LDG 55 20

MURROW: Leads to Hottelet.

HOTTELET: There is still so much slack to be taken up in the German economy that runaway inflation doesn't look like a real danger there in the next year. 5210

MURROW: Leads to Kendrick.

35

KENDRICK: The Yugoslavs are about the only country in Europe that are deflating, instead of inflating, but only because they had so much inflation to start with. Even the Communist countries are suffering from inflation, inspite of controlled economies. That's because they've diverted more and more civilian production to military purposes, too. They're not getting many items from the West these days, they have rationing trouble, food shortages, 56- higher prices, work stoppages, industrial snafus, and one political purge after another. I guess it's the only case where inflation is helpful to us.

5248 5611

MURROW: So much for inflation. Now let's do a little checking up. A year ago at this time we found ourselves rather divided on the possibility of a future war. Today we have talked of power and progress: 53- in the grand alliance against Russia. We've talked of Russia's increase power...some of the failures that both Communism, and the free peoples have experienced. And some of the fears that our power has generated. Summarizing all that we have said, may I ask each of you this: do you think an ultimate collision is more or less likely to occur? Bill Costello.....

5647 5322

COSTELLO: The countries of Asia are less panicky then they were a year ago -- they feel there's less danger of a general war right away. They're also less afraid of internal revolution. ~~Their early post-war apathy has disappeared ...they are no longer in a fatalistic mood to accept whatever comes.~~ They, too, believe in the policy of building strength. I feel a violent collision is inevitable, and Asians wonder what will happen in 1952, when Russia and China are fully armed, and the United States is geared for all-out war production. 5350

WATCH 5455

MURROW: Leads to Niven.

NIVEN: No real peace for a long time, but no war, either. I think there's one very sound point in the Bevanite case, and it's this: However misinformed the Russians are on some subjects, they do know the figures on Western steel production. They must know that a vastly superior war potential would eventually lick them. 43

MURROW: Leads to Sevareid.

SEVAREID: The danger of war, ultimately, is probably just as great as ever, but it's a different kind of danger now. The chance of deliberate Red aggression has diminished this year; after all, they did nothing overt while we were at our weakest. The real danger will be, as Churchill put it, that the big powers may "tumble, or drag each other into war." A mistake, an accident could set it off.

LDG

12

MURROW: Leads to Kenrick.

5440

KENDRICK: I don't think there will be a collision. Anyway, not by design -- on either side. Not even the mysterious Russian soul can make out a case for suicide.

22

MURROW: Leads to Calmer.

CALMER: Well, like the men in the Public Opinion Poll, Ed, I'm answering "Don't know." I don't think anyone can even guess unless they know the secret intentions of the top men in the Kremlin -- and if there are any such people at large, they haven't told the world. ~~As a matter of fact, maybe the men in the Kremlin are just ad-libbing.~~ I think we ought to consider the possibility that they themselves make their decisions only from one day to the next. 5512

MURROW: Leads to Schoenbrun.

SCHOENBRUN: I think all-out war between America and Russia NOT likely. The West has re-armed this year under the superior guns of the Soviets, on the continent of Europe, not far from Russia's own frontiers. Yet they never made a move. Why? There must be some deterrent. I suggest it's America's atomic power. Soviet leaders are cut-throats, but never their own. The best way to make sure they never cut ours is to keep strong and cool. I think we can do that -- and by doing it prevent war.

LDG

MURROW: Leads to Hottelet.

HOTTELET: In its propaganda and in its actions the Kremlin is steering a collision course. Maybe the regime needs success at any price to stay in power. Whatever the reason, I don't see this state of the world going on forever and, barring an event like Stalin's death, I don't see Moscow changing its line.

MURROW: Gentlemen, I would suggest that this conversation has been somewhat more optimistic than the one we held a year ago. You report a lessening in the fear of an immediate outbreak of war, although you are no more confident of a final and ~~practical~~ settlement or accommodation with the Soviet Union. You indicate a substantial increase in our military and economic strength, as well as that of our Allies. ~~But you emphasize the instability of their governments.~~ You say that in the area of propaganda and psychological warfare we have suffered defeats and achieved some victories; and that we have signally failed to reassure or persuade our Allies that we shall use our military and economic might with patience, tolerance and restraint. They fear that our power, our impatience, our demand for quick solutions, plus economic pressures may lead us into adventures which we could survive but which our Allies surely could not.

MURROW: (CTD) In terms of military power we are not yet capable of fulfilling our commitments around the world. In terms of propaganda or psychological warfare we are not conducting a successful campaign. Re-armament is straining the economy of this country and of our Allies, but you say the strain can be borne. I observe that no one of you suggests and end, a date, a conclusion for this world conflict. Indeed, most of you seem to agree that unless Russia chooses to undertake war, this state of affairs may continue far beyond the foreseeable future. You have been reporting rather than exhorting, and much of what you have said about the position, power and problems of our own country -- what we shall require to do in the future - could perhaps be summed up in the two words, Patience and Fortitude. Thank you, gentlemen.

(TWO SECOND PAUSE)

DIXON: This program has been brought to you by the American Oil Company. The Amoco product family includes the famous Amoco-Gas, Permalube Motor Oil, Amoco Approved Lubricants, Amoco Tires, Batteries and Accessories. But there are people in the Amoco family, too -- the thousands of Amoco dealers from Maine to Florida. Some of them live in your town, some right in your own neighborhood.

(MORE)

LDG

DIXON: (CTD) All of them - your neighbor and every other Amoco man from Maine to Florida - wish you a happy and peaceful New Year. The best to you - in '52! Years of Crises was produced by Edmund Chester and Wells Church. 62

This is the CBS .. RADIO Network

6215 5845

245

LDG

11 27- msg from Dixon. waiting for train

CHALLENGE OF THE '50's -- YEARS OF CRISIS -- CBS-TV, 1/1/52, 3:00

CHAIRMAN MURROW: These seven correspondents will ~~being~~ discuss the world situation.

MR. A. KENDRICK: I think we have done very well in Eastern Europe during this past year, not because of what we have done so much, but because of what the communists behind the Iron Curtain have been doing to the people of their countries and because of the weaknesses which are now beginning to show up in the communist economic structure.

MR. E. SEVAREID: I think this country has done right well, at least in very practical terms, meaning chiefly the mobilization of men and machinery, weapons, which is very considerable, and without any serious economic dislocation, which is quite remarkable. I suppose it's true to say that in terms of the moral and psychological support of the Government that has to lead all this, we haven't done too well in the last few months.

MR. R. C. HOTTELET: Germany gives us an example of how Eric's men and weapons and mobilization have injected some stability. The Germans have taken heart; they know that we are in with them, all committed to the same boat.

The presence of ~~xxxx~~ American forces, reenforcements

in Germany, has stabilized the German situation and has given our allies in Europe the confidence to bring Germany into a Western-defense system.

MR. D. SCHOENBRUN: Along that area, Ed, on balance we have improved: our friends have grown stronger; our enemies have grown weaker.

However, let's not kid ourselves. Our increased strength is military. On the economic front, I think things are an awful lot tougher and we can't afford to relax very much.

MR. B. COSTELLO: In terms of power, Ed, I think communism has been losing headway in Asia steadily for some time. That means that the noncommunist countries have come up somewhat, and it also means that our position is somewhat stronger--because after all, our only real purpose in Asia is to keep those countries independent. If we are tactful from now on, I think the American position in Asia should grow stronger.

MR. N. CALMER: Along the northern shore of the Mediterranean--that is, Italy has now been welcomed as a full partner, Greece, and particularly Turkey, because it is the strongest ally we have in that part of the world, are now members of the Atlantic Pact.

Along the southern shore, things are very bad . All the way from Egypt out to Iran, nationalism is rampant. The British are being chased out, and Americans, I am sorry to say, are sharing that onus along with the British.

MR. P. NIVEN: ..... For a long time now Britian has been the strongest and closest ally, and I think she will continue to be the same.

CHAIRMAN MURROW: See if you can't summarize a sort of balance of what has happened in terms of power and strength in the various areas in the course of the last twelve months.

MR. KENDRICK: The balance of power really is a question that concerns Western Europe more than Middle Europe, because down there where the Iron Curtain used to stretch all the way from the Baltic to the Adriatic, we had made a considerable dent, because during the past year we have signed a military agreement with Yugoslavia. I wouldn't say this has netted any considerable effect upon the balance of power in the area.

Tito, of course, I believe, will be a good ally. He has 35 divisions down there. In addition to providing this potential fighting force--and I believe the willingess of the Yugoslavs to fight is self-evident--he has been making a great many economic and political changes in his country. It's no secret to everybody who works in Europe that those changes are

due to a great extent to American pressure. The release of Archbishop Stepinac during the past few months was also the result of American pressure.

Tito has been doing this down there and sort of getting rid of some of the dead weight that was imposed upon him by three or four years of rigid Soviet control when he was on the Russian side. I think now that he is trying to resstablish some working relations with our friends and allies, the Greeks, and also with the Italians ..... that whole solid flange down there in Eastern Europe looks pretty good.

But in addition to that, you see, things have been happening on the other side of this curtain that we have now made a dent in. ...The Cominform countries--because Tito is communist, too--in the Cominform countries they have been rearming. As a matter of fact, they started before we did. As a matter of fact, they never stopped.

Now that we have engaged in this tremendous project of rearmament, they have been compelled to keep pace with us or to try to keep pace. As a result of that, a great many cracks have been showing up in their structure and a lot of instabilities--a lot of local things and a lot of national things have happened, and those weaknesses are things we capitalize on. .....

CHAIRMAN MURROW: Dick, what has been the most significant thing in Germany?

MR. HOTTELET: The most significant thing has been a sense of steady progress. In this year of grace we have had, which many of us didn't expect to have, we have come a long way. ....Ayear ago I had to report that the Germans didn't want any part, any active share in Western defense. The prospect of getting them in and getting them in under terms in which we could trust them seemed dim.

In the past year/..... starting with Eisenhower--let by-gone's be by-gones ....the Germans have begun to associate themselves with Western Europe .....

Politically Germany is much more of a sovereign state than it has ever been since the war. One thing I wanted to say, too, in that connection is that the position of the Democratic Government, which runs Western Germany today, is stronger, is based on a broader foundation of popular support than the German Republic has been since the German Republic began after the First World War. Adenauer is in control of his own situation and is listened to with respect by the other countries of Europe.

CHAIRMAN MURROW: Schoenbrun, what has been the most significant development in France?

MR. SCHOENBRUN: I think the most significant develop-

ment is that the French and Germans have buried the axe--and for once, not in each other's back. I think that they have made enormous progress .....

The unity-of-Europe plan, Schumann Plan and Plevin Plan--the Schumann Plan, merger of coal and steel of six nations--these countries together are now going to have an annual steel production together of 32 million tons. That is against the Soviet Union's 28 million tons. They have never been together before in history; this year they did get together and sign this treaty. .....

The thing that is on paper is the Plevin Plan.....

CHAIRMAN MURROW: Bill Costello, what has been the most significant development in Asia in the course of the last year?

MR. COSTELLO: Ed, I think it's a growing awareness that we haven't fully appreciated what you might call the geo-political problem of Asia. The first thing we have to recognize, and we are beginning to recognize in this country, is that Asia today is really divided into three parts. The first part is communist, from Siberia down to Singapore. That mass is dominated by China, the biggest country, and it does have a big army. In the event of a general war I suppose we could assume

communism would spill over from China and overrun the continent. We have strengthened our position by building up the French and Viet-Namese in Indo-China. For the moment that danger is stopped.

The second part of Asia is the maritime belt offshore, the islands, the Aleutians, Japan, Indonesia, down to Australia and New Zealand. During this year I think our position has been strengthened there, too. We have concluded treaties with Japan and the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand--military-security treaties, which are now in the process of being implemented as soon as ratification is completed. I suppose in the event of a general war we could say the United States could dominate that area because we have superiority in the area in terms of naval forces, and the communists have no such force to throw against us.

The third part of Asia is the decisive part, the subcontinent: India, Pakistan and neighboring principalities. So far we don't know where India stands in terms of world power and ideologies. The Indians have been obsessed with a desire to remain neutral, partly because of their obvious weakness.

It's evident now to our planners, however, that India holds an absolutely vital place in our future, because if communism should control the continent and if the West should

control the maritime off-shore belt of Asia, then India would hold the balance of power. That realization is coming home very sharply in Washington. Plans were expanded this year for developing India as a friend and ally. Those plans are going to be expanded next year. .....

CHAIRMAN MURROW: Ned, let's pass on to the Middle East. We all know we haven't gained much strength there in the course of the last year. .....

MR. CALMER: I talked--I don't think this is revealing any military secret--I talked very recently with a leading Allied commander in that area--who told me that the slow delivery of weapons and in general the sluggish pace both in the rearmament movement in Italy, rearmament program in Italy, and help from the United States is really causing alarm.

The Middle East is, in terms of power, a vacuum. There is no power there at the moment weighted by either the East or West. It's a vacuum into which either Russian or American Western power may begin to flow. I don't think the decisive moment has yet been reached. Out in Iran there was no real evidence that theRussians dared to cross the Azerbaijan border and move down into Iran. In other words, we ourselves have been showing what I think is a lamentable lack of decisiveness

in dealing with some of these problems: the Iranian oil crisis and the crisis in Egypt, which bids fair to continue indefinitely.

MR. NIVEN: The biggest thing, of course, was the return of Churchill to power. It wasn't a thundering victory; only one per cent of the people had changed sides. ....

On domestic questions there is a good deal of agreement. However, on the question of power and rearmament, there is a growing and fundamental disagreement. Aneurin Bevin and a substantial part of the Labor Party (oppose) Labor leadership and Churchill by claiming that the British should not rearm. They claim that Britian can't afford rearmament, that the Atlantic rearmament is causing inflation and causing communism instead of wiping it out. They claim the money should be spent on social services, free teeth and spectacles, and helping backward countries abrodad.

Britian is a fascinating barometer and indication of how we are doing in Western defense. Some of the things that Britain has not done during the year have been more important. She didn't join the Schumann Plan or the European Army. The reason given by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Attlee was that her commitments to the Commonwealth made it impossible for her to become too closely tied up with Europe

CHAIRMAN MURROW: Eric, will you sum up what you think the significant events in this country were during the past year?

MR. SEVAREID: Of course, when you talk from Washington about what this country has done in organizing, mobilizing power for peace around the world, in a sense I have to backtrack over much of what they have said. This Government has been engaged in a perfectly tremendous exercise of power this past year all over the world. No country in history has ever had such responsibility or accepted it in such detail, or accepted it in such grand scope, as this country--as far as my reading of history would show anyway.

In the Pacific, the Japanese Treaty and the Pacific Defense Alliance; steps toward a much greater European defense on the continent, extension of the treaty, as you have heard.

We did fall down on our responsibility in the Middle East, particularly in Persia. After all, I don't think this country can stop every leak in every dike all around the world.

The Korean thing, I think, is the real danger point where we have really concentrated and focussed power. We haven't a decision. We may not get an armistice. I would hate to predict what this Government and people will do if it breaks

down. I might all blow up.

I think it's important to remember that a year ago all these allies we have heard from were terribly worried aobut the steadiness and patience of America ...whether America would drop an atom bomb in China at the time of the terrible American defeat and retreat in Korea. We didn't do it. We got through the McArthur crisis last spring without a real lasting division.

I would think these allied people ought to take another fresh look at the American psychology, so-called, that they generalize about a great deal. I think we have proved we can go at a pretty steady pace.

2 CHAIRMAN MURROW: Let's examine what you fellows regard as the most important influential force or individual in the areas where you are stationed.

MR. NIVEN: I'd say, Ed, in Great Britian it's patience.

MR. CALMER: In the Middle East, nationalism.

MR. COSTELLO: In Asia, Ed, I should say Prime Minister Nehru of India.

MR. HOTTELET: The most powerful force in Germany is Soviet Imperialism.

MR. SEVAREID: Still the almighty dollar.

MR. KENDRICK: In Eastern Europe, I think it's the weaknesses of communism.

MR. SCHOENBRUN: General Eisenhower. He plays a unique role over there as the potential President of the United States. I emphasize the word "potential." He may hold the purse strings of American aid next year. So when General Eisenhower goes into the Defense Ministry and says, "I think you fellows aren't pulling your weight," they think twice about refusing any request. ...

That is a unique role for a general to play. That is one of the reasons why General Eisenhower refuses to say whether he is going to run for the presidency. If he says he is not going to run, the European statesmen write him off and seek somebody else's favor. If he says he is going to run, he can't compete with his commander-in-chief and I think he would have to resign and leave his job before it's finished.

Frankly, his job is not yet finished. There has been a tremendous success. He has increased from 8 to 18 the combat divisions in Europe--still not enough to match the Russians. The European Army is far from organized. .....

CHAIRMAN MURROW: Let's leave this subject of economic and military strength and discuss another area, which

is generally referred to as psychological warfare, propaganda, the battle for men's minds. How have we done in that area in the course of the year?

MR. COSTELLOP Ed, I think we can claim two psychological victories in Asia this year, rather important ones. They help explain why these countries out there have grown a little stronger.

In Korea, for example, the fact that we have proved our willingness to fight for our principles--that meant a lot to those people.

Then in San Francisco, we managed to solve the riddle of the Japanese peace treaty. We mobilized 47 nations to sign with us and thereby eliminated it as a major international problem.

True, we lost one psychological battle in India by quibbbling over the terms on which we send wheat to India. On balance I should say that we gained ground.

MR. CALMER: I don't like to keep exerting pressure. But in the Middle East, not well--and for a simple reason. We have been basing the main appeal that we have made in propaganda and psychological-warfare organs out there on the sophisticated and educated groups, which are in the tiny, tiny minority.

On the other hand, the Russians, I think are dealing--their psychological warfare is aimed at and is reaching the great masses of the wretched and resentful people who work with their hands. They know how to talk to them in terms those people understand. I don't think we do very well. We are under the assumption that the rest of the world has the same standard of living and education that the United States does.

MR. NIVEN: Basically, Britain and America are always on the same side in psychological battles. If we win, they win; if we lose, they lose.

Our British allies would like to see a little more British understatement. They think that the bark ought to be a little softer. They think we occasionally talk when we should be building up strength, not quite showing so many threats, ultimata and so forth. (Example of the difference in the speeches of Secretaries Acheson and Eden at the Paris meeting of the UN)

A little more British approach to the conflict in which we are basically on the same side!

MR. SCHOENBRUN: I'd say quite a lot of things. We were heroes in France at one moment this year when President Truman fired General MacArthur. That was a major newspaper story. They took that as a sign that America was not going to extend Korea to the Chinese mainland and maybe blow things up bigger. It

gave them a tremendous sense of relief. At the United Nations meeting, the voting showed we got a lot of people on our side. But we snapped the whip quite a lot to get the vote out--particularly rough on the Latin-Americans. .....

MR. HOTTELET: Strenagely enough, this session of the United Nations General Assembly in Paris produced one of the biggest psychological-warfare victories the West has had in the last year. What we did was put the stranglehold on the Russians for the first time when the UN voted to investigate the possibility of holding free elections in both zones of Germany as a prerequisit for the unification of Germany. Up till now the Russians have had a monopoly: the only people who are really your friends and want to unite you--which is what the Germans want more than anything else--is us Russians. Now we can say, "Put up or shut up!" .....

MR. KENDRICK: In Vienna it isn't called the cold war. We call it the dark war, something taking place in the dark.

Our propaganda behind the Iron Curtain isn't designed to influence people's minds but to influence their actions. We sort of appeal to them to do something about the conditions under which they live, to rebel, sometimes to escape.

And let's face it: we do have spies and we do have agents and we do have counterspies and counteragents. But I

do think we haven't made up our minds yet how far we want to go in this dark war. I think that is something we have to decide in the future.

CHAIRMAN MURROW: Are you thinking of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America?

MR. KENDRICK: A distinction should be made between the two. Voice of America is the official propaganda agency. I don't think it goes quite so far as Radio Free Europe, which mades direct appeals to people to come out and do something about where they are.

CHAIRMAN MURROW: We hear a lot of conversation in Washington that some of our allies aren't pulling their weight, that they don't seem to be very eager to carry a musket in their own defense. Are they actually doing as much as they can?

MR. NIVEN: I think there is no doubt, Ed, that the British are doing pretty well. .....

CHAIRMAN MURROW: Ned Calmer, it's quite clear nothing is to be expected in the way of aid in the Middle East, except from Turkey?

MR. CALMER: They have no allies and they have no weight.

CHAIRMAN MURROW: What about the Italians?

MR. CALMER: I would like to say--and I think it's very important,- that there is an attitude, a frame of mind among

a good many Europeans that I have talked to in Southern Europe to this effect: that the American people are gradually gearing themselves up into a war psychosis , by that psychological momentum as well as great economic pressure, the impetus of rearmament. We will find that we have reached a point where we either have to launch this war with Russia without the Russians' doing anything or face the worst economic collapse we have ever had.

That is the way some Europeans feel.

MR. COSTELLP The Asians are beginning to pull their weight more effectively than at any time in the postwar years. TheSouth Koreans have died to defend themselves. In Japan, the Japanese have produced war materials for us very energetically. Of course, they have been glad to get our dollars in return. Philippinos have begun carrying out social and economic reforms along the lines of American recommendations. A very important thing: they have completely reorganized and revitalized their armies.

Over in Indo-China, the Viet-Namese have enlisted very enthusiastically in the new Viet-Nam Army which we are helping creat by supplying arms.

Down in the southern part of Asia, the people down there have overcome their distrust of the Point Four Program

and are beginning to cooperate with these missions.. They have reorganized the police and are collecting taxes a little better.

On the whole, I think that they have shown more willingness and an ability to pull their own weight than at any earlier period in the postwar time.

CHAIRMAN MURROW: Are the French pulling their own weight or coasting?

MR. SCHOENBRUN: They are not coasting. I don't think they are pulling their weight as fully as they might. They have only given us five of the ten combat divisions Eisenhower asked for. They point out the main reason for that is the war in Indo-China. We forget about that. .... I think they could do better, but they are not doing nearly so badly as some people say.

CHAIRMAN MURROW: What about the Germans? Have they any appetite to defend themselves?

MR. HOTTELET: They sure do. They are doing something more. They are defending themselves in a sense different from physical defense. They are helping hold part of the line. The Russians are exerting a pressure on the Western German Government, feeble as it is, which is really difficult to portray. Millions of marks have been spent by the communist party in Eastern Germany

in infiltrating, subsidizing strikes and other political agitation. The Western German Government has stood firm against the pressures, blandishments, approaches, polite and impolite, coupled with threates and otherwise.

I think the measure of what the Germans are doing in holding the line could be expressed by pointing out what might happen if they weren't. Suppose Adenauer were one day to go to Berlin and start dickering with the communists, the Western front in Europe would break politically. It hasn't happened and really is not likely to happen.

MR. KENDRICK: These boys in Western Europe can say all they want about a European Army. In Yugoslavia we do have the larges army in Europe on our side. I think if the time came the Yugoslvas definitely would pull their weight. ...

In this are we always get both sides of the Curtain. From the other side of the Curtain we get the reverse side of this. The satellites I think have been pulling a little too much Russian weight. That way I think they are making a little weight for us, and so we gain in a negative way, which I think is really a positive way.

MR. SEVAREID: I am pretty sure that Congress is going to open next week with a very strong overtone of resentment that

too many of our allies--and that means Europe, not Asia--are not pulling their weight. ....

Wars seem to start in Europe. That is a decisive place. I think 90 per cent of Congress wants Britain to put its other foot down on the Continent--no bones about it.

CHAIRMAN MURROW: You fellows have drawn a picture here of increasing strength on our part and the part of our allies. Do you find any apprehension abroad as to what we are going to do with that strength, the possibility that we may abuse it, and act in a reckless and irresponsible fashion?

MR. NIVEN: A great deal, indeed, Ed. .....

(The British people look around at the tinder boxes of the world and wonder whether one stray American match may set them off.)

They don't mean we intend to start war. They feel themselves the oldest and most skilled diplomats in the world, in their own view; they feel we are impetuous. Therefore, they are extremely frightened of what might happen. Although basically on our side, they would like us to be a little more quiet and cautious.

MR. CALMER: In the Middle East, Ed, there is one thing

that the men in power in those Moslem governments are afraid of. They are afraid we will use our power to take their power away from them. So far some of those countries won't accept Point Four aid unless they can use it to cement their own political positions.

MR. SCHOENBRUN: Yes, Ed, quite a lot. In fact, they seem almost as afraid of the power as they desire to be protected by it. Most of this comes out of misapprehension, sensationalized speeches. When Ameriaans try to explain it away to the French by saying we are impetuous, a young nation, they make things worse. They don't appreciate youth as a quality in great nations; they don't want babies to go around juggling bombs.

MR. KENDRICK: The Yugoslavs have a peculiar fear of us. They come from a part of Europe when one country after another has been sold down the river for a great many years.

They are afraid of a deal; they are afraid of our politics. They are afraid of us as a big power just as they were afriad of the Russians. They think these two big powers some day conceivably might get together and sell them out. They are afraid of that.

MR. HOTTELET: They are afraid not only of the possible

abuse of our power, but of the effect of the existence of power. Power is radioactive. .....

MR. SEVAREID: Ed, I can only conclude from this astonishing recital that American information abroad has fallen down somewhere, because this is all based--alot of it is based on a complete misconception of what we are doing.....

We are not trying to hit a big gusher here. We are trying to build a faucet we can control and turn that speed up or down as we wish.

The idea has been expressed that the economics of this program might drive us into war, which by its very nature, I think, is a great oversimplification.

CHAIRMAN MURROW: Since the men have reported this apprehension and fear abroad, what would they have us do? Quit and give up, stop making airplanes and make television sets? What's the feeling in Asia about that?

MR. COSTELLO: I don't think Asis is so much alarmed by the growth of our power as the Europeans are. You have to remember they have two hot wars actually in progress out there, in Korea and Indo-China also. They can see from what has happened we don't have enough power to win either one of those wars decisively.

MR. SCHOENBRUN: I think the French would have us do exactly what Eric said we would do, but they are not sure we are going to do it.

They are terribly afraid of the vagaries of American policies. If they thought there was a steadfastness of purpose in America and we were going to carry out the program Eric outlined--that is precisely what they want: they want this strength to be used to negotiate a coexistence. They don't want itto be used to fight a desperate battle with the Russians and clean up Eastern Europe. They want power to prevent war, not to make war.

MR. NIVEN: The British agree with the French. The purpose of strength is negotiation and not war. However, that brings up another question: what will we settle for, what will we agree on with the Russians when we get strength? I have the feeling that Europeans would settle for a great deal less than our public opinion or Congress would. They are not ambitious, for instance, to restore civil liberties to every capital in Eastern Europe. They think it would be a good thing--but not start a war. They are not going to demand the Russians do it before we settle down to a period of tranquillity. Therefore, we have to get to the question: what is going to be

our basis of negotiation ?

CHAIRMAN MURROW: What do you think the prospects are in Korea?

MR. COSTELLO: I have been optimistic from the beginning about the ultimate results of the truce negotiations. I think Russia and China both want peace. The Chinese armies were hurt badly and the defeat of communism in Korea was a defeat for communism throughout Asia. From that point of view, they want to settle it. They also realize if they don't, there is no telling what the attitude of this country will be. The situation may run away with them; there may be a general war. They don't want that.

On the other hand, although we have developed power enough to force them into negotiation, that doesn't mean that the problem is really solved. Even if there should be a truce, we would still have to keep a large army in Korea. ....

MR. SEVAREID: That's about all anybody in Washington can say about it. We may have an uneasy and dangerous truce. That's why we wrote a big garrison in the Japanese treaty and why we are trying to train an effective South Korean Army now and get Americans home.

CHAIRMAN MURROW: You seem to have agreed that in a

very substantial area here that our strength is increasing, that the strength of our allies is increasing and perhaps also the strength of our enemies is increasing. When you sum all this up how then do you view the possibility of ultimate collision between the two great forces in the world, the prospect of war?

MR. KENDRICK: I don't think there is going to be a collision. I think it's because of the weaknesses I have been talking about in the Russian system. The Russians, we always speak of as having a mysterious soul, but actually I don't see that soul leading them to suicide.

MR. SEVARIED: I would say personally I think the chances of ultimate collision, when that date would be are probably about as great as they were last year--maybe the danger has changed in time a little bit. The danger of Russian agression, I think, has diminished this year. They let us get stronger. As Churchill said, the big power could (drag, bump) each other by accident.

MR. HOTTELET: About as dark as I did last year. I think one question has to be resolved when the boys say we have to negotiate with the Russians: what do we negotiate, on what basis?

MR. SCHOENBRUN: Much the way Alex Kendrick does--he

says the Russian mysterious soul has no predilection for suicide. The Soviets may be cutthroats but they don't want to cut their own....

MR. COSTELLO: I feel collision is inevitable. I notice in Asia less sense of panic than a year ago. They don't feel a general war is likely to break out soon. They don't even fear internal revolutions.

MR. CALMER: I am like the man in the public-opinion poll. My answer is, don't know--because I think unless there is somebody at large in this world who knows the mind of the men in the Kremlin, it's impossible to guess. However, I think we should bear in mind the possibility that the men in the Kremlin themselves are ad-libbing from day to day and have no long-term policy, scheme.

MR. NIVEN: I don't think there will be ultimate collision, Ed, although I don't think there will be lasting peace or secure peace. I don't think there will be war; the British don't. I have seen more signs in Manhattan about what to do in air raids than I have seen in Britain or all Europe put together. I think that's the answer right there.

CHAIRMAN MURROW: Gentlemen, you seem to have agreed substantially on the increase in our strength, on the necessity

of persuading or convincing our allies that we will use that strength tolerably, wisely and with restrain. In the field of psychological warfare we have failed so far to create that persuasion or that impression. We have agreed that the strength of our enemies is increasing. But by and large this seems to be a substantially more optimistic report than the one we had last year. I wish you all Good Luck! Thank you, gentlemen!

CBS RADIO DIVISION

YEARS OF CRISIS

THURSDAY, JANUARY 1, 1953 (AS BROADCAST)

5:04 to 6:04 : P.M.

ANNCR: YEARS OF CRISIS, with Edward R. Murrow and seven distinguished CBS correspondents flown in from the capitals of the world for this very important recorded year-end global report to the American people. YEARS OF CRISIS is brought to you by the American Oil Company, maker of famous AMOCO products, and its thousands of AMOCO dealers from Maine to Florida.

Now, here is Edward R. Murrow.

MURROW: Listen to this voice!

STALIN: (IN RUSSIAN)

MURROW: That was the voice of Josef Stalin. It is a powerful voice that speaks in many languages, to people with many accents and many faces, all over the world. It is a voice that means different things to different people. Today we propose to examine some of these meanings. With me are CBS Radio correspondents gathered from their assignments in various parts of the world.

Gentlemen, suppose you introduce yourselves and tell us what the voice of Stalin means in the section of the world you cover.

SMITH: I'm Howard K. Smith, covering Europe. Over there, it's a kind of summons to unity against him.

HERMAN: I'm George Herman - and Asia is my sector. In Korea and Indo-China Stalin speaks in the harsh accnets of war. Everywhere else he speaks in the soothing tones of the new Popular Front of what a captured Japanese document calls "the lovable Communist Party".

SCHOENBRUN: I'm David Schoenbrun. My beat is France to North Africa. In that area Stalin has ordered his Communist shock troops to put on Boy Scout suits and try to look lovable.

-more-

HOTTELET: I'm Richard C. Hottelet. I cover Germany - and there Stalin is not acting lovable; he is out for blood.

KENDRICK: I'm Alexander Kendrick from Vienna. I cover the Iron Curtain countries. Stalin's voice there means more purges, more repression, militarization and, now, anti-Semitism.

SEVAREID: I'm Eric Sevareid. I cover Washington, D.C., where that voice has come to mean the single source of our troubles and taxes and the great betrayal of all we fought the big war to achieve.

HOLLENBECK: I'm Don Hollenbeck. My assignment this year took me to the northern and southern sections of the western Hemisphere, Canada, South America. In those areas the face of Communism is masked; intentions, strategy and accomplishments, a question.

MURROW: Last October, while America was concerning herself with two great games, the World Series and the election campaign, the Communist Party Congress met in Moscow. It produced what we regard as one of the most important peacetime stories of the last twenty years. From this meeting came Josef Stalin's new Communist blueprint, as clear and complete as the one Adolf Hitler laid down in "Mein Kampf". Few of us paid much attention to Hitler's plans. They were supposed to be too fantastic. Now, Stalin has laid down his plans. They say many things to many people. But one thing stands out from this blueprint, the Stalin warning to his world-wide followers that the prospect of war between the capitalist countries is greater than the prospect of war between the Communist world and the free world. Stalin contends that our Allies will not indefinitely suffer what he calls"the economic feudalism, the serfdom" under which we now hold them. And Stalin has ordered his Communists to exploit differences among the free nations of the world whenever they can be found, to help hasten the day when the Allies will war amongst themselves. We propose this afternoon to examine Stalin's thesis and to suggest possible means of avoiding the calamity he predicts for us.

Suppose, first, we try to itemize the differences among the Allies, the differences we can expect the Communists to exploit. Let's lead off with Howard K. Smith.

SMITH: Well, Ed, Britain is involved in many differences, of varying degrees of seriousness.

SMITH:(CTD) The British are at odds with Europe over joining European unity projects; they are in basic disagreement with us over the question of recognizing Red China; they're downright sore at us over the McCarran Act and the screening of their seamen, and unhappy about our Battle Act, which limits their trade in so-called strategic goods with Eastern Europe. There are seeds of very serious conflict with Japan over trade competition. I think nothing this year made the British so angry as when, a week after the coronation date was announced, Japanese salesmen arrived in London ready to sell coronation souvenirs at half the price at which the British could produce them.

MURROW: George Herman!

HERMAN: Well, in Asia, too, Stalin is counting largely on the struggle for foreign markets. The Japanese are mad at the British for trying to call a halt to Japan's trade expansion. The West has cut Japan off from her natural markets in China and is now trying to keep her immense production of cheap goods out of the rest of the world. A Japanese businessman said to me, "How can Britain talk free trade with America and then turn around and try to restrict us?" The Americans in Japan are almost as worried as the Japanese, because if Japan can't find markets, then we will have to support her indefinitely. So, British and American interests lie in sharp opposition there. Stalin will also continue to exploit the West's desire to maintain her favorable position in Asia and Asia's desire to shake herself free from Western domination.

MURROW: Now, Dick Hottelet from Germany.

HOTTELET: Stalin remembers that in the past Germany and Russia have joined to fight France and carve up Poland. Times have not changed for him at all. He is counting on the ancient suspicion between France and Germany. He knows the misgivings with which all nations watch the revival of German power. He sees Germany with prodigious vitality shouldering its way back into competition on world markets and moving from rags to riches in four short years. Stalin expects this success to rouse fear and jealousy in the west. He also, obviously, expects Germany to follow in the footsteps of the Kaiser and Hitler, tempted again to satisfy wild nationalist ambitions at Western expense. And Stalin thinks he can win the Germans over by promising them national unity and a hungry market in the Communist world.

MURROW: And across the Rhine, Dave Schoenbrun?

SCHOENBRUN: Plenty of conflict for Stalin to exploit there. Our Supreme Commander in Europe, General Ridgeway, got very angry at the North Atlantic Meeting in Paris just two weeks ago. He told the foreign ministers bluntly and in a public speech that their military budgets were too small and they had better give him more to work with. They blew up, in turn, and just as angrily replied, in the words of Clemenceau, "War is too serious a business to be entrusted to generals". That's just the sort of mutual irritation that gives Stalin his choice, and he doesn't miss taking that chance. This fall, Stalin called in the new French Ambassador to Moscow, for one of his rare talks with Western diplomats, and it's an open secret in Paris that Stalin offered the French a deal: Permanent neutralization of Germany if the French would walk out of the North Atlantic Alliance, a deal the French turned down flat, but a warning signal of how quickly Stalin does move to exploit any division in the Western camp.

MURROW: Don Hollenbeck, how about your area?

HOLLENBECK: In Latin America we can expect the Communists, quite naturally, to make the most they can out of the undoubted anti-American feeling that has developed during and since the war. Our muscles are just too bulging to be very close to. The Reds, of course, are doing all they can to work their way into Latin American labor unions; they have, naturally, to some extent. And here, I must confess, I just don't know the extent of the influence, but I don't believe we ought to minimize it, especially in industrial countries like Bolivia and Chile. In Canada the Communist efforts to exploit division and the workers' hard luck have resulted in small potatoes. There isn't much division and the workers there have had pretty good luck. Canada, as a matter of fact, would appreciate a lot more workers.

MURROW: Alex Kendrick, how does it look from Vienna?

KENDRICK: There are some differences among the Western Powers on the attitude we should take toward the Soviet satellites. Should we carry out an active policy of attempted liberation? Of course, this is only a part of the larger question: Do we try to contain Communism merely, or try to roll it back? We have to resolve these differences because Stalin can use them. Then there are the differences in southeast Europe between Jugoslavia and Italy over the question of Trieste and between Jugoslavia and the Vatican over the question of religious freedom. I would say these differences are serious but not irreconcilable.

MURROW: Now, that's a by no means complete listing of what we must suffer from our friends. You fellows have laid out actual and potential differences, some more important than others. Now let's see if we can narrow down these family fights. Smith, what about the reports we occasionally get out of London?

SMITH: Well, Ed, it's unfortunate but undeniable that the past year has seen a growth of Anti-Americanism in Europe and especially, I think, in England. At one point this summer in England it led to gangs of hoodlums beating up American GI's on the streets in the city of Manchester. That, of course, was exceptional. It shocked the British themselves so much that I don't think there's likely to be anything like that again. However, it did bring to the surface, where everyone could see, what has been a very ugly undercurrent of resentment. The feeling is all over Europe, I think that we tend to act in a rather high-handed fashion in diplomacy. Many people, for example, thought the way we pushed the Japanese treaty thru was rather dictatorial. Basically what is wrong, I think, is that Europe is growing very tired of its dependent status and extremely sensitive about it. I was told a story that's been circulating in Paris about the patriotic Frenchman who announced he was seeking American citizenship - not because he wanted to be an American but because, he said, that was the only way he could have any influence over French affairs. The tinge of bitterness in that little story has in the past year become a very visible part of the European scene.

-more-

MURROW: And perhaps nowhere has that tinge of bitterness lingered longer than in the French-German area. Schoenbrun, how about it?

SCHOENBRUN: That's right. One of Napoleon's marshals once said. "I'll protect myself from my enemies. May God protect me from my friends." That's the way the French feel about Germany today. Besides, you know, Germany is too old an enemy of France to be a very comfortable new friend. The heavy-handed Germans are already producing twice as much steel as France and while the French are spending one-third of their budget for Western defense in Europe and to hold the line in Indo-China, the Germans, without any military burden, are building factories and houses at the greatest rate in the world. Everytime a Frenchman looks over his shoulder across the Rhine, he breaks out into a cold sweat. Germany's demands for the return of the Saarland territory this year were all too frighteningly reminiscent to Frenchman of Hitler's power grabs. Not that many Frenchmen do compare Chancellor Adenaurer's government to Hitler's, but it's just that German power, so near, so destructive in the past, is on the rise again and France feels naked and alone. She feels that way because her best armies are fighting Communists in Indo-China or guarding against revolt in North Africa. The French fear that unless we help them and provide a counter-weight that Germany is bound to dominate Western Europe again.

MURROW: Well, Herman, I suppose Asia has its share of Allied family fights for the Communists to exploit, hasn't it?

HERMAN: It certainly has. When you consider that the newly-independent governments of Asia are our most important allies there, the basic conflicts on which Stalin can play are obvious. The Indonesian people, for instance, hate the Dutch with an intensity that blinds them to other important considerations. The animosities stirred up by the French in Indo-China since the end of the world war are still hampering our new war against Communism in that area; in short, the conflict between the backward peoples, newly emerging from colonial status, and the Western peoples, including us, whose aid they need but whose influence they hate and fear. This conflict is aggravated by the fact that there is no NATO organization in Asia to coordinate the democratic powers in their fight against Communist expansion. There's no concerted plan connecting the French war in Indo -China with the U.N. war in Korea. One other problem seems to be unique to Asia and the Middle East - it's the red-hot religious hatreds dividing people, like India and Pakistan, who should be unified against the common enemy.

MURROW: Sevareid, you've probably heard our State Department people discussing these differences and a lot of others. How would you say our people feel about our quarreling allies and the ammunition this supplies Stalin?

SEVAREID: Ed, I think the real truth is that most Americans have grown very weary with these differences among those who ought to be united. We frequently contribute to these differences by our policies and our manners, but that's hard for Americans to see. It's much easier for us to see our friends abroad quarreling over matters that seem very minor to us. For us there's only one important matter: holding together and holding firm everywhere until the Communists cease and desist. There's a sense of impatience here when old issues bob up all over again, like the Saar or Trieste. Anyway, we've had our own differences, inside our own American federation of conflicting ideas and interests. And the chief preoccupation now is to see whether, with new American leadership, those differences can be ironed out. Our Allies accuse the American Government of pushing the anti-Communist alliance too far and too fast, and millions of Americans accuse it of being too slow and too soft with the Reds. But I think, Ed, that the rate of speed of American action is probably less important than the consistency of our action. It has not been very consistent because the Administration has all but lost control of its own policy-making powers, partly because of an implacable, often irresponsible opposition from both parties. But now those particular cluttered decks have been cleared last November.

MURROW: Well, Eric, what about from now on?

SEVAREID: Well, I think we'll be more consistent, at least for quite a time, in foreign policy, but the big remaining question is whether we can avoid a serious economic let-down here after rearmament passes its peak. I think the means for avoiding that are always there, and if the American people elected the kind of leadership they think they elected, the means will be used. But there isn't really enough evidence yet to answer that question.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, you seem not to have spared the rod at all. You have made clear that there are a number of differences among the Allies for the Communists to exploit, try to bring on the war among the Western Powers that Stalin forecast. But what Stalin says and what Stalin does are not always the same thing. How far do we think the Russians will go to exploit differences among the free nations? What's his ultimate purpose? Is it war? Hottelet, what do you think?

HOTTELET: Stalin will not shrink from war in the future, anymore than he has in the past. For him, as he says himself, war is only the continuation of policy with other means - and his policy is still to dominate the world. Stalin has no moral scruple against war. Pacifism is a high crime in Russia today, and any war the Soviet Union chooses to have itself or its satellites fight is applauded as a just war. More than that, for Soviet Russia war is the road to success. Soviet doctrine says that World War I established Soviet power in Russia; World War II spread this power over half the world; a third world war will end with the destruction of capitalism. In 1939, Stalin deliberately helped Hitler plunge into war.

(MORE)

HOTTELET: (CTD) Since then, he has used war and the threat of war to muscle in on China, Greece, Czechoslovakia and Korea. Why shouldn't he welcome the chance to incite or start another, at a time and place of his own choosing and with the greater safety that Soviet strength gives him today?

MURROW: Schoenbrun, do you go along with that?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, no, not completely. Russia makes war only when it's easy pickings or when Russia herself is attacked. I find nothing in their history that proves the Soviets make war because their Communist doctrine compels them to. They did attack little Finland, because it looked easy and limited; the swallowed up the Baltic States in eastern Europe as booty in the great World War, but they did not start that war; Hitler did, with a nod of encouragement from Stalin, who hoped the Western nations would kill each other off. You know, Stalin's always happy to hold someone's coat and let him get killed - the North Koreans, the Chinese, the Communist shock troops inside the Western camp. But every time it looked as tho Stalin himself might get hit at home, he ducked away from the fight. Let's look at the postwar history of Europe from 1946 to today. Stalin probed and pressured our lines wherever he found a weak spot -- in Iran and Greece, Italy and Berlin -- but each time we met him with determination and force he backed down and shifted his pressure. Even Little Joe (Tito) dared tweak Big Joe's nose, and he got away with it. Of course, I'll admit that doesn't prove that Stalin will not attack some day. The danger always exists and we must vigilantly prepare to meet it, as we have been doing. But for me nothing proves the defeatist theory that war must and will come.

HOTTELET: Dave, that's your interpretation.

MURROW: Go ahead, Hottelet.

HOTTELET: Stalin himself said most recently that war among capitalist nations is inevitable. He also said (and I quote) "in order to remove the inevitability of wars, imperialism must be destroyed."

MURROW: Yes, Kendrick?

KENDRICK: I disagree with Dick Hottelet. Stalin doesn't really say that imperialism must be destroyed by the force of Russian arms. In fact, this whole discussion rises from his statement that he sees less likelihood of war between Russia and the West and more likelihood of war among the Western Powers.

HOTTELET: Kendrick, I don't believe for a minute that Stalin thinks the Western nations will liquidate each other to suit him.

SCHOENBRUN: Wait a minute, fellows. Hottelet, you and Kendrick are arguing about technicalities of Marxist doctrine. I'm less interested in what Stalin said, because I've heard him contradict himself many times before. But let's look at what he's done. Every time that a crisis has blown up and it looked like all-out world war, Stalin has backed away from it.

MURROW: George Herman wants to get in on this.

HERMAN: I sure do. And it seems to me that Dave Schoenbrun is right. We've got a concrete example in Korea. When the Chinese Air Force first entered the war, the U.N. said that an air attack on our ground forces would instantly spread the war to China and perhaps beyond. That put it squarely up to Stalin, and he backed down and their air forces stayed north of the battle line ever since.

HOTTELET: But that doesn't say it always will. Stalin signals the play, and boundaries are just lines on the field. In October, he called the Soviet Communist Party the shock brigate of the world revolutionary movement, and he said it would support other nations in what he called their struggle for liberation.

MURROW: Well, Hottelet, you feel Stalin won't shrink from war. Schoenbrun and Herman say the Communists back down whenever we put up. Kendrick is doubtful about war. Sevareid, how do you feel about it? Do you think war is inevitable?

SEVAREID: Well, no political event is inevitable. Human will can still direct such events if the will is exercised. But I do think the undercurrent is still toward eventual world war, because the general picture is still one of armaments piling up on all sides, accompanied by more emotional thinking, less use of reason by thicker and higher iron curtains in the mind, by more and more organized fear, at least in America and Russia. I think it'll take a big overt act to begin the unwinding, relaxing process, such as a sound negotiated peace in Korea. But until that kind of evidence comes in, I think the undercurrent is still toward the edge of the drop.

MURROW: Well, now you're all on the record. Sevareid and Hottelet feel the record, or at least the prospects, are pretty dark, and the rest of you disagree. Now that we have your views, suppose we take a closer look at your information, your facts, the bread and butter of your jobs all around the world. What are the Russians and their satellites up to? Why don't you fellows take time out to think that one over while we hear from our announcer.

ANNCR: (COMMERCIAL)

MURROW: A minute ago, I proposed that we focus our attention on what the Communists are up to, what they're actually doing around the world. Alex Kendrick, you're our Iron Curtain expert, what's going on in the darkness?

KENDRICK: Well, the satellite countries, like Russia herself, are being heavily and rapidly militarized. Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria have been built up with military forces for beyond the terms of their peace treaties, and, I think, far beyond their own economic capabilities. But it's not only militarization in the strict sense of the word that's going on; it's also psychological indoctrination with hatred of the West, especially the United States. Grammar school education now in the satellite countries includes parachute-jumping, mock battle, rifle drill, trench digging, signal practice and army regulations. All youth activities, down to six year old children, and all sports are completely dedicated to military training. You have no idea how completely. I don't think this brings war any closer, necessarily, but it certainly doesn't make peace any easier.

MURROW: George Herman, what are the Communists doing in Asia?

HERMAN: It's very simple, Ed, they're fighting a war, in fact two of them. But they have split their effort and they're simultaneously waging peace in Asia. Outside of Korea and Indo-China the Communists have gone sweet and lovable. Terror has proved a complete flop; so Big Brother Stalin is now offering the benevolent aid of the great peace-loving Soviet Union to all of Asia. He says the Soviet Union understands the problems of Asia's starving millions better than the fat, wealthy United States. And he backs that up by offering his aid not to the already wealthy people on the top but to Asia's hungry and increasingly angry workingmen and farmers. Using its own version of Point 4, the Soviet Union in Asia is trying to look more like the United States than the United States does.

MURROW: Dave Schoenbrun, what are the Communists doing in France?

SCHOENBRUN: In France, they've sacrificed two of their greatest heroes, victims of Stalin's new Boy Scout order; Henri Martis, the toughest leader of the shock troops, commander of the International Brigade in Spain, has been publicly disgraced and booted out of the party secretariat only last week. He was France's third-ranking Communist. The same treatment has been dished out to Charles Tilton, commander of France's famous wartime Communist partisans. Their crime? Well, they wanted to get tough, wanted to call strikes and demonstrations against America, particularly riots against General Ridgway's Atlantic Army headquarters. Now, that used to be the line in France, but it failed, according to no less an authority than Stalin.

(MORE)

SCHOENBRUN: (CTD) Stalin apparently has understood, belatedly, that the Communist menace has helped unify the French as no other issue could; and now he wants to remove the menace, hoping that the normally-divided French will fall apart.

MURROW: Howard Smith, what are the Communists doing in your area?

SMITH: Well, in the past year Britain has been both the two (stark?) stock faces of the Communists. There is evidence that Britain, herself, has been chosen as the focal center of the new party line of amiability. No less a person than Andrei Gromyko, hitherto the second in command of the Soviet Foreign Office, has been sent as the new Russian Ambassador to Britain to watch out for opportunities. A modest flood of cultural emissaries, Russian authors, lecturers, musicians, has come in this winter to try to win friends and influence people, and the Russian embassy is becoming a London social center again, with its invitations no longer restricted to London's small Left-Wing set.

MURROW: Sort of softening up process, isn't it?

SMITH: Yes, they are clearly trying to induce a mood of relaxation, and if a new British trade crisis should appear, it wouldn't surprise me at all if Gromyko leapt into the breach with an offer of a big trade deal with Russia, to induce the British to infringe the Battle Act and cause some frictions with us. Now, in Britain's colonial realm, the other face has shown - and in a rather spectacular and frightening way. Since the war, as everyone knows, the Communists have made great strides in colonial countries in the Far East and then in the Near East. And now, in the past year, they've made contact in the heart of Africa, in Kenya Colony, the British colony. The evidence is that the Communists are organizing the primitive resentment that already existed there against the white man and have had a great deal to do with the so-called Mau Mau murder campaign there. That's virgin soil for the Communists, and I think their penetration there is extremely dangerous and very important.

MURROW: What about Germany, Hottelet?

HOTTELET: Well, Germany, too, is a double problem for the Communists, Ed, and they've had to split their personality in public, to their great disadvantage. In Western Germany they're super-patriots and curse the French for stealing the Saar. In the East they write off some of the richest German provinces to Poland. In the West they try to get aboard and steer every strike and demonstration or protest in Parliament.

(MORE)

HOTTELET: (CTD) Windy proclamations tell Western Germans that the Communists are the only champions of peace, freedom, German unity and sovereignty. But at the same time the Germans can see the Communists in the Soviet zone arming for war, putting freedom in concentration camps and exploiting their people for Russia's profit. Stalin knows that the influence of Communism as a political force in Western Germany is pitifully feeble. He relies on the steady menace, instead, of military power next door to shake the nerve of the weak in spirit.

MURROW: Hollenbeck, what did you find North and south of us, in this hemisphere?

HOLLENBECK: I found this, Ed: South America offers Communism a fertile field to cultivate; Canada, not so much so. The Communists are working hard on the underprivileged peoples of the hemisphere to the South, and whether they have been or are making gains remains to be seen, but it's undeniable they have been instrumental in forcing some gains and have won some talking points. The nationalization of the Bolivian tin industry, the threatened nationalization of the Chilean copper industry have, of course, been pushed by the Communists and regardless of the extent of their influence in those matters they are making propaganda hay out of them. With the Canadians, of course, it's a very different matter. The Communists have much less raw material in the form of discontent to work on.

MURROW: Well, it seems apparent that the Communists are doing many things, in many places, and doing many of them very well. Like Stalin's line, the technique changes to fit the situation. In one area the Communists want to be loved; in another they speak terror; in one ... they would help the poor, but at the same time they have not lost the efficiency of their concentration camps.

It seems to boil down to what position they hold in what country. Where Communism is strong force is the factor. Where Communism is weak they're resorting to what some of you called a new lovability. But all over the communists are working -- with a plan - penetrating, propagandizing, preparing and polluting.

It is not an encouraging picture you've reported thus far. But we've spoken so far only of the Communists. What about the free world? How are we doing?

But first, let's take 15-seconds for station identification.

ANNOUNCER: This is the CBS RADIO Network

MURROW: This is Ed Murrow with 7 CBS Radio correspondents, from various sections of the world. We've been reviewing some of the news developments of the year. We've summarized the worldwide activities of the communists and now we would estimate the job the free nations of the world have been doing.

Howard K. Smith, suppose you give us the first estimate.

SMITH: Well, when you analyze the picture as whole, I think it's far from black. I talked a while back about anti--Americanism in Europe. Now there's no doubt that that feeling has grown this year. But in an important sense it is a reflection of strength rather than weakness. As some one has put it 'our European patient has gotten so well that he can complain about being treated as a patient.'

Essentially, anti-Americanism in Europe is a demand by people over there that we create conditions of normal trade so that they can get along without our charity. The phrase coined by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer "trade not aid" has become extremely popular all over Europe. That's one of the things, I think, that Churchill's coming over here to talk about next week.

SMITH: If we can meet these conditions and do things like lowering our tariffs and so on, the present situation is pregnant with good possibilities. If we don't, of course, Europe is probably going to continue a charity patient and resentment is probably going to grow on both sides of the Atlantic.

MURROW: Herman, what's the brighter side of the Asiatic picture?

HERMAN: Well, I think it's communism's new weakness there. Our main strength in Asia is that growth of Chinese communism has now reached a point of diminishing returns throughout the rest of Asia. For a while, the rapid growth of the strong Red China, apparently governed by Chinese, sparked new hope and ambition in every Asian. China's victories in Korea, Indo-China and Malaya looked awfully good to Asian nationalists, who hated the western intrusion into Asia. There was a great swing toward the new China by all the overseas Chinese, who form an important minority in most Asian countries. But now I think the high-water mark has been passed. The overseas Chinese are being blackmailed and their families at home are being stripped of the family wealth so dear to the Chinese.

Asian nationalists have begun to realize that the growth of Red China at her expansion into Tibet and North Korea is not just inspiring, it's also pretty frightening.

In addition, the very fact the communists are now in the process of shifting their line, of retooling their propaganda factories, means that they're ideologically vulnerable until their new products start selling. It's not only a breathing spell for us, it's a period of disillusionment with communism and with the Chinese communists, and it can prove most useful to us.

MURROW: How much progress have we made in Germany, Hottelet?

HOTTELET: Western Germany is shaping up as a dependable ally. It's already doing good work on a vital front of the cold war; it's holding the cross-roads of Europe against communist subversion and Soviet propaganda.

With the help of the Western nations, Germany has become a functioning democracy. Impressively stable and downright spectacular in its economic growth, Germany's leaders and its people are forging stronger links with the free world in politics and trade. They've learned the hard way that Germany cannot stand neutral or alone.

Physically, Germany brings the Western alliance resources of power still untapped. Its millions of men can help defend Europe. Its mighty factories have not yet started defense production.

Germany is an asset in the Western ledger.

MURROW: Kendrick, how does it look from Vienna?

KENDRICK: The biggest positive factor on our side in southeastern Europe now is the new military understanding between Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, which gives us a defense line from the English Channel to the Black Sea and the Caucuses.

But, there's a very important negative factor at work, too. The internal stresses inside the communist countries, the economic failures caused by militarization, have reached a new high. The recent Prague purge trial was not a sign of strength, and there are more purge trials to come.

The communist regimes are trying to consolidate their power by consolidating state and party. But that's causing tremendous upheaval also. They don't have clear sailing by any means. They need a breathing spell now, and I think this is one of the reasons for their change to indirect tactics.

MURROW: Now for our own backyard. Hollenbeck, suppose you summarize the situation in Canada and South America.

HOLLENBECK: We are not so sure of our strength of resistance in South America. I think we can be more confident of it in Canada. Most of us Americans have simply no idea of the spirit that seems to motivate most of the 15-million people who live in Canada, north of the 49th Parallel, an attractive land larger and richer than our own in many resources. Canada has riches in oil, and uranium, and iron ore and timber, and wheat. A dollar now worth more than our own to our chagrin, but more than this, Canada has a community of interest that seems impossible to find elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere.

Communism finds Canada a difficult field to cultivate. For all its size Canada has the character of a small town, and that is in no sense a derogation, but its sparcity of population enables most of its people to know pretty well what the neighbors are doing at all times.

The Kremlin took a bad setback in Canada a few years ago when to its intense embarrassment a spy was rooted out of its own embassy, in Ottawa. And since that time, Canadians have regarded the activities of the country's communists with alert amusement.

In Latin America the picture is not so clear. There is no community of interest. There are the complexities of Latin politics. There is the problem of depressed and discontented populations, who have for many years been exploited by the senores whose ladies bought their clothes in Paris.

(MORE)

HOLLENBECK: But on the credit side, there is the realization of a dominant position of the U.S.A. It's not a welcome realization in many cases, of course, but self interest calls the tune and the communists shrill outcries against the Yankees are not being taken too seriously.

MURROW: Well, what are the hopeful factors in our own country, Sevareid?

SEVAREID: Ed, I can see at least two new and specific advantages in Washington now. The first, of course, is that United States now possesses real military power, including, apparently, the hydrogen bomb. For 6-or-7-yrs., this government has been walking through the valley of the shadow, making necessary foreign commitments to hold this disintegrating world together without real power in case our hand was called. Truman has had to speak loudly while carrying a small stick. Eisenhower should be able to speak softly while carrying a big stick.

And the second advantage lies in the change of party responsibility. The American Foreign Office should be able to devote all its time and energy now to the present and future without being paralyzed by having to fight an unrelenting rear-guard action in defense of the past.

MURROW: Well, now it seems to me we've partially balanced the book. We've seen the progress the communists have made with their varying tactics to exploit Allied differences and prepare the way for the winning of new worlds. But we know, too, of the trouble they're having. Their economic difficulties in the satellite nations, the continuing purge trials with their indication that all is not very lovable behind the iron curtain. We know the inspiration of Red China has started to fade. West Germany makes new progress. Europe is considerably better off than a year ago, and is now looking for trade not aid. And in our own country, with military hardware on hand instead of just on order, we feel the new administration can speak with new strength. None of you has suggested that the time has come to let up in any way. No one is satisfied. All of you, if I gauge your conversation correctly, are quite willing to whisper advice into the ears of any available Western foreign minister. Let's see what that would amount to, but, before we turn to that matter here's something else for your attention.

For many years now, I've worked on the radio in association with the American Oil Co. It's a pleasure this afternoon to meet with my colleagues from overseas to discuss the world's problems as we see them without any suggestion from our sponsor as to what we should or should not say or what we should or should not conclude.

(MORE)

MURROW: I should like to have you meet the president of the American Oil Company, Mr. H.C. Smith.

SMITH: We of the American Oil Company are very pleased to sponsor this program, "YEARS OF CRISIS." It has long been a cardinal and guiding principle of the American Oil Company that if the public is advised of all the facts, without bias, you need never have any fear of its judgment. So as Mr. Murrow and his worldwide staff of news analysts recall the events of the past year for us, many which are history-making, and as they place these events before us in proper perspective we hope it will enable all of us, including our elected officials who represent us, to see our position with greater clarity and handle our problems objectively and with decision and with dispatch.

We sincerely appreciate your having joined us at the beginning of this new year in a very serious business of reviewing what we have been doing so that we can see more clearly what we must do in the future.

The fine progress the American Oil Company has made during the past 12-mos. is the result of the efforts of the many courteous Amoco dealers who represent us to the buying public, the efforts of our distributors and all the men and women of Amoco.

This is the traditional time of year to greet old friends. And I'd like to wish every Amoco dealer from Maine to Florida - a Happy New Year!

To our customers go our thanks for making 1952 the greatest year in American Oil Company history. May we continue to merit your patronage through the years ahead.

I would like to take this opportunity, Mr. Murrow, of thanking you and your staff for permitting me to participate in this program.

MURROW: You're quite welcome, sir. That was H.C. Smith, president of the American Oil Company.

We teed off our talk this afternoon on what Josef Stalin has told us he's going to do: to sit tight and watch the Western World quarrel among itself; to have his communists exploit any differences they can find among the free nations and, finally, according to Stalin's thesis, to watch us war against each other. That's what Stalin says he's going to do. Now what should we do about it? What are we doing? What should we be doing to meet the communist challenge. Kendrick suppose you take it up.

KENDRICK: Ed, since Stalin's program consists of building armaments, prolonging the cold war and playing the waiting game, we've got to outbuild him, outfreeze him and wait him out. In Eastern Europe this means maintaining our contacts with the people of the satellite countries, and stepping up our psychological warfare against the satellite regimes. And taking advantage of the difficulties within the communist bloc. In other words, we've got to see that the Stalin program backfires.

MURROW: But, specifically, what do we do?

KENDRICK: Well, the first and most important thing we have to do in Eastern Europe is to get a policy. We've got to decide - with our allies - what we mean by 'containment.' We've got to decide how far we want to go, under the Kurston amendment to the mutual security act; that's the amendment alloting $100-millionfor helping the people of the iron curtain countries, helping them to escape, helping them to go back and engage in subversive activities, creating an anti-communist underground. I also think this Kurston program should be taken out of the secret category, not all the way, perhaps, but at least we could make a statement of our aims there.

MURROW: How much of this program could be called 'active' right now.

KENDRICK: Ed, looking at it from Vienna, I would say practically none of it. The communists protested bitterly when the Kurston amendment was passed and they've taken advantage of it to hang quite a few people as American spies. But there was no reason for it. We haven't hurt them a bit, yet. The only part of the program operating is the minor one of helping to tide over escapees after they do get out. But there again we don't offer much of an incentive to escape, just a few years in a refugee camp. So another thing we could do is liberalize our immigration policy to give escapees a better break.

MURROW: You mentioned psychological warfare.

KENDRICK: Yes, I mean primarily Radio Free Europe, which does keep our lines open to the captive peoples, encourages them and tells them the truth that is otherwise kept from them. It's a good job and must be enlarged. But now we're back where we started. That can't be done effectively without some definite policy toward the satellites.

MURROW: George Herman!

es

HERMAN: Well, the non-military part of the fight for Asia in 1953 is going to be savage but silence and I think we have a good chance of winning it. The reign of terror was a flop so Stalin has been forced to fight us on our own grounds, with our own weapons of democracy and Point Four aid. He's striving to prove to the young nations of Asia that he is a better friend and protector than the United States and all we have to do is prove him a liar. And that's not hard because Stalin wants to use his advice and assistance to build up nations with captive allegiance, with a phony independence actually subservient to Russian policy.

MURROW: Alright, what do we do?

HERMAN: Well, I think we can beat Stalin if we build up nations with true independence and with no slavish devotion to the United States; that's our strength. It's obvious that a nation, which gets a taste of real independence and self-government will strongly resist domination by Russia or by anybody else. I think the case of India strongly proves that point. And so does Indonesia, which destroyed almost its entire communist party when it started trouble.

MURROW: And South Korea, too.

HERMAN: Yes, but to stand on its own feet a nation must have a core of well trained and honest civil servants. The British created such a body in India and so did the Dutch in Indonesia. Now I think we've got to do it for South Korea and the rest of Asia.

The American program of scholarships, in the United States for talented and qualified young Asians is one of our most valuable assets in this line and cheap at the price. I think it should be immensely expanded.

MURROW: And what do we do in Asia itself?

HERMAN: Well, we've got to get our ideas down to the mass of the Asian people. Unfortunately, the United States usually deals through the upper crust of an Asian country, the socially acceptable people who run the show. We must realize that their position is shaky and that we, and they, need the support of the broad base of the population, the people who really matter when revolutionary changes are in the wind. Our program of actual on-the-farm aid inIndia is immensely valuable along that line, but on a pitifully small scale. It should be expanded all over Asia. Let's forget the slick, high-level advertising techniques and remember a few basic facts.

es

MURROW: All right! Let's have them.

HERMAN: Well, the people of Asia are starving. Many of them will die while I try to explain that fact. Most of them have never seen a doctor or modern medicine. Most of them have never seen a car or a radio. They aren't interested in big talk of freedom and ideals. They're interested in surviving and surely we are the people who can show them how to survive. Then, and I think only then, are they interested in independence and surely we are one of the best qualified nations in the world to teach them independence. Stalin is trying to out-America America., and all we have to do is be ourselves, - to give aid and advice and emphasize over and over that, unlike Stalin, we want nothing in return but a healthy and independent nation that wants to stay that way.

MURROW: Dick Hottelet from western Germany.

HOTTELET: Well, in Germany we've been doing some important first things. We've said in so many words that an attack on Berlin or the Federal Republic means war with us. This guarantee is backed by half-a-million Allied soldiers in Germany alone with another half-a-million German troops due to join them.

MURROW: But military strength is not a policy in itself.

HOTTELET: Ed, you're quite right! It's the foundation of a policy which is partly already in operation. The armies are a shield behind which democratic Germans, like Chancellor Adenauer, the Social Democratic oppostion, the churches, labor unions, and employers are getting their house in order. They don't have to be afraid of private armies, like the Communists and Nazi thugs, who destroyed the first German Republic. They have that assurance and peace of mind that go with partnership in a huge and powerful western community. The average man with a suit of clothes, a full stomach, and his family under one roof after many years now feels that he can plan his life.

MURROW: Then, I gather you feel we should continue what we've been doing?

HOTTELET: Yes, Ed, that and more. The brilliant success of the last four years shouldn't conceal the possibility of serious trouble. There is no guarantee that this new German democracy is shock-proof. It hasn't suffered any serious blows yet. Hard work and a worldwide boom have brought prosperity and tranquil progress. We don't know what might happen in a depression, whether a new dictator might not run wild with a hungry and desperate population. We don't know what would come if a political blunder broke up the western alliance. We must help the Germans keep their country sound and sane, not with hand-outs and advice but by embracing them in a strong and happy western family, sharing burdens and privilege as equal members.

es

MURROW: Well, what about eastern Germany?

HOTTELET: The partition of Germany is both a symptom of the Cold War and a challenge to the Allies. The Germans want badly to be reunited and will not really rest until they are. If the Allies could unify Germany in peace and liberty, they would win a double victory. They'd ease pressure inside Germany and, by moving the frontier of freedom deeper into central Europe, would strike a serious blow at Soviet power. I think this local objective is great enough to command all the political and diplomatic effort the west can bring to bear.

MURROW: Dave Schoenbrun, what do you think we can do to meet the Soviet challenge?

SCHOENBRUN: We can support Europe's greatest hope, its greatest achievement of this year, the new coal-steel community, what we used to call the Schuman Plan when it was just a paper treaty. This year it's a functioning reality and it promises to change the history, even the map, of Europe, to be the first great bloodless revolution of our times. They call it the coal-steel community because six nations are actually creating a common market in coal and steel. By April 10 of this year, coal, iron ore and steel will move freely across frontiers that used to be barriers. They'll circulate through a market of a hundred and fifty million people, as big a market as we have right here in the U.S.A., and which has been a great source of our own prosperity, but this is more than just a story of coal and steel and a marketplace. It's the first big step towards a United States of Europe, one country of two hundred millions, instead of a crazy-quilt of uneconomic nationstates, and this would pull the fuse right out of the bomb that Stalin's trying to set off in Europe.

MURROW: Dave, what happens to the Saar, that area that the French and Germans have fought over so frequently?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, Ed, right in this new coal and steel community, and eventually in a united Europe, we can solve the Saar problem, make it a sort of European capital, a District of Columbia; not a No Man's Land, as in the past, but as tho Saar Premier, Johannes Hoffmann, told me once, - we want to be every man's land. For me it's the most exciting and positive development in our world today and it's a perfect answer to Stalin's challenge before ...because you can't ... you can't divide Europe if Europe is one country indivisible and that's what they're building.

MURROW: How are they going about it, Dave?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, right now they've got a special committee drafting the first constitution of that new United States of Europe and they're going to present it to the Council of Europe in March. The first all-European tax has already been passed, just two weeks ago, a 1% tax on every ton of coal mined. Just think of it! The Germans are paying part of the proceeds of German coal to help reequip the mines of the Belgians and the French.

MURROW: But that doesn't solve all the problems!

SCHOENBRUN: No, Ed, of course not! As I mentioned earlier, the French are alarmed at German power and are afraid to let them rearm and, as Dick Hottelet properly reminded us, the Germans won't join the community unless they are accepted as fully equal partners. Well, that's where we come in. We've got to help them both, not play one against the other. We've got to support that community at the outset, make an investment in it. I think it's a first-class business opportunity. Instead of sitting by while they fight, we've got to show the French and Germans that we will not tolerate their fighting, that we'll do almost anything in our power to make them feel secure and help them over the early rough spots that any new community must override.

MURROW: Don Hollenbeck, what can our friends in Canada and South America do to help meet this Communist challenge?

HOLLENBECK: What we're doing in the western hemisphere, Ed, is this. In Canada we have perhaps the world's greatest source of raw material for defense, the greatest opportunity of development. Canada right now is the world's third trader next to ourselves and Britain. Canada is the best customer of the U. S. A. The fact that the Canadian dollar is now worth a few cents more than our own gives Canada an enviable position in world economy. Canada's in a boom and nations in a boom find Communism comparatively easy to contain.

MURROW: And in Latin America?

HOLLENBECK: Well, there the Communists, of course, are more active and certainly more vocal yet their position is uncertain and, on the basis of observation in Chile and Argentina, I would say has receded. The Communists count on division, but throughout Latin America there seems to be just too much division to make practical use of.

MURROW: Eric Severeid! What can we in this country do, we and our Allies, to meet this Communist challenge?

SEVEREID: Well, Ed, all these Allied countries get impatient with one another, but let's remember for a moment some of the monumental blunders that Stalin has made. His opposition to the Marshall Plan guaranteed its going through. His ruthless handling of the satellites lost western Europe its illusions about the nature of Communism. His invasion of Korea armed the United States. His former policy of overt aggressions and internal sabotage brought about the western alliance and the foundation for European federation, so altogether his former policy created the very thing his new policy now tries to destroy and I think if we have any wit and consistency this new strategy comes too late.

ta

MURROW: Eric, how do you estimate our own Government's task in this whole business?

SEVAREID: Well, I think the big outline remains pretty clear. It's to do most of what we have been doing, but a lot more of it, - to greatly step up the Point Four program is one of the surest ways of making the transition from colonialism to national independence without disaster, as well as to build a cushion of markets against a possible economic depression here. We have to push harder towards an agreed-upon Allied policy for the Far East. We have to hold firm in Korea, keep our heads and our nerves as surprisingly well as we have in the past two years. We have to arm Germans under the insulation of Pan-European control. We have to move away from the system of American grants and aid to an orderly system of far greater and freer trade for Europe with America. We have to manage our own economy carefully as we move down from the peak level of armament building.

MURROW: And you feel reasonably sure that these things can be done?

SEVAREID: Well, I think...I'm pretty sure the resources and the knowledge are there. I think that much now depends how the new Administration works out old American internal conflicts, many of which lie within its own Party ranks, - conflicts between those who want to cut our commitments abroad and those who think we ought to increase them; between those who know we either continue to subsidize Europe or accept far more of her exports and those who are against doing either one; between those who want taxes cut first and those who want the budget balanced first; between those who want a more aggressive anti-Communist policy and those who just want to save money, and between those who would strengthen the U. N. and those who would like to by-pass it; between those who would silence all unorthodox thinking and those who feel the source springs of American ideas and inventiveness are being poisoned by fear. Now, all these conflicts go very deep in both political parties, but more significantly right now in the Party that has the responsibility now for our fate and I think, really, that the whole Allied course in meeting this new Stalin strategy may very well depend on how these American conflicts are resolved.

MURROW: Well, let's turn now from our chief Washington correspondent, Eric Sevareid, to our chief European correspondent, Howard K. Smith.

Howard, what can we do and what <u>should</u> we do in this divided world?

SMITH: Well, Ed, it's very hard to add to the impressive list of recommendations we've heard, but I would like to state the principle I think should govern our policy and illustrate it briefly.

ta (MORE)

SMITH: (CONT'D) Now, I'm a firm partisan of the view that a civilization can only be licked by itself. It can't be beaten by its enemies. As Professor Toynbee, of England, has said: "The death of civilizations is never murder. It is always suicide," so let's put our own camp in order and I think we can take care of our enemies. Now, the first big trouble obvious to anyone covering Europe is the permanent disbalance of trade between America and the world. The world can't sell us enough to pay for all it has to buy from us, therefore, we should lower our tariffs and allow the world to sell more here. There would be individual cases of hardship from foreign competition, no doubt, but on the whole I think our economy is strong enough to take it.

MURROW: Well, Smith, a survey has been made here indicating that if we removed all our tariffs Europe could still sell only enough to cover about one-fifth of its so-called dollar gap.

SMITH: Yes, Ed, I heard about that and, as a consequence, Europe has to take steps as well as we. As Schoenbrun has said, the narrow un-economic national frontiers of Europe simply have to be removed and a bigger, more competitive economic unit, a United States of Europe, has to be formed. Finally, Point Four has to be pushed much more vigorously than it has been. Indian friends of mine in England have suggested an international U.N. - administrated investment program to take away the suspicion of American domination; give Asia more ploughs and fertilizers and Asia can sell Europe more food and, in return, Europe and we can sell them machinery. The tendency to Communism would be less in underdeveloped countries, the market for all our goods that Europe is worried about would expand, the possibility of the depression Russia's hoping for would be less, and there would be fewer differences for Stalin to base new party lines on.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, it seems to me at the opening of this highly equivocal year, you appear to be rather more in agreement and, on the whole, rather more optimistic than you were when we met a year ago. None of you sees either an easy or a quick solution to this worldwide conflict. You're inclined to think that we must continue down the same road we've been following, but with greater steadiness, that military strength alone is not enough, that we must prepare to meet the constant threat of overt Communist aggression and at the same time prepare for the long-range, slow, grinding process of economic and psychological warfare which could go on for decades. You appear to feel that the Communists have, to a large extent, captured the appetite for change, particularly in Asia, and that our appeal in that area has been too much to the mind and too little to the belly. You want a substantial increase in the whole Point Four program and you insist that in our own self-interest, as well as the interest of the free alliance, we must be prepared to trade more freely with the rest of the world. You indicate that the new Stalin line, of easing the pressure of possible direct military action, may cause some of our Allies to relax their efforts to rearm, and that we cannot force them to a pace beyond that which their judgement and economic potential permits. ta

MURROW: (CONT'D) And it seems to me that there is another thing implicit in what most of you have said and that is that this country cannot defend the faith of freedom with guns and money alone, that our example may be as important as our exports, that every restriction upon human liberty in this country will cost us dearly, not only at home but abroad. You would have us define our policy more clearly and then act upon that policy rather than merely reacting to the words and pressures of the Kremlin. Those of you stationed in western Europe would not have us talk so much about liberation of the satellite nations unless we're prepared to do something about it, with particular reference to those who manage to get out. You are duly impressed with the year's progress in forming a west European coalition for mutual defense, but you're also inclined to warn that it's still fragile and could collapse if our economy should stagger or if we try to lead with too heavy a hand. None of you seems to see a solution for the Korean war except in the context of the worldwide struggle. You are not in agreement as to the prospect of that struggle leading to ultimate collision, but your reports to me at least add up to the most encouraging progress report since we started these annual reviews four years ago. You have said that our power has increased, our problems have multiplied, and that is part of the price of leadership, a leadership that must be prepared to fight or to wait and plan, but always to lead.

Good afternoon and ... good luck!

ANNCR: (CLOSING COMMERCIAL)

This is the CBS . RADIO Network

Ed. trans.-E. Scheiner
P. Olszewski
A. Cardiff

ta

CBS RADIO DIVISION

YEARS OF CRISIS

Thursday, January 1, 1953
5:04-6:04 P.M.

MURROW: ... Well, gentlemen, it seems to me, at the opening of this highly equivocal year, you appear to be rather more in agreement and on the whole rather more optimistic than you were when we met a year ago. None of you sees either an easy or quick solution to this worldwide conflict. You're inclined to think that we must continue down the same road we've been following, but with greater steadiness; that military strength alone is not enough; that we must prepare to meet the constant threat of overt Communist aggression and at the same time prepare for the long-range, slow, grinding process of economic and psychological warfare which could go on for decades. You appear to feel that the Communists have, to a large extent, captured the appetite for change, particularly in Asia, and that our appeal in that area has been too much to the mind and too little to the belly. You want a substantial increase in the whole Point 4 program and you insist that in our own self-interest, as well as the interest of the free alliance, we must be prepared to trade more freely with the rest of the world. You indicate that the new Stalin line of easing the pressure of possible direct military action may cause some of our allies to relax their efforts to rearm, and that we cannot force them to a pace beyond that which their judgment and economic potential permits.

And it seems to me that there is another thing implicit in what most of you have said - and that is, that this country cannot defend the faith of freedom with guns and money alone, that our example may be as important as our exports, that every restriction upon human liberty in this country will cost us dearly, not only at home but abroad. You would have us define our policy more clearly and then act upon that policy rather than merely reacting to the words and pressures of the Kremlin. Those of you

stationed in Western Europe would not have us talk so much about liberation of the satellite nations unless we're prepared to do something about it, with particular reference to those who managed to get out. You are duly impressed with the year's progress in forming a West European coalition for mutual defense, but you're also inclined to warn that it's still fragile and could collapse if our economy should stagger or if we tried to lead with too heavy a hand. None of you seems to see a solution for the Korean war, except in the context of the worldwide struggle. You are not in agreement as to the prospect of that struggle leading to ultimate collision. But your reports, to me at least, add up to the most encouraging progress report since we started these annual reviews four years ago. You have said that our power has increased, our problems have multiplied, and that is part of the price of leadership, a leadership that must be prepared to fight or to wait and plan but always to lead.

Good afternoon and Good luck!

-30-

Ediphone trans./E. Scheiner

AMERICAN OIL COMPANY

OPENING COMM'L

JANUARY 1, 1953

YEARS OF CRISIS

ANNCR: "Years of Crisis" with Edward R. Murrow and seven distinguished CBS Radio correspondents flown in from the capitals of the world for this very important year-end global report to the American people.

"Years of Crisis" is brought to you by the American Oil Company, maker of famous Amoco products, and its thousands of Amoco dealers from Maine to Florida.

Here is Mr. Murrow.

(2-SEC. PAUSE)

MURROW: Listen to this voice!

SOUND: (STUDIO TR, 14: STALIN'S VOICE.. 20 SEC)

MURROW: That was the voice of Joseph Stalin. It is a powerful voice that speaks in many languages, to people with many accents and many faces all over the world. It is a voice that means different things to different people. Today we propose to examine some of these "meanings". With me are CBS Radio correspondents gathered from their assignments in various parts of the world. Gentlemen, suppose you introduce yourselves and tell us what the voice of Stalin means in the section of the world you cover?

tb

SMITH: I'm Howard K. Smith, covering Europe. Over there, it's a kind of political mating-call...to get together...against him.

HERMAN: I'm George Herman and Asia is my sector. In Korea and Indo-China Stalin speaks in the harsh accents of war. In the Philippines, Malaya, Burma and Japan he speaks in the soothing tones of the new popular front, the loveable communist party.

SCHOENBRUN: I'm David Schoenbrun. My beat is France to North Africa. In that area Stalin has ordered his communist shock troops to put on boy-scout suits and look loveable.

HOTTELET: I am Richard C. Hottelet. I cover Germany, and there Stalin isn't loveable---he is out for blood.

KENDRICK: I'm Alexander Kendrick, from Vienna. I cover the Iron Curtain countries. Stalin's voice there means more purges, more repression, militarization -- and anti-Semitism.

SEVAREID: I'm Eric Sevareid. I cover Washington, D.C., where that voice has come to mean the single source of our troubles and taxes, the great betrayal of all we fought the big war to achieve.

tb

HOLLENBECK: I'm Don Hollenbeck; my assignment this year took me to the northern and southern sections of the western hemisphere -- to Canada and South America. In these areas, the face of Communism is masked -- intentions and strategy a question.

tb

MURROW: Last October while America was concerning herself with two great games..the world series and the election campaign...the Communist party Congress met in Moscow. It produced what we regard as one of the most important peace-time stories of the last 20 years. From this meeting came Joseph Stalin's new Communist blueprint; as clear and complete as the one Adolf Hilter laid down inMein Kampf. Few of us paid much attention to Hitler's plans. They were supposed to be too fantastic. Now, Stalin has laid down his plans. They say many things to many people. But one thing stands out from this blueprint. The Stalin warning to his world-wide followers that the prospect of war between the capitalist countries is greater than the prospect of war between the Communist world and the free world. Stalin contends that our allies will not indefinitely suffer what he calls the "economic feudalage, the serfdom" under which we now hold them. And Stalin has ordered his Communists to exploit differences among the free nations of the world whenever they can be found; to help hasten the day when the allies will war among themselves. We propose, this afternoon, to examine Stalin's thesis and to suggest possible means of avoiding the calamity he predicts for us.

tb (CTD)

MURROW: (CTD) Suppose, first, we try to itemize the differences among the allies..the differences we can expect the Communists to exploit: Let's lead off with Howard Smith.

(NOTE: THESE TO BE REWRITTEN TO SPREAD DIFFERENCES.)

SMITH: Well, the British are at odds with Europe over joining European unity plans. In the Far East they are in very basic disagreement with us over the question of recognizing Red China.. There are differences between us over policy towards Iran;

The British are very angry about our McCarran act and the screening of their seamen, unhappy about our Battle Act which restricts trade with Communist countries.

They are very concerned about the revival of Japanese trade competition. I think nothing this year made them so mad as when, a week after the date of the coronation was announced, Japanese salesmen appeared in London ready to sell coronation souvenirs at half the price the British themselves could produce them.

MURROW: George Herman?

tb

HERMAN: In Asia too, Stalin is counting largely on the struggle for foreign markets. The Japanese are mad at the British for trying to call a halt to Japan's trade expansion. The west has cut Japan off from her natural markets in China and is now trying to keep her immense production of cheap goods out of the rest of the world. A Japanese businessman said to me "How can Britain talk free trade with America and then turn around and try to restrict us?"

The Americans in Japan are almost as worried as the Japanese, because if Japan can't find markets, we'll have to support her indefinitely. So British and American interests lie in sharp opposition there. Stalin will also continue to exploit the west's desire to maintain her favorable position in Asia, and Asia's desire to shake herself free from western domination.

MURROW: Now, Dick Hottelet, from Germany.

HOTTELET: Stalin remembers that in the past Germany and Russia have fought against France and carved up Poland together. - Times have not changed for him at all. He is counting on the ancient suspicion between France and Germany. He knows the misgivings with which all nations watch the revival of German power. He sees Germany with prodigious vitality shouldering its way back into competition on world markets, and moving from rags to riches in four short years. (CTD)

tb

HOTTELET: (CTD) --Stalin expects this success to rouse fear and healousy in the west.
He also obviously expects Germany to follow in the footsteps of the Kaiser and Hitler, tempted again to satisfy wild, nationalist ambitions at western expense. And Stalin thinks that he can win the Germans over by promising them national unity and a hungry market in the communist world.

MURROW: And across the Rhine, Schoenbrum?

SCHOENBRUN: Plenty of conflict for Stalin to exploit. Particularly in NATO.
Our Supreme Commander in Europe, General Ridgway, got very angry at the North Atlantic meeting in Paris just two weeks ago. He told the Foreign Ministers bluntly, in a public speech, that their military budgets were too small and they had better give him more to work with.
They blew up in turn, and just as angrily replied, in the words of Clemenceau: war is too serious a business to be entrusted to Generals.
That's the sort of mutual irritation that gives Stalin his chance. And he doesn't miss an opportunity. This fall Stalin called in the new French Ambassador to Moscow, for one of his rare talks with western diplomats.

SCHOENBRUN: (CTD) And it's an open secret in Paris that Stalin offered the French a deal -- permanent neutralization of Germany if the French will walk out of NATO...a deal the French turned down flat..but a warning signal of how quickly Stalin moves to exploit any division in the western camp.

MURROW: Hollenbeck, how about your beat?

HOLLENBECK: We must face the fact that in both the northern and southern sections of the western-hemisphere--in Canada and in South America, there has since the war been an excess of feeling against the United States, and a great deal of this is due of course to the emergency of the United States as world power number one --or theoretically so, Our new position of world leader exposes us to the inevitable penalties of such a position---suspicion, envy and resentment, and on these emotions, the Communists in the western hemisphere are ringing all the changes.
In Latin America, we can expect the communists quite naturally to make the most they can out of the undoubted anti-American feeling that has developed during and since the war---our muscles are just too bulging to be very close to.

(CTD)

tb

HOLLENBECK: (CTD) The Reds are of course doing all they can to work their way into the Latin American labor unions--they have, naturally to some extent, and here I must confess that I just don't know the extent of their influence, but I don't believe we ought to minimize it, especially in industrial countries like Bolivia and Chile. In Canada, the Communists efforts to exploit division and the workers' hard luck have resulted in small potatoes---there isn't much division, and the workers have had pretty good luck--Canada would appreciate a lot more workers, as a matter of fact.

MURROW: Kendrick?

KENDRICK: There are some differences among the Western Powers on the attitude we should take toward the Soviet satellites. Should we carry out an active policy of attempted liberation? Of course, this is only a part of the larger question: Do we try to contain Communism merely, or try to roll it back? We have to resolve these differences, because Stalin can use them. Then, there are the differences in southeast Europe between Yugoslavia and Italy, over the question of Trieste; and between Yugoslavia and the Vatican, over the question of religious freedom. I would say these differences are serious, but not irreconcilable.

tb

MURROW: Now that's a by-no-means complete listing of what we must suffer with our friends. You fellows have laid out actual and potential differences, some more important than others. Now, lets see if we can categorize these family fights. Smith, what about the reports we occasionally get out of London?

SMITH: It is unfortunate but undeniable that the past year has been a growth of anti-Americanism in Europe. At one point this summer in England, it led to gangs of hoodlums beating up American GIs on the streets in Manchester. That was exceptional; it shocked the British themselves so much that I don't think there is likely to be anything like that again. However, it did bring to the surface what has been a very ugly under-current of resentment.

The feeling is, all over Western Europe, that we tend to act in a rather high-handed fashion. Many thought the way we pushed through the Japanese treaty was rather dictatorial. The Battle Act, limiting their trade with Communist countries...the McCarran Act have brought outbursts in the press against us.

(CONTINUED)

pf

SMITH: (CTD) Basically, what is wrong I think is that Europe is growing very tired of its dependent status, and very sensitive about it.

I was told the story circulating in Paris the other day about a patriotic Frenchman who announced he was seeking American citizenship, not because he wanted to be an American, but because, he said, that was the only way he could have any influence over France's affairs. The tinge of bitterness in that little story has this past year became a very visible part of the European scene.

MURROW: And perhaps nowhere has that "tinge of bitterness" lingered longer than in the French-German area. Schoenbrun, how about it?

tb

SCHOENBRUN: One of Napoleon's Marshals once said "I'll protect myself from my enemies. May God protect me from my friends".

That's the way the French feel about Germany today. Besides, Germany is too old an enemy of France to be a comfortable new friend. The heavy-handed Germans are already producing twice as much steel as France. While the French are spending one-third of their budget for western defence in Europe and to hold the line in Indochina, the Germans, without any military burden, are building factories and houses at the greatest rate in the world. Every time a Frenchman looks over his shoulder across the Rhine he breaks out into a cold sweat. Germanys loud demands for the return of the Saarland territory this year were all too frighteningly reminiscent of Hitler's power grabs. Not that many Frenchmen compare Chancellor Adenauer's government with Hitlers. It's just that German power, so near, so destructive in the past, is on the rise again, and France feels naked and alone.

-more-

ras

SCHOENBRUN: (CTD) She feels that way because her best armies are fighting communists in Indochina or guarding against revolt in North Africa. The French fear that unless we help France, provide a counterweight, Germany will again dominate western Europe.

(NOTE: CHECK ABOVE LAST PGF WITH DAVE.)

MURROW: Herman, I suppose Asia has its share of allied family fights for the Communists to exploit.

pf

HERMAN:
(CTD)

Yes, Ed, when you consider that the newly independent governments of Asia are our main allies the basic conflicts on which Stalin can play are obvious. The Indonesian people hate the Dutch with an intensity that blinds them to other considerations. The animosities stirred up by the French in Indo-China since the end of the world war are still hampering the war against communism in that area. In short, the conflict between the backward peoples, newly emerging from colonial status, and the western peoples whose aid they need but whose influence they hate and fear. This conflict is aggravated by the fact that there is no Nato organization in Asia to co-ordinate the democratic powers in their fight against Communist expansion. There is no concerted plan connecting the war in Indo-China with the UN war in Korea. One other problem seems to be unique in Asia and the middle-east, the red hot religious hatreds dividing peoples who should be unified against the common enemy.

ras

-more-

MURROW: Severeid you've probably heard our State Department people discussing these differences ...and others. How would you say our people feel about our quarrelling allies, and the ammunition this supplies Stalin?

SEVARIED: The truth is that most Americans have grown very weary with these differences among those who should be united; we frequently contribute to these differences, by our policies and our manners, but that's hard for Americans to see; it's much easier for us to see our friends abroad quarreling over matters that seem very minor to us; for us, there's only one important matter - holding together, and holding firm, everywhere, until the communists cease and desist; there's a sense of impatience here when old issues bob up again -- the Saar, Trieste, French-German distrust and so on. Anyway, we've had our own differences inside our own federation of conflicting ideas and interests, and the chief preoccupation now is to see whether, with new leadership, these differences can be ironed out.

ras

-more-

SEVAREID: (CTD) Our allies accuse the American government of pushing the Anti-Communist alliance too far and too fast; millions of Americans accuse it of being too slow and too soft with the reds.

The rate of speed of American action is probably less important than the consistency of American action. It has not been consistent because the administration has all but lost control of its own policy making powers, partly because of an implacable, often irresponsible political opposition from both parties. Now that fight has been settled - in November.

MURROW: What about from now on, Eric.

SEVAREID: I think we will now be more consistent, at least for quite a time, in foreign policy.

The remaining question, the sixty-four dollar question, is whether we can avoid a serious economic letdown here, after re-armament passes its peak.

The means for avoiding it are always there; if the American people elected the kind of leadership they think they elected, the means will be used. But there isn't enough evidence yet to answer that question.

pf

MURROW: Gentlemen, we seem not to have spared the rod. You have made clear that there are a number of differences among the allies for the Communists to exploit...try to bring on the war among the Western powers that Stalin foresees. But what Stalin says and what Stalin does are not always the same thing. How far do we think the Russians will go to exploit differences among the free nations? What's his ultimate purpose? War? Hottelet what do you think:

HOTTELET: Stalin will not shrink from war in the future any more than he has in the past. For him, as he says himself, war is only the continuation of policy with other means. And his policy is still to dominate the world. Stalin has no moral scruple against war. Pacifism is a high crime in Russia today, and any war the Soviet Union chooses to have itself or its satellite fight is applauded as a just war. -- More than that, for Soviet Russia war is the road to success.

ras -more-

HOTTELET:
(CTD) Soviet doctrine says that -- World War 1 established Soviet power in Russia. World War 11 spread this power over half the world.
A Third World War will end with the destruction of capitalism. -- In 1939 Stalin deliberately helped Hitler plunge into war. Since then he has used war and the threat of war to muscle in on China, Greece, Czechoslovakia and Korea. Why shouldn't he welcome the chance to incite or start another, at a time and place of his own choosing -- and with the greater safety that Soviet strength gives him today.

MURROW: Schoenbrun, do you go along with that?

SCHOENBRUN: Russia makes war only when it's "easy pickings" or when Russia herself is attacked. There's nothing in their history that proves the Soviets make war because their Communist doctrine compels them to.
They attacked little Finland because it looked easy and limited. They swallowed up the Baltic states and Eastern Europe as booty in the great World War.

ras -more-

SCHOENBRUN:
(CTD)

But they didn't start that war. Hitler did, with a nod of encouragement from Stalin who hoped the Western nations would kill each other off.

Stalin is always happy to hold someones coat and let him get killed -- the North Koreans, the Chinese, the Communist shock troops inside the Western camp.

Every time it looked as though Stalin himself might get hit at home he ducked away from the fight. Look at the post-war history of Europe, from '46 to today. Stalin probed and pressured our lines wherever he found a weak spot - Iran, Greece, Italy, Berlin. But each time we met him with determination and force he backed down and shifted his pressure.

Even "little Joe" Tito dared tweak "Big Joe's" nose and get away with it. Of course that doesn't prove that Stalin <u>won't</u> attack some day. The danger <u>always</u> exists and we must vigilantly prepare to meet it as we have been doing.

-more-

ras

SCHOENBRUN: (CTD) But nothing proves the defeatist theory that war must and will come. In fact that theory is in itself very dangerous. Where does it lead you? It leads you to make war yourself. Only a fool would wait to be attacked if he were sure the attack were coming.

HOTTELET: That's your interpretation, Schoenbrun.

MURROW: Go ahead, Hottelet.

pf

HOTTELET: Stalin himself said most recently that war among capitalist nations is inevitable. He also said, and I quote, "In order to remove the inevitability of wars, imperialism must be destroyed".

MURROW: Yes, Kendrick.

KENDRICK: But Stalin doesn't really say that imperialism must be destroyed by the force of Russian arms. In fact he says he sees smaller likelihood of war between Russia and the West and greater likelihood of war among the Western powers.

HOTTELET: Kendrick, I can't believe for a moment that Stalin thinks the Western nations will liquidate each other to suit him.

SCHOENBRUN: Hottelet, you and Kendrick are arguing the technicalities of Marxist doctrine. I'm less interested in what Stalin said, since he's contradicted himself before, but I'm looking at what he's done. And every time that a crisis has blown up and it looked like all-out war Stalin has backed away from it.

ras

MURROW: Herman wants to get into this.

HERMAN: Schoenbrun is right. We've got a concrete example in Korea. When the Chinese airforce first entered the war the UN said that an air attack on our ground forces would instantly spread the war to China. That puts it squarely up to Stalin and he backed down. Their airforce has stayed north of the battle line.

HOTTELET: That doesn't say that they always will. Stalin signals the play and boundaries are just lines on the field. In October he called the Soviet communist party the "shock brigade of the world revolutionary movement" and said it would support other nations in what he called their struggle for liberation.

ras

MURROW: Hottelet--(if I may)-you seem to feel Stalin won't shrink from war. Schoenbrun and Herman say the Communists back down whenever we put up. Kendrick is doubtful about war. How about you Hollenbeck?

HOLLENBECK: I hope not and I'll do everything I can--as all of us will--to see that one doesn't happen.

MURROW: Severeid how do you feel about it: is war inevitable?

SEVEREID: No political event is inevitable; human will can still direct such events, if the will is exercised. But the basic trend is still toward world war; the general picture is still one of armaments piling up on all sides, accompanied by more emotional thinking, less use reason, by thicker and higher iron curtains in the mind, by more and more organized fear, at least in America and Russia. It will take a big, over act to begin the unwinding, relaxing process - such as a negotiated peace in Korea -- but until that kind of evidence is in, the fundamental trend is still toward the edge of the cliff.

MURROW: Well now you are all on record. Severeid and Hottelet feel the record..the prospects..are dark.

(CONTINUED)

tb

MURROW: (CTD) The rest of you disagree. Now that we have your views suppose we take a closer look at your information...your facts..the bread and butter of your jobs all around the world. What are the Russians and their satellites up to? Why don't you fellows take time out to think that over while we hear from our announcer.

tb

ANNCR: Every student of history knows that today's events may affect our lives in the future. Past events are changing our lives today, in many ways, for many reasons.

For example, something that happened in Baltimore thirty-eight years ago has played and continues to play an important part in the lives of many people.

At that time gasoline was all alike -- just plain gasoline. So, in 1915, American Oil Company scientists, dissatisfied with the gasoline available at that time, set out to find something better, a new kind of motor fuel that would reduce the tendency of automobile engines to knock, and would allow them to develop power to the fullest.

They found it in it a new formula for a motor fuel- a way of refining gasoline so that it would burn slowly, and not waste its energy in a sudden, shattering explosion. It made possible a special motor fuel, something far and above ordinary gasoline. They called it Amoco-Gas, and in a few years, it revolutionized both the petroleum and automotive industries.

(MORE)

tb

ANNCR: (CTD) For here was a motor fuel that engineers could design engines up to --- not down to. Here was a motor fuel that pointed the way to a new concept in automotive design - a high compression engine with a new kind of efficiency. Here was a motor fuel that burned cleanly, and therefore, left engines cleaner, less subject to fouling,

Perhaps you know these things about Amoco-Gas. But even if you have never used this wonderful special motor fuel, you, too, have enjoyed its benefits, because it changed America's concept of motoring, and therefore changed your life.

Every time you rode in a car in the last thirty-eight years you benefited.

For the American Oil Company, has put something new into the language - special motor fuel - and its name is Amoco-Gas. And it gives you a quietness, a smoothness, an ease of riding that ordinary gasoline can never give.

tb

MURROW: A minute ago I proposed that we focuse our attention on what the Communists are up to.. what are they doing around the world. Kendrick, you're our iron-curtain-expert. What's going on in that darkness:

KENDRICK: The satellite countries, like Russia herself, are being heavily and rapidly militarized. Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria have been built up with military forces far beyond the terms of their peace treaties and I think far beyond their own economic capabilities. But it's not only militarization in the strict sense of the word, that's going on. It's also psychological indoctrination with hatred of the West, especially the United States. It's parachute jumping, mock battle, rifle drill, trench digging, map reading, signal practice, army regulations, group marching, even military songs -- all of which are part of grammar-school education now, in the satellite countries. All youth activities, down to 6-year-old children, and all sports are completely dedicated to military training, you have no idea how completely.

KENDRICK: (CONT) I don't think this brings war any closer, necessarily, but it certainly doesn't make peace any easier.

MURROW: Herman, what are the communists doing in Asia?

HERMAN: What Stalin is doing short of war in Asia is fighting a war, - in fact two of them, mainly to consolidate his power over Communist China. But he is simultaneously waging peace in Asia. Outside of Korea and Indo-China the communists have gone sweet and loveable. Terror have proved a complete flop and so Big Brother Stalin is now offering the benevolent aid of the great peace-loving soviet union to all Asia. He says the Soviet Union understands the problems of Asia's starving millions better than the fat wealthy United States. And he backs that up by offering his aid not to the already wealthy people on the top, but to Asia's hungry and increasingly angry workingmen. Using its own version of point four, the Soviet Union in Asia is trving to look more like the United States that the United States does.

jn

MURROW: Schoenbrun, how are the communists doing in France?

SCHOENBRUN: Not too well. They had a surge. In France the communists have sacrificed two of their greatest heroes, victims of Stalin's new boy-scout order. Andre Marty, toughest leader of the shock troops, commander of the international brigade in Spain, has been publicly disgraced and booted out of the party secretariat only last week--he was France's third-ranking communist. The same treatment was dished out to Charles Tillon commander of France's famous communist partisans in the underground fight against the Germans. Their crime? They wanted to get tough, call strikes and demonstrations against America---particularly riots against General Ridgways Atlantic Army headquarters. That used to be the line, but it failed, according to Stalin. Stalin understood belatedly that the communist meance helped unify the French as no other issue could. Now he wants to remove the menace hoping the normally divided French will fall apart.

jn -more-

SCHOENBRUN: (CTD) So he ordered the purge of Marty and Tillon -- and coincidentally perhaps, the French cabinet promptly tottered and fell.

MURROW: Smith, what are the Communists doing in your area?

SMITH: In the past year, Britain has seen both faces of the Communists. There is evidence that Britain itself has been chosen as the focal center of the new party line of 'lovability'. Andrei Gromyko - hitherto second in command of the Soviet Foreign Office - has been sent as Russian ambassador there to watch out for opportunities. A modes flood of cultural emissaries, Russian authors, lecturers, musicians has come in to try to win friends and influence people. The Russian embassy is becoming a London social center again, with invitations no longer restricted to London's small left-wing set.

MURROW: A sort of softening up process, isn't it?

jn

SMITH: Yes, they are clearly trying to induce a mood of relaxation. Or, if a new British trade crisis should appear, it would not surprise me at all if Gromyko lept into the breach with an offer of a big trade deal...to induce the British to infringe the Battle Act and cause serious frictions. In Britain's colonial realm, the other face has shown, in a rather spectacular and frightening way. Since the War, the Communist have made great strides in colonial countries in the Far East and the Near East. Now last year, they have made contact in the heart of Africa, in Kenya.

jn

SMITH: (CONT'D) The evidence is that they are organizing the primitive resentment against the white man there, and have had a great deal to do with the Mau Mau murder campaign there. This is virgin soil for the Communists, and I think their penetration there is very important.

MURROW: Hottelet?

HOTTELET: Germany is a double problem, Ed, and the Communists have had to split their personality in public - to their great disadvantage.. -- In Western Germany they are super patriots and curse the French for stealing the Saar. In the East they write off some of the richest German provinces to Poland. - In the West they try to get aboard and steer every strike and demonstration, or protest in parliament. Windy proclamations tell Western Germans that the Communists are the only champions of peace, freedom, unity and sovereignty. But the Germans can see the Communists in the Soviet Zone arming for war, putting freedom in concentration camp and exploiting their people for Russia's profit. ---- Stalin knows that the influence of Communism in Western Germany is pitifully feeble. -more-

ebb

HOTTELET: (CONT'D) He relies on the steady menace of military power next door to shake the nerve of the weak in spirit.

MURROW: Hollenbeck, what did you find north and south of us...in this hemisphere?

HOLLENBECK: South America offers Communism a fertile field to cultivate; -- Canada not so much so. The Communists are working hard on the underprivileged peoples of the hemisphere to the south--whether they have been or are making gains remains to be seen, but it is undeniable that they have been instrumental in forcing some gains and have won some talking points. The nationalization of the Bolivian tin industry, the threatened nationalization of the Chilean copper industry have of course been pushed by the Communists, and regardless of the extent of their influence in these matters, they are making propaganda hay out of them. With the Canadians it's a different matter--the Communists have much less raw material in the form of discontent to work on.

ebb

MURROW: It's apparent that the Communists are doing many things in many places, and doing them well. Like Stalin's line, the technique changes to fit the situation. In one area the Communists want to be loved. In another they speak terror. In one they would help the poor while at the same time they have not lost the efficiency of their concentration camps. It seems to boil down to what position they hold in what country. Where Communism is strong force is the factor. Where Communism is weak they are resorting to what some of you have called anew "lovability." But all over, the Communists are working...with a plan...penetrating, propagandizing, preparing, polluting. It is not an encouraging picture you have reported thus far. But we've spoken only of the Communists. What about the free world...how are we doing?

First, let's take 15 seconds for station identification.

(15 SEC. STATION BREAK)

MURROW: Howard Smith, how about you giving us the first view.

pf

SMITH: The whole picture is I think far from black. I talked awhile back about anti-Americanism in Europe. Now, there is no doubt that that feeling has grown this year. But in an important sense that is a reflection of strength rather than weakness.

As someone has put it, our European patient has gotten so well he can complain.

Essentially, Anti-Americanism is a demand by Europeans that we create conditions of normal trade so they can get along without our charity. The phrase coined by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, "Trade, Not Aid", has become extremely popular all over Europe. That is one of the things Churchill is hastening over here to talk about next week. If we can meet these conditions -- lower tariffs and so on -- the present situation is pregnant with good possibilities. If we don't, however, Europe is going to continue a charity patient and resentment is going to grow on both sides of the Atlantic.

MURROW: Herman, what's the brighter side of the Asiatic picture?

HERMAN: Our main strength in Asia is that the growth of Chinese communism has now reached a point of diminishing returns in the rest of Asia. For a while the rapid growth of a strong red China apparently governed by Chinese sparked new hope and ambition in every Asian. Chinese victories in Korea, Indo-China, and Malay looked awfully good to Asian nationalists who hated Western intrusion in Asia. There was a great swing toward the new China by all the expatriate Chinese, who formed an important minority in most Asian countries. But the highwater mark has passed. The overseas Chinese are being blackmailed and their families at home stripped of the family wealth so dear to the Chinese. Asian nationalists have begun to realize that the growth of Red China and her expansion into Tibet and North Korea isn't just inspiring, - it's pretty frightening. In addition, the very fact that the communists are now in the process of shifting their line, of retooling their propaganda factories, means they are ideologically vulnerable until their new product starts clicking.

ras -more-

HERMAN:(CTD) This is a period of disillusion with Communism and the Chinese communists which can be most useful to us.

MURROW: How much progress have we made in Germany, Hottelet?

HOTTELET: Western Germany is shaping up as a dependable ally. It's already doing good work on a vital front of the cold war. It is holding the crossroads of Europe against Communist subversion and Soviet propaganda. -- With the help of the Western nations Germany has become a functioning democracy, impressively stable and downright spectacular in its economic growth. Germany's leaders and its people are forging stronger links with the free world in politics and trade. They have learned the hard way that Germany cannot stand neutral or alone. -- Physically Germany brings the Western alliance resources of power still untapped.

-more-

ras

HOTTELET: (CTD) Its millions of men can help defend Europe. Its mighty factories have not yet started defense production. Germany is an asset in the Western ledger.

MURROW: Kendrick, how does it look from Vienna?

KENDRICK: The biggest positive factor on our side in Southeastern Europe now is the new military agreement between Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, which gives us a defense line from the English channel to the Black Sea--and the Caucasus. But there is a very important negative factor at work, too. The internal stresses inside the Communist countries, the economic failures caused by militarization, have reached a new high. The recent Prague purge trial was not a sign of strength -- and there are more purge trials to come. The Communist regimes are trying to consolidate their power by consolidating state and party, but that's causing tremendous upheaval also. They don't have clear sailing by any means. They need a breathing spell now, and I think, as George said this is one of the reasons for their shift to indirect tactics.

MURROW: Now, for our own backyard. Hollenbeck, suppose you summarize the situation in Canada and South America.

pf

HOLLENBECK: We're not so sure of our strength of resistance in South America -- we can be more confident of it in Canada. Most of us Americans have simply no idea of the spirit that seems to motivate most of the fifteen million people who live beyond the 49th parallel in a tract of land larger and richer than our own in many resources. Canada has riches in oil, in uranium, in iron ore, in timber and in wheat a dollar now worth more than our own -- but more than this, Canada has a community of interest that it seems impossible to find elsewhere in the Western hemisphere. Communism finds Canada a difficult field to cultivate - for all its size, Canada has the character of a small town -- and this is in no sense a derogation -- but its sparsity of population enables most of its people to know pretty well what the neighbors are doing at all times. The Kremlin took a bad setback in Canada a few years ago when to its intense embarrassment, a spy was rooted out of its own embassy in Ottawa, and since that time, Canadians have regarded the activities of the country's Communists with alert amusement.

-more- jn

HOLLENBECK: (CONT) In Latin-America, the picture is not so clear: there is no community of interest, there are the complexities of Latin politics, there is the problem of depressed and discontented populations who have for many years been exploited by senores whose ladies bought their clothes in Paris. But on the credit side there is the realization of the dominant position of the USA--not a welcome realization in many cases, but self-interest calls the tune, and the Communists' shrill outcries against the Yankees aren't being taken too seriously.

MURROW: What are the hopeful factors in our own country, Severeid.

SEVEREID: I can see at least two great and new advantages in washington now. The first, of course, is that the United States now possesses real military power. For seven years this government has been walking through the valley of the shadow, making necessary foreign committments to hold this disintegrating world together, <u>without</u> real power in case our hand was called.

jn -more-

SEVEREID:
(CONT)

Truman has had to speak loudly while carrying a small stick. Eisenhower should be able to speak softly while carrying a big stick.

The second advantage lies in the change of party responsibility. The American foreign office should be able to devote all its time and energy to the present and future, without being paralyzed by having to fight an unrelenting rear-guard action in defense of the past.

MURROW: Now we've partially balanced the book. We've seen the progress the Communists have made, with their varying tactics, to exploit allied differences and prepare the way for winning new worlds. But we know too of the trouble they are having; their economic difficulties in the satellites.. the continuing purge trials with their indication that all is not "lovable" behind the Iron curtain. We know the "inspriation" of Red China has started to fade. West Germany makes new progress. Europe is better off than a year ago and looking for "trade not aid" in the future. And in our own country, with military hardware on hand instead of on order we the new Administration can speak with new strength. None of you has suggested that the time has come to let up. No one is satisfied...all of you, if I guage your conversation correctly, are willing to whisper advice into the ears of any available western foreign minister. Let's see what that would amount to. But before we turn to that (matter) here's something else for your attention:

PAUSE: two seconds

(cut to 15 sec)

MURROW: For many years now I worked on the radio in association with the American Oil Company. It is a pleasure this afternoon, to meet with my colleagues from overseas, to discuss the worlds problems as we see them, without any suggestion from our sponsor as to what we should or should not say. I should like to have you meet the president of the American Oil company, Mr. H.C. Smith.

(58:30)

G

H.C. SMITH: We of the American Oil Company are very pleased to sponsor this program - YEARS OF CRISIS. It has long been a cardinal and guiding principle of the American Oil Company that if the public is advised of all the facts without bias you need never have any fear of its judgement. So, as Mr. Murrow and his world-wide staff of news analysts recall the events of the past year for us, many of which are history making, and as they place these events before us in proper perspective, we hope that it will enable all of us, including our elected officials who represent us to see our position with greater clarity and handle our problems objectively and with decision and dispatch. We sincerely appreciate your having joined us at the beginning of this New Year in the very serious business of reviewing what we have been doing so that we can see more clearly what we must do in the future.

The fine progress the American Oil Company has made during the past twelve months is the result of the efforts of the many courteous dealers who represent us to the buying public, the efforts of our distributors, and all the men and women of Amoco. (MORE)

H.C. SMITH (Continued)

This is the traditional time of the year to greet old friends - and I'd like to wish every Amoco dealer from Maine to Florida a Happy New Year.

To our customers go our thanks for making 1952 the greatest year in American Oil Company history. May we continue to merit your patronage through the years ahead.

I would like to take this opportunity, Mr. Murrow, of thanking you and your staff for permitting me to participate in this program.

MURROW:

You are quite welcome, sir. That was H.C. Smith, President of the American Oil Company.

(two second pause)

MURROW: We teed off our talk this afternoon on what Joseph Stalin has told us he is going to do: to sit tight and watch the western world quarrel among itself.. to have his Communists exploit any differences they can find among the free nations and finally... according to Stalin's thesis... to watch us war against each other. That's what Stalin is going to do. Now: what should we do about it. What are we doing, what should we be doing to meet the Communist challenge. Kendrick suppose you take it up:

KENDRICK: Since Stalin's program consists of building armaments, prolonging the cold war, and playing the waiting game, we've got to outbuild him, out-freeze him -- and wait him out. In eastern Europe this means maintaining our contacts with the people of the satellite countries, stepping up our psychological warfare against the satellite regimes, and taking advantage of the difficulties within the Communist bloc. In other words, we've got to see that the Stalin program backfires.

(40:00)

MURROW: Well, specifically, what do we do?

KENDRICK: The first and most important thing we have to do in eastern Europe is to get a policy. We've got to decide -- with our allies -- what we mean by containment. We've got to decide how far we want to go, under the Kersten amendment to the Mutual Security Act. That's the amendment alloting 100 million dollars for helping the people of the Iron Curtain countries -- helping them to escape, helping them to go back and engage in subversive activities, creating an anti-Communist underground. I also think this program should be taken out of the secret category. Not all the way -- but at least we could make a statement of our aims.

MURROW: How much of this program could be called active now?

KENDRICK: Well, looking at it from Vienna, I would say practically none of it. The Communists protested bitterly when the Kersten amendment was passed, and they've taken advantage of it to hang quite a few people as American spies. There was no reason for it. We haven't hurt them a bit, yet. The only part of the program operating is the minor one of helping to tide over escapees after they do get out.

(MORE)

mmc

KENDRICK: (CONTD) But there again, we don't offer much of an incentive to escape -- just a few years in a refugee camp. So another thing we could do is liberalize our immigration policy to give escapees a better break.

MURROW: You mentioned psychological warfare.

KENDRICK: I mean primarily Radio Free Europe, which does keep our lines open to the captive peoples, encourages them, and tells them the truth that is otherwise kept from them. It's a good job, and must be enlarged -- but now we're back where we started. That can't be done effectively without some definite policy toward the satellites.

MURROW: George Herman.

HERMAN: The fight for Asia in 1953 is going to be savage but silent and we have a very good chance of winning. The reign of terror was a flop so Stalin has been forced to fight us on our own grounds, - with our own weapons of democracy and point four aid.

(MORE)

mmc

HERMAN: (CONTD) He is striving to prove to the young nations of Asia that he is a better friend and protector than the United States, and all we have to do is prove him a liar. Stalin wants to use his advice and assistance to build up nations with captive allegiance, with a false independence actually subservient to Russian policy.

MURROW: What do we do?

HERMAN: We can beat Stalin if we build up nations with true independence and no slavish devotion to the United States, - that is our strength. It is obvious that a nation which gets a taste of real independence and self-government will strongly resist domination by Russia or anybody else. I think the case of India strongly proves that point. So does Indonesia which destroyed almost its entire communist party when it started trouble.

MURROW: And South Korea too.

HERMAN: Yes, but to stand on its own feet a nation must have a core of well-trained and honest civil servants. The British created such a body in India. So did the Dutch in Indonesia. Now we've got to do it for South Korea and the rest of Asia.

(MORE)

pf

HERMAN:
(CONT'D)

The American program of scholarships in the United States for talented and qualified young Asians is one of our most valuable assets, and cheap at the price. It should be immensely expanded.

pf

MURROW: And what do we do in Asia itself?

HERMAN: We've got to get our ideas down to the mass of the Asian people. Unfortunately the United States usually deals thru the upper crust of an Asian country, the socially acceptable people who run the show. We must realize that their position is shaky and that we, and they, need the support of the broad base of the population, the people who really matter when revolutionary changes are in the wind. Our program of actual on-the-farm aid in India is immensely valuable but pitifully small-scale. It should be expanded all over Asia. Let's forget the slick advertising techniques and remember a few basic facts.

MURROW: Lets have them.

HERMAN: The people of Asia are starving, - many will die while I try to explain the fact. Most of them have never seen a doctor or modern medicine. Most of them have never seen a car or a radio.

(MORE)

mmc

HERMAN: (CONTD) They aren't interested in big talk of freedom and ideals, - they're interested in surviving and surely we are the people who can show them how to survive. Then and only then are they interested in independence, - and surely we are one of the best qualified nations in the world to teach independence. Stalin is trying to out-America America. All we have to do is be ourselves, to give aid and advice and emphasize that we want nothing in return but a healthy and independent nation that wants to stay that way.

MURROW: Dick Hottelet from western Germany.

HOTTELET: In Germany the allies have been doing some first things first.

We have said in so many words that an attack on Berlin or the Federal Republic means war with us. This guarantee is backed by half a million Allied soldiers in Germany alone, with another half a million German troops due to join them.

MURROW: This military strength is not a policy in itself.

HOTTELET: Ed, you're quite right. It's the foundation of a policy which is partly already in operation. The armies are a shield behind which democratic Germans like Chancellor Adenauer, the social democratic opposition, the churches, labor unions add employers are getting their house in order. They don't have to be afraid of private armies like the communist and nazi thugs who destroyed the first German republic.

jn -more-

HOTTELET:
(CONT) They have that assurance and peace of mind that go with partnership in a huge and powerful western community. The average man with a suit of clothes, a full stomach and his family under one roof after many years now feels that he can plan his life.

MURROW: Then I gather you feel we should continue what we've been doing.

HOTTELET: Yes Ed, that and more. The brilliant success of the last four years should not conceal the possibility of serious trouble. There is no guarantee that this new German democracy is shockproof. It hasn't suffered any serious blows. - Hard work and a worldwide boom have brought prosperity and tranquil progress. We don't know what might happen in a depression - whether a new dictator might not run wild with a hungry and desperate population. We don't know what would come if a political blunder broke up the western alliance.

jn -more-

HOTTELET:
(CONT) We must help the Germans keep their country sound and sane - not with handouts and advice, but by keeping them in a strong and happy western family - sharing burdens and privilege as equal members.

MURROW: What about eastern Germany?

HOTTELET: The partition of Germany is both a symptom of the cold war and a challenge to the Allies. The Germans want badly to be reunited and will not really rest until they are.

-MORE-

jn

HOTTELET: (CTD) If the Allies could unify Germany in peace and liberty it would win a double victory - it would ease pressure inside Germany and by moving the frontier of freedom deeper into central Europe would strike a serious blow at soviet power. This local objective is great enough to command all the political and diplomatic effort which the west can bring to bear.

MURROW: Dave Schoenbrun. What do you think we can do to meet the Soviet challenge?

SCHOENBRUN: Europe's greatest hope, its greatest achievement this year, is the new coal-steel community...what we used to call the Schuman Plan when it was a paper treaty. This year its a functioning reality, and it promises to change the history, even the map of Europe, the first great bloodless revolution of our times.

It's called the coal-steel community because six nations are actually creating a common market in coal and steel. By April tenth this year coal, iron ore, scrap and steel will move freely across frontiers that used to be barriers, will circulate through a market of 150 million people of Europe, as big a market as we have right here in the USA and which is a great source of our prosperity. (MORE)

SCHOENBRUN: (CTD) But this is more than just a story of coal and steel and a market place---it's the first big step towards a United States of Europe, one country of two hundred million instead of a crazy-quilt of uneconomic nation states. This pulls the fuse out of many of the European contradictions Stalin is putting matches to.

MURROW: Dave, what happens to the Saar...that the French and Germans have fought over so frequently.

SCHOENBRUN: In the new coal-steel community and eventually in a United Europe the Saar could become the capital...a sort of European District of Columbia---not a "no-mans land" as in the past...but, as the Saar Premier Johannes Hoffman, told me once: we want to be an <u>everymans</u> land. It's the most exciting positive development in our world today. It's the perfect answer to Stalin's challenge---you can't divide Europe if Europe is one country indivisible and that's what they're building.

MURROW: How are they going about it, Dave?

SCHOENBRUN: Why right now a special committee is drafting the first constitution of that new United States of Europe. It will be presented to the Council of Europe on March. And the first all-European tax has already been passed two weeks ago --- one percent on every ton of coal mined...think of it...the Germans are paying part of the proceeds on German coal to help re-equip the mines of the Belgians and the French.

MURROW: But that doesn't solve all the problems.

SCHOENBRUN: No, Ed. As I mentioned earlier the French are alarmed at Germans power, are afraid to let them rearm...and the Germans won't join the Community unless they are accepted as fully equal partners.

That's where we come in.

We've got to help them both, not play one against the other.

We've got to support that community at the outset, make an investment in it -- I think It's a first class business opportunity.

jn -more-

SCHOENBRUN: (CTD) Instead of sitting by while they fight we've got to show the French and Germans that we won't tolerate their fighting... that we'll do almost anything in our power to make them feel secure and help them over the early, rough spots that any new community must override.

MURROW: Don Hollenbeck--aside from this country--what can our friends in Canada and South America do to help meet the Communist challenge?

HOLLENBECK: What we are doing in the western hemisphere is this: in Canada we have perhaps the world's greatest source of raw materials for defense, the greatest opportunity of development,--- Canada is the world's third trader right now, next to ourselves and Britain---Canada is the best customer of the United States; the fact that the Canadian dollar is now worth a few cents more than our own gives Canada an enviable position in the world's economy. Canada is in a boom---nations in a boom find Communism comparatively easy to contain....

MURROW: And in Latin America?

HOLLENBECK: There, the Communists are more active and certainly more vocal, yet their position is uncertain, and on the basis of observation in Chile and Argentina I would say has receded--- the recent presidential election in Chile is a case in point.

HOLLENBECK: (CONT'D) Carlos Ibanez was elected by an overwhelming majority that cut across the many party lines in the country. Ibanez made shrewd use of the discontent against the senores stirred up by the Communists, but Ibanez to this moment, has showed no signs of yielding to Communist pressure, and it seems very likely that the Chilean congressional elections three months from now will see the Communists losing more ground. The Communists count on division, but throughout Latin-America, there seems to be just too much division to make good use of.

MURROW: Eric Severeid, what can we in this country--and our allies--do to meet the Communist challenge?

SEVEREID: All these countries get impatient with themselves; but let's remember the monumental blunders that Stalin has made. His opposition to the Marshall Plan guaranteed its going through; his ruthless handling of the satellites lost Western Europe its illusions about the nature of Communism; his invasion of Korea armed the United States.

SEVEREID: (CONT'D) His former policy of overt aggressions and internal sabotage brought about the Western Alliance and the foundation for European federation; in sum, his former policy created the very thing his new policy now tries to destroy. If we have any wit and consistency, his new strategy comes too late.

MURROW: Eric, how do you estimate our own government's task?

SEVEREID: The big outline remains clear enough; it is to do most of what we have been doing, but a lot more of it. To greatly step up the Point Four program is one of the surest ways of making the transition from colonialism to national independence without disaster, as well as to build a cushion of markets against a possible economic depression here. We have to push harder towards an agreed-upon allied policy for the Far East. We have to hold firm in Korea, keep our heads and our nerves as surprisingly well as we have in the last two years. We have to arm Germans under the insulation of Pan-European Control. -more-

ebb

SEVEREID: (CONT'D) We have to move away from the system of American grants in aid, to an orderly system of far greater and freer trade for Europe with America; we have to manage our own economy carefully as we move down from the peak level of armament building.

ebb

MURROW: And you feel sure all these things can be done.

SEVEREID: Of course, the resources and the knowledge are there but all now depends how the new administration here works out old American internal conflicts many of which lie within its own party ranks between those who want to cut our committments abroad and those who think we must increase them; between those who know we either continue to subsidize Europe or accept far more of her exports and those who are against doing either; between those who want taxes cut first and those who want the budget balanced first; between those who want a more aggressive anti-communist policy and those who just want to save money; between those who would strengthen the United Nations and those who would like to by-pass it; between those who would silence all unorthodox thinking and those who feel the source springs of American ideas and inventiveness are being poisoned by fear... all these conflicts go very deep in both parties, that and more significantly in the party that now has the responsibility for our fate.

-more-

pf

SEVEREID:
(CONT)

America must wait, the countries you cover must wait, to see, first of all, whether - and how -- these internal political conflicts will be resolved. The whole allied course in meeting the new Stalin strategy depends on this.

MURROW:

From our chief Washington correspondent to our chief European correspondent: Howard K. Smith...what can we do...what should we do.. in this split world?

jn

SMITH: I am a firm partisan of the view that a civilization can only be licked by itself; it can't be licked by its enemies. As Professor Tovnbee of England has said, the death of civilizations is never murder; it is always... suicide . So let's put our own camp in order and we can take care of our enemies. The first big trouble is the permanent disbalance of trade between American and the allies. They can't sell us enough to pay for all they have to buy from us. Therefore, we should lower our tariffs and allow the world to sell more here. There would be individual cases of hardship from foreign competition. But on the whole, I think our economy is mighty enough to take it.

MURROW: Smith, I suppose you know of a survey that has been made here; it indicated that if we removed all our tariffs, Europe could still sell only enough to cover about one fifth of its so-called dollar gap?

SMITH: Yes, I have heard of that. So, Europe has to do something as well. As Schoenbrun said, the narrow, uneconomic national frontiers must be removed... and a bigger more competitive economic unit, A United States of Europe, has to be found.

(MORE) ta

SMITH: (CONT'D) Finally, point four has to be pushed much more vigorously. Indian friends of mine in England have suggested an international UN-administered investment program. Give Asia more ploughs and fertilizers, and Asia can sell Europe more food. In return, Europe and we can sell them machinery. The tendency to Communism would be less in under-developed countries....the marker for all our goods would expand, the possibility of the depression Russia hopes for would be less, there would be fewer frictions.

MURROW: (End piece to come; into CLOSING COMMERCIAL)

ta

ANNCR: There's a story behind the quality of Amoco products. It's the story of a resolution that has been kept for forty-three years.

That resolution has become so much a part of American Oil Company's daily operation that it can be seen on the walls of its offices from Maine to Florida. That resolution is called "The American Policy."

"Our policy was -and still is--to offer honest values, honestly described: To market distinctive and better products; to work constantly toward their improvement, to sell them at fair prices and to render efficient service."

Signed - American Oil Company

That resolution has been kept for forty-three years - and American Oil Company pledges you its continuance throughout the years ahead.

(MORE)

ANNCR: "Years of Crisis" has been brought to you by the American Oil Company, makers of famous Amoco products, and its thousands of Amoco dealers from Maine to Florida.

This is the CBS RADIO Network

G

CBS TV DIVISION

YEARS OF CRISIS

Sunday, January 4, 1953
3:30-4:30 P.M.

ANNC'R: YEARS OF CRISIS, brought to you by the American Oil Company, maker of famous AMOCO products, and its thousands of AMOCO dealers from Maine to Florida. YEARS OF CRISIS, with Edward R. Murrow and seven distinguished CBS correspondents flown in from the capital of the world for this very important year-end global report to the American people. Here is Mr. Murrow!

MURROW: Good afternoon!

It has become customary for CBS correspondents to come home at the end of the year. At that time we sit down and wrestle for an hour with a subject that is interesting to us and, we hope, to you. The boys are all back this year again, living here in New York on expense accounts, quite comfortably. I know too much about them to give them an adequate or effective introduction, so I'll ask them to introduce themselves, starting on my right.

HERMAN: I'm George Herman. I cover Asia, from Tokyo.

SEVAREID: I'm Eric Sevareid, and I cover Washington, D.C.

HOLLENBECK: Don Hollenbeck, New York, reporting on Canada and South America.

KENDRICK: I'm Alex Kendrick, CBS Vienna. I cover the Iron Curtain countries.

SMITH: I'm Howard K. Smith, covering Britain and Europe.

HOTTELET: I'm Richard C. Hottelet, from Germany.

SCHOENBRUN: David Schoenbrun, covering France and down to North Africa.

MURROW: During the past few months we have spent a little time discussing the subject for this discourse, and we've rather concluded that back last fall, when most of us were interested in the World Series or in the Presidential election, there occurred a news event that was perhaps as important as any peacetime event of the last twenty years. That was the all-party Communist

Congress in Moscow. There, it seemed to us, the Communists laid down a blueprint for the future, spelled out the manner in which they purpose to encompass our destruction. It seemed to us that they spelled it out rather as clearly as Hitler did in "Mein Kampf", but no one paid much attention to "Mein Kampf" because it seemed too fantastic. At their conference in Moscow, the Communists spelled out their plan, and what they said in effect in a series of long reports, in a speech by Stalin was that they believed that war between the Western nations was more likely than war between the Western Powers and the Communist world. They believed also that our Allies would break away, that they would not long stand for what the Communists call "the economic serfdom and tutelage, the bondage under which we hold them." And we thought we might begin this discussion today by examining just the nature of these family quarrels, these disputes that appear to separate the Powers of the Western world, the basis upon which Stalin says we will finally collapse and finally fight. And we might start with our chief European correspondent, Howard K. Smith.

SMITH: Well, Ed, Britain's involved in a great many differences with various nations and institutions but they vary in their degrees of seriousness. The British are at odds with Europe over the question of European unity, they are in basic disagreement with us over the question of recognizing Red China, they resent a great deal of the legislation that we've passed which involve international affairs, such as the McCarran Act. In fact, generally, anti-Americanism has grown rather considerably in Britain and, I think, in most of Europe over the past year. It led to ... in Manchester it led to gangs of hoodlums beating up American GIs on the streets. That was exceptional, I think. The British themselves were so shocked at it that I think it's unlikely ever to happen again, but it did reveal the current of resentment. And, finally, there are potential seeds of conflict over trade with Japan and Germany. I think nothing made the British so angry in this past year as when, after the coronation date was announced, Japanese businessmen arrived, ready with samples

of coronation souvenirs to sell at prices the British couldn't come close to.

MURROW: Well, George Herman, you sit in Tokyo. What about the quarrels amongst our friends and allies out there?

HERMAN: Well, I think Stalin hopes to exploit the trade problem there, as every place else. Howard has mentioned the Japanese trying to sell souvenirs. The Japanese have got to sell some place. We've cut them off from their natural and historic market in China, and they've got to sell or starve. And they want to sell in England, they want to sell every place else, and they say: How can the English talk free trade with the United States and with other countries and then turn around and try and restrict Japanese products? I think the United States is directly concerned in that, because if the Japanese can't sell, then American will have to support her indefinitely; and our interests with Britain lie in exactly the opposite direction there. I think the other thing that the Communists hope to exploit is the Asiatic nations' desire for freedom from the West and the West's desire to maintain her traditional dominant position in Asia.

MURROW: Well now, Dave Schoenbrun, the French like to argue, if not quarrel, about many things. What about the family quarrels inside the alliance ~~[illegible]~~ so far as France is concerned?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, there's quite a collection of them, Ed. The most recent example we had was over in Paris during the meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, where we ran into that old problem again of guns or butter. Our American officials put most of their emphasis on rearmament to face up to the Russian menace, whereas our European partners -- the French, the British, and the others -- said that the rate of rearmament that we had imposed upon them was one that they just simply couldn't meet, without economic collapse. There was quite an argument between General Ridgway and the foreign ministers on that very score, and Stalin moved quite quickly, you know, to exploit ~~the~~ this particular argument. Over in Moscow, the French had a new ambassador, Mr. Louis Joxe, and Stalin called him in for one of those very

rare meetings that he gives to Western diplomats. It's an open secret over in the town that I'm working in that Stalin offered Louis Joxe and the French a deal: Permanent neutralization of Germany, keeping Germany divided and weak, if the French would walk out of the North Atlantic Alliance. And that's just one of the things they're quarreling about between the North Atlantic peoples; but, of course, there's always this big problem between France and Germany, the mutual suspicions between those two countries, the big fight that they had in the Saar this year, to say nothing of the quarrel in North Africa, too. I think, if Stalin wants to go around setting time bombs over in Western Europe, he's got a lot of places that he can put them in.

MURROW: Well, Dick Hottelet, where do the Germans stand in this matter of what might be called the family quarrel inside the Western Alliance?

HOTTELET: Well, actually, Ed, the last thing the Russians want is the neutralization of Germany. They know as well as everyone else in Europe that potentially Germany is the most powerful nation in Western Europe, that it can swing the balance. And these last four years, and especially this past year, have shown immense industrial revival, great vitality, and strong German competition on the marts of trade. The Russians and we know that historically Germany has never really been firmly a part of the Western coalition, and the Russians -- Stalin specifically, who is an old traditionalist -- remember that Germany and Russia have been pirates together for a long time. They have carved up Poland half a dozen times between Germany and Russia, they have fought Napoleon together, and, just as after the first world war, Stalin dreamt of a national Bolshevism ... or the Soviet Revolution dreamt of a national Bolshevism in Germany which would be the spearhead of the Soviet revolution into Western Europe, so does he plan again and hope again and do what he can again today to get a nationalist movement going in Germany which he can control.

MURROW: Well, Alex Kendrick, you sit in Vienna and look sort of on both

sides of the Iron Curtain. How do these Western quarrels look as viewed from there?

KENDRICK: Our main differences there, Ed, among the Western Allies and, I think, also within our own country are differences with respect to satellite policy: What way should we regard the satellites? What do we mean when we say we are going to liberate them? How far do we intend to go in containing Russia? Do we intend to roll back Russia and, if so, how? These differences might be called, aptly, underground differences. There are other differences in southeastern Europe, and these are above the ground. They are between Jugoslavia and Italy over the old question of Trieste. And then there are the differences between Jugoslavia and the Vatican on the question of religious freedom inside Jugoslavia.

MURROW: Well, Hollenbeck, you have recently been in both South America and in Canada. How do the family quarrels look as viewed from those two points?

HOLLENBECK: Not too bad from that aspect, Ed. Of course, in Latin America there is and has been a strong growth of anti-American feeling. We know to what extent it exists in Argentina, and in the past year we saw it growing in Chile and in some other places. The question is: Can the Communists use it? They're trying, of course. In Canada they wish, of course, that we would get moving on the St. Lawrence Seaway. They think we're rather obtuse and slow about that. They have a dollar that's worth more than our own - and we're not used to that, as you know; that doesn't please us very much. Those, I would say, are just about the main differences among us.

MURROW: How'd you make out on your expense account with that better dollar, Don?

HOLLENBECK: Ninety-cent dollar's no good ...(drowned out by laughter)

MURROW: Well, Eric Sevareid, who works in Washington, you must have heard your friends in the State Department discuss at great length these inter-family quarrels in the Western Alliance. How does it look to you?

SEVAREID: Well, I think we've got, of course, and are going to have more very direct quarrels where we're concerned, such as what we do in Korea, Allied contributions there, and what we do about China, whether we expand that war, how far and how tough we get. I think there's a certain amount of weariness in this country with some of the old quarrels between European nations, such as the French-German quarrels over the Saar, over Trieste, what-not, and there's some weariness with the weariness with Americans, I think, in Europe. I think most Americans feel we've been on the whole pretty gentle and pretty generous. For a long time Washington was accused by Europeans of being too slow. They asked us to go very fast, to do a great deal, and now apparently, from these reports, they want us to go a lot slower and do a bit less, at least where they're concerned. It's a little hard for any Administration caught between that feeling of going slower and the American public's feeling of going faster ... a little hard to really make your way out. But I think we will, and I think the big problem in the immediate future will be to get down off this rearmament economic peak, when that begins to slide, without a real American economic recession which could really maybe make enormous trouble in all these differences.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, we started by saying that Stalin had laid it down that there would be so many quarrels and differences of opinion amongst the Western or Allied Powers that they would finally come unstuck and war amongst themselves. In this brief period you have given some indication that he has considerable material to work on. There is no shortage of arguments, quarrels or divisions in the Western world. But let's look for a moment at what you regard as Stalin's ultimate objective. Is he going to press it as far as war? What is the thing for which he is reaching? What's your view on that, Howard Smith?

SMITH: Well, my own view is that Stalin is not aiming at a war in the foreseeable future, tho, of course, the phrase "foreseeable future" is one that's open to many definitions. I think that ... I haven't felt as tho war

was likely at any time in the postwar period, in Europe at least. I don't believe in quick knock-out blows. I think the next war's going to be a very long-drawn-out one between continents, and Russia is not yet the powerful industrial entity that can fight such a war for a long time. So I tend to take Stalin's word for it when he says that his policy is to try to exploit differences between us and to do what he can to aggravate them.

MURROW: How do you feel about it, Dick Hottelet?

HOTTELET: Well, Ed, I think that Stalin has a minimum demand of world domination. I think he'll go after it with all means at his disposal. I think that if peaceful means don't succeed and bring it about for him, he'll go to war. I don't think he'll shrink from war at all. I don't see that there's anything in his make-up or his background which would indicate that. He has no moral scruple against war. Soviet propaganda is concentrating right now on a difference between just and unjust wars, in which it sells the Germans, in my beat, the idea that any war that the Soviet Union or one of its satellites chooses to fight is a just war. I remember in 1939, he helped Hitler plunge into war because he thought that Hitler would get rid of some of his enemies for him; and since the end of the war, the second world war, he has played with war and provoked war in Greece and in China and in Korea. And I think I would rest my opinion on what I consider to be the fact that war has paid off for the Soviet Union. The first world war established Soviet power in Russia; the second world war consolidated a Soviet bloc reaching halfway around the world and, as the Communists themselves have said at this all-Communist Party Congress, a third world war would end with the destruction of capitalism. Why shouldn't they risk war if, as I say, peaceful means and other tricks don't pay off for them?

MURROW: Well, would you regard the current Hate America campaign in the Soviet Union as perhaps advance preparation or justification, at least, for war?

HOTTELET: I think it is certainly one of the things that they would have to do to free their hand to make war when they want to.

MURROW: What do you feel about this, Schoenbrun?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, I think I just disagree with everything that Hottelet said.

MURROW: Well, that's a nice, gentle beginning. Go ahead!

SPEAKER: (drowned out by laughter)

SCHOENBRUN: No, no. That's what Stalin wants to do. Stalin wants to ... (drowned out) That's the point, I think, that Richard missed. He said there's nothing in Stalin's character or in the history of the Soviets which proved that they will not go to war. I think all of the evidence proves exactly that they will not go to an all-out war. Dick mentioned the first world war, which established the Soviet state; they didn't start that war. He mentioned the second world war, which extended Communist power; they didn't start that war either. Hitler started that war.

HOTTELET: With Stalin's help.

SCHOENBRUN: Sure, Dick. But that's the point. Stalin said, you fellows go and kill yourselves. He helped Hitler. He signed a friendship pact with Hitler just so that Hitler should have free movement in the rear of Germany so that he could attack us or that we could attack him in the West. Stalin is delighted to let anybody else go to war for his purposes. But every time it looked as tho he was going to get into war, as tho the Soviet Union was going to get hit in their own backyard, what did he do? He backed away. Dick, the whole history of this postwar period in Europe ... in the Berlin blockade -- you were in Berlin -- the Russians knew that if they shot down our planes it meant all-out war. They didn't dare do it. In Greece we backed up to the Russians. We beat them in the civil war. In Iran, in their own backyard, we stepped up to the Russians. We put up, they shut up. Every single time it looked like all-out war, Stalin backed away. Sure, he's ruthless, he's cold-blooded, and he wants to dominate the world, but not at the expense of getting blown up himself. He wants somebody else to do it for him.

HOTTELET: Yes, but, Dave, there's one built-in danger when a man plays with war as an instrument of policy - and that is that he sets forces in motion

which he can't control. (interruption) At the moment it has been possible for Stalin to back away from all-out war because, perhaps, he thinks that he can still achieve his main purpose without resorting to all-out war. But what we were arguing is whether he would shrink from that when the time came for it.

SCHOENBRUN: I didn't think we were arguing about that. I thought Murrow asked us whether or not we thought war was definitely coming. That there's a built-in war propulsion in the Soviet system ...

HERMAN: Could I get a passing word in there?

MURROW: Wait a minute. Let's let Herman in here. He's been spending a lot of time looking at the only war we have going currently now, out in Korea. How do you feel ...

HERMAN: Well, I didn't want to be too unpleasant about it, but we're fighting a war; in fact, we're fighting a couple of wars. But if you're talking about the question of whether or not he'll have a generalized war, we have a case in point, an example, in Korea. Here is a war in action, a hot war, and at one time, after the Russians gave the Chinese a whole flock of very excellent planes, including fighter bomber attack planes, the United Nations realized the danger of their position and they said, if you use your fighter bomber attack planes against our troops, we will consider it a different war and there will be the risk of expanding into China and possibly beyond that to Russia, and certainly that put it squarely up to Stalin and what he did was he backed down. And they haven't used their tactical fighters on us at all. They stayed north of the line.

HOTTELET: Yes, but that's no guarantee that they always will.

SCHOENBRUN: No, nor that they won't.

MURROW: Kendrick?

KENDRICK: Ed, I think that every country has two policies, two alternatives. One is to face up to the possibility of war and the other is to try to prevent war and take whatever risk they may feel they want to take, so

long as they don't go into all-out war. I agree with Howard that we've got to consider here what Stalin said at this October Party Congress. We are proceeding on that assumption in this debate, and it's bad enough, the way he put it, without trying to make it any worse. Let's assume that he does want us to go to war among ourselves.

HOTTELET: Yes, but, I mean, just to quote Stalin and this same speech at the Party Congress, he said that war among imperialist nations was inevitable; the only way to dispose of this inevitability was to destroy imperialism. And then in a speech ...

KENDRICK: Well, he didn't say he was going to destroy imperialism. I think the meaning there was that the imperialist nations are going to destroy themselves.

SCHOENBRUN: Can I add just one little word? You fellows are arguing about Marxist doctrine. I'd like to bring it back to realities. Let's talk a little bit about what has happened. And, as George Herman pointed out, we have one fighting war, which is a real example in Korea, and when it looked as tho that was going to spill out over, Stalin backed away from it again. I think we all agree that there's a danger of war, a danger against which we must all prepare ourselves. But believing there's a danger of war is very different from believing that war is inevitable.

HOTTELET: May I quote Stalin one last time, Ed?

MURROW: Yes.

HOTTELET: To the effect that he called the Soviet Union the shock brigade of world revolution and he promised ~~that~~ at this congress in October to give all help, all active help, to other nations, other peoples, in what he called their struggle for liberation. That's a ...

SPEAKER: He's helping everybody else. He's not going to go to war.

MURROW: Sevareid, what's the view that's held in Washington? Is it felt that Stalin is likely to press this policy to the ultimate conclusion?

SEVAREID: Ed, I can only give you the Washington view held in Room 801

of the Warner Building, which is my office. But ...

MURROW: Big office? (laughter) Little room with big ideas? (laughter)

SEVAREID: I don't see any reason why Stalin should deliberately start a world war any more than we should. I don't know that either side will. But these things can get out of hand. That's where the danger lies. And, after all, you still have got this implacable Communist purpose, which says, as I understand it, either there's their kind of world or there's somebody else's kind of world. I don't know quite how you reconcile that in the long run. And I am impressed with the latest danger and the long run of this hardening, psychologically, that's going on on both sides of the world. Certainly, in this country, on the democratic side, and in China and Russia, on the Communist side, the kind of almost organized fear and hatred that has hardened people's thinking certainly is going to take a very long time to relax. I think you're going to have to have some big overt act to start the unwinding and relaxing process.

MURROW: Do you see any possibility of such an overt act?

SEVAREID: Well, I think the big thing would have to be a negotiated peace and a good guaranteed one in Korea. Something like that might start this whole thing to unwind. But so far, it seems to me, despite the balance of power that we're getting, which may last for years, that the clock is being wound up awfully tight all the time.

MURROW: Herman, do you see any prospect of a negotiated peace in Korea that would relax this world tension?

HERMAN: Well, I think, actually, that Eric is going at it backwards. I don't think a peace in Korea is going to relax the tensions and bring about an end to this conflict. I think it's just the opposite. The war in Korea is a symptom, and <u>it</u> won't end until something else comes along, because this kind of war will go on as long as there's any reason for it, for either side.

SEVAREID: I don't think it'll wait for something else. I think the hard, really painful problems are more apt to end themselves, simply because they're

painful.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, let's take a short break now and let's stop talking for a moment about the past and the future and look for a few minutes at a film that has something to do with the past.

ANNOUNCER: I'm 1915. Place - a country road. The folks are out for a ride. There were dozens of different makes of automobiles in those days, but the gasoline to run them on, it was all alike. Then something new happened. The American Oil Company developed AMOCO gas. Car-owners, like this one, tried it. Five gallons of Amoco gas, please! They've been hearing a lot about this new and different kind of motor fuel, the original special motor fuel. They heard it did things no ordinary gasoline could ever hope to do, that it was the gasoline improvement every car-owner had hoped for and never expected to see. And what they heard was right. With wonderfully new and different Amoco gas in the tank, their cars started easier; they ran a lot more quietly, with no annoying knock or ping going up hills. They gave mileage like they never did before. With Amoco gas, a drive in the country was pleasure all the way. Amoco gas started it all back in 1915. It made possible today's high compression engine. And if you've ever owned any car since 1915, you have benefited. You've benefited if you've never owned a car. For every time you took a ride in a taxicab or in a friend's car, you've enjoyed a smoothness, a quietness, an ease and economy of riding that Amoco gas helped make possible. Amoco gas is still setting the pace. Try it in your car, new or old. Get it at the Amoco sign of greater values from Maine to Florida.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, we have talked a little about the forces dividing the free world, the family arguments that they have, and we've also speculated a little about the ultimate objective of Stalin's purpose, as defined at the last All-Party Congress. Now, let's look for a moment at actual Communist tactics around the world, in the various countries where you gentlemen are stationed, and see whether or not we can discover any pattern, of whether

there is a set policy or whether they're pushing here and pulling there and easing up. Why don't we start with Kendrick, who is stationed in Vienna.

KENDRICK: Altho I don't think it will necessarily increase the chances of a war, I must report from Vienna that militarization in the satellite countries is going on at a very steady and rapid pace, just as militarization inside the Soviet Union has been going on for some years. The satellite armies surrounding Jugoslavia - namely, those of Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria - have been increased tremendously in the past eight or ten months, until they are way past the strength that was alloted to those countries in the peace treaties which they signed and, I think, way past the strength which those countries can command in maintaining those armies. But it's not only this actual militarization that's going on behind the Iron Curtain; it's a very thoro indoctrination of the youth, first, toward a military frame of mind and, secondly, toward complete hatred of the West and especially of the United States. And all the curricula in grammar schools now in the Iron Curtain countries include a whole series of pre-military and military exercises which are part of the youth's training. He must learn how to dig ditches and how to sing military songs and how to read maps and how to drop from parachutes and how to shoot rifles - and this goes down to the six-year-old level. This militarization is quite complete, and I don't think you would believe me if I told you actually how complete it was.

MURROW: Hottelet, what's the pattern of Communist tactics or strategy in Germany?

HOTTELET: Well, Germany is split in two, Ed, and behind the Iron Curtain, in Eastern Germany, it is exactly as Alex has outlined it. In Western Germany, the Russians are approaching the people with promises of national unity, which is something that appeals to them very deeply, with the promise of a peace treaty in which Germany would be an equal in this Soviet bloc that extends back to the Pacific, with enormous markets, hungry markets which can absorb what the industry of the Ruhr can produce and keep the people employed; and Russia

also promises Germany an alliance. Stalin started that in 1949, when he said that the German and the Russian people together could undertake enterprises of world importance, or however he put it; and since then, in four diplomatic notes that the Russians have addressed to the Western Powers in the course of this year, they have included the unmistakable implication for the Germans that they would welcome a German spearhead expanding into Western Europe. Dave, what little hair you have would curl if you saw some of the propaganda which points out to the ... Russian propaganda which points out to the Germans that the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 was a just war.

SCHOENBRUN: Well, Richard, your wavy hair would probably fall out if you saw how different the line was over in France, completely different from the picture that you and Alex have painted. And I think in many ways the Russian line in France is much more dangerous even than the militarization, because Stalin has suddenly realized, belatedly perhaps but realized very clearly, that only one element has really unified the Western world and that has been the threat of Communist aggression and the threat of Communism. He realized that if it hadn't been for that, there wouldn't have been a Marshall Plan, there wouldn't have been a North Atlantic Alliance. He must know by now that if there hadn't been Korea, our own great country would probably not have rearmed itself. And so, realizing now that the menace unified the West, he has suddenly decided to remove the menace, so that the West will fall apart. It's the old jujitsu trick: you press against a man very hard, and then you suddenly duck and let him fall of his own weight. And in France to carry that line out they've got a sort of a ... I guess you'd call it a new Boy Scout order. Richard Hottelet, here, has been talking about the Communist shock troops; well, Stalin's told them to put on Boy Scout suits over in France, and he's taken the two top Communists, the toughest Communists in France, Andre Marty and Charles Tillon, and he's purged them, thrown them right out of the party. Now, Marty, you fellows know, was the leader of the International Brigade in the Spanish War, and Charles Tillon was the head of the French Under-

ground. These were two tough fellows, and they tried to stir up more riots in France this year, particularly against General Ridgway, and it was a flop. It unified the French people all over again against Russia. And so he's kicked them out of the party and he's told the Communists: Now, you fellows just be sweet and lovable; play that old Popular Front line, and the West is just going to fall apart all by itself.

MURROW: Well, Smith, is this relaxation of pressure that Dave talks about in France, since you look at all of Western Europe as a whole, is this part, as you see it, of the Communist tactic, that they're easing up on the military pressure in the hope that the alliance will come unstuck and everyone will collapse into indifference and complacency?

SMITH: Well, that's very much the case in Western Europe. But, of course, they have another face which they show elsewhere. And Britain's a very good example of a place which has seen both the two stock faces the Communists are now showing. In Britain itself the situation is very much as Schoenbrun depicted it. Britain, in fact, looks like being the focal center of the Communists' effort to be amiable. So important a man as Andrei Gromyko, the former second in command of the Soviet Foreign Office, has been made Ambassador to Britain, to look out for opportunities. And just this winter Britain's been almost flooded by so-called cultural emissaries, Russian novelists, Russian musicians, Russian scholars and historians that come to make lectures. And under Gromyko -- he's only been there about two months -- under Gromyko the Soviet embassy is becoming a social center again in London. The invitation list is expanding; it's no longer limited to the small Left Wing set.

SCHOENBRUN: The new caviar ~~minister~~ (?) menace.

SMITH: Yes. But in Britain's colonies there's been an extremely interesting development involving the other face, the hostile face. We all know that the Communists have made great progress in colonial areas, first in the Far East, then, more recently, in the Near East, and this year they've made contact, at last, in the heart of Africa, which is very inflammable territory,

in the British colony of Kenya. There's evidence that the Communists have had a great deal to do with organizing the so-called Mau Mau atrocities there and are organizing the primitive resentment that exists against the white man. This is extremely dangerous, I think.

MURROW: Kendrick?

KENDRICK: Yes, I've got another face to ... or, at least, Stalin has another face in central Europe. In Vienna, which is only forty miles from the Iron Curtain where all this militarization is taking place, theCommunist Party has practically dissolved itself for the coming elections in February. They are not going into the elections as the Communist Party but as the Austrian People's Opposition.

MURROW: Hollenbeck, did you detect in South America or Canada any particular phase of Communist tactics?

HOLLENBECK: In South America, as I think we know, they're working very hard to exploit the anti-American feeling. They've made a great thing out of the nationalization of the Bolivian tin industry; they want to see the Chilean copper industry nationalized. That means a lot, of course, to the Western world. But whether they have or are using and having any actual influence in those matters remains to be seen. In Argentina, for instance, the Communist policy is very confused. In Buenos Aires, for instance, when I was there, there was a student strike and, as you know, Latin American students are the most vocal people in the world. Well, in this student strike, which was against Peron, the Communist students took no part. In other words, the Communist line seems to be either to work it in or work with it.

MURROW: George Herman, we know what the Communist line is in Korea, but what about the rest of Asia?

HERMAN: Well, he seems to be operating there along the theory, I think, that if one lie doesn't turn the trick, tell another one in the opposite direction - and that way you cover the whole ground. He's still arming and following the same line as he is in Germany in-side Red China, capturing the popu-

lace, subduing them, teaching them war. But elsewhere in Asia, in most of the other countries, terror has proved to be a complete flop, and so, there, he's gone lovable. In fact -- I don't know where you guys get the term but -- in Japan we captured a Japanese Communist document which actually referred to a plan to make it "the lovable Communist Party", which I think is a very nice term.

SPEAKER: We got the phrase from you earlier today.

HERMAN: And he's at the same time, under this lovable technique, trying to be Big Brother Stalin and to have the great peace-loving Soviet Union be the big brother of all the countries in Asia, and he's claiming that the Soviet Union understands the problem of Asia's starving millions better than the fat, wealthy United States, and he's trying to prove that by getting his aid and his propaganda down where it counts - not to the people who own radio sets, the people on the top crust, but to the increasingly hungry and angry farmers and workingmen down on the lower levels.

MURROW: Well, I want to get back to Eric Sevareid in a moment and ask him what he thinks about this, but meanwhile let's take a breather and give the stations along the network a chance to identify themselves.

ANNC'R: This is the CBS Television Network.

* * * * *

MURROW: Sevareid, would you like to add anything to what has been said about the general pattern of Communist tactics?

SEVAREID: Well, I don't know, Ed, that there's more than one or two obvious things that could be said, as one sees it from this country. It occurs to me that the very fact that Stalin goes to this new line, which this evidence seems to indicate, of giving up overt aggressions and internal direct sabotage in the democratic countries means that he's been obliged to do it. Well, if he's been obliged to do it, what has caused it? Maybe we haven't done so badly these last five or six years with this so-called containment policy. His various moves, like opposing the Marshall Plan and this whole policy of overt

aggressions and sabotage, helped bring about foundations for some European federation, put the Marshall Plan thru, created the North Atlantic Alliance. It seems to me he's made some pretty big blunders. And now, having created something that he obviously fears, he's had to change his whole line to try to undermine it. I would conclude that if we can go on as we've been doing, with equal consistency, if not more, we're doing pretty well.

MURROW: Now, that raises another point. Just how well have we been doing, we, the free world, in the last few years? Do you want to start that off, Kendrick?

KENDRICK: Well, I think that the most important thing on our side, down in southeastern Europe where I work, is the military understanding that's just been reached by Jugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. That extends our defense line now all the way from Germany, I should think, as far as the Black Sea and the Caucasus. That's a very positive factor on our side. But there is also a very important negative factor which has been working for us down there. The militarization that I spoke about in the Iron Curtain countries has so taxed the economies of these countries that they are suffering badly. I think that they have reached a new point in distress, internally, in those countries, and one Prime Minister after another gets up and makes speeches about how tough it has been and how tough it's going to be in the future. That is working on our side. The purge trial that was held in Prague ...

MURROW: Yes, I wanted to ask you about that.

KENDRICK: Just a few weeks ago, whatever its impact was on the outside world, I think that its biggest meaning was inside Czechoslovakia. I think that was pretty good proof that things are not going at all well even in the highest party leadership. And now the Communists in various countries, in the satellite countries, I think, have realized that and are trying to consolidate their strength by consolidating the party and the state, by unifying many elements of that government ... of the government setup. But so far it hasn't worked out, and I think that at the present time they feel definitely in need

of a breathing spell and that's one of the reasons that Stalin has had to change his policy.

MURROW: Alex, the purge in Czechoslovakia, was that sort of a preliminary or precautionary execution, in the sense that people confessed not only to what they had done but some things that haven't yet been done?

KENDRICK: Yes. That carried out the old Soviet theory of preventive arrest another step. Now people are confessing to crimes which have not been committed yet and which may or may not be committed in the future. But if things should go wrong in the future, then you have the signed confession of a man whom you have already hanged to take care of that.

MURROW: Very convenient! How has the free world been doing in your area, Hottelet?

HOTTELET: Very well indeed, Ed. I mean, I could sit here and give you a list of statistics as long as your arm, one figure for a month better than the corresponding figure for the preceding month. In general, it's been a pattern of enormous vitality and recovery, economic recovery -- you could call it spectacular -- and also of political stability. You've got a Parliament which works, you've got a vigorous political democracy, opposition parties; people turn out to vote by seventy-five and eighty per cent, which is more than in most Western countries; and you've got leaders emerging, quite respectable leaders who know what they want and know where Germany fits into a democratic world. On the other side of the same picture, you can say that these elements have combined to make Western Germany immune to Communism and to convince the people that their interests lie with the West. There are resources in Germany still, there's a bank for you, resources in the Ruhr of industrial capacity for defense production which have not yet been tapped, and, of course, the Germans have not yet contributed any manpower to the European Army -- not thru their fault, I'd say, -- but they are there for the having, when we get around to organizing them.

MURROW: And how's the free world been doing in France and North Africa, David?

SCHOENBRUN: I think, pretty badly, Ed. There are some things we can point to as a theoretical success. They have been organizing themselves. We have such technical things as the European Payments Union, that people hear very rarely about, but which is an extremely important economic mechanism for clearing trade accounts among the European countries. They've made the first steps towards a Federation of Europe in the Schuman Plan, the new coal-steel community. But all of these things are really in the beginning; they're a great hope for the future. Actually, we have not been doing well in France and in the Atlantic seaboard states of Europe for the very good reason that we have been draining that strength out in Asia. Just as our country has tied down its best troops in Korea, the French have tied down their best troops in Indo-China. They're in the seventh year of a war that's running at the cost of three million dollars a day, that's cost France, so far, more than the total aid we've given her ...

(M O R E)

The French have tied down their best troops in Indo-China. They're in the seventh year of a war, that's running at a cost of $3-million a day, that has cost France so far more than the total aid we've given her, and that is a constant drain on French manpower.

Dick Hottelet said the German troops are around for the asking, all we have to do is ask for them. Well, one reason we haven't asked for them is that the French are afraid to rearm the Germans so long as their best army is over in Asia; not that they think the Germans are going to attack them, but they know that political power goes hand-in-hand with economic and military power and that there will be again a German ...? if France is absent, and France is absent in Indo-China - that is absent from Europe - and France, as we all know, is having a pretty rough time guarding against revolt in North Africa.

I think that's probably our greatest problem is to how to coordinate the Asiatic and the European theatres, they are not separate theatres any more; anything that is spent in Asia is taken out of Europe, and I don't see any hope for really making a strong-going concern unless something happens in George Herman's part of the world.

MURROW: Is anything going to happen in your part of the world, George?

HERMAN: Well, I think something is but before, it seems to me, we even get around to coordinating Asia and the Western European powers we have to have some coordination in Asia; we have no NATO; we've got no nothing. In fact, I don't think the western powers have been doing so well in Asia. But the lucky thing, it seems to me, is that Stalin and the communists have been doing even worse. I think that's what this change in line means.

There's been another factor there. The diminishing returns of this Chinese communism. For a while, you know, the Asian countries ... every Asian nationalist saw China growing in power and glory and moving all over the place, and apparently governed by Chinese themselves, but now, I think, they're realizing that the Red Chinese expansion into Tibet and into North Korea and so forth is not just heartening, it's pretty scary;

the communists may decide to move into their country. I think it's a period of disillusionment with communism, which is a sort of a breathing spell for us. They're meeting us on our own ground, which is an admission that their ground has been a failure.

MURROW: Smith!

SMITH: I just want to bring up one question, because I've raised the question a while ago and didn't analyze it fully. I talked about anti-Americanism in Europe, and particularly in Britain. When you analyze that it need not necessarily be a bad thing, it may be a sign of strength rather than weakness, because the basis of anti-Americanism, I'm persuaded, is that the European countries are tired of their dependence status andthey want to get out of it and they resent people who give them money just as we resent having to give it to them.

Well, as some one put it 'the patient has gotten so well that he can sit up and shout his complaints at us' and he does so. I think if we could do something about setting up normal trade rather than aid I think that the situation would improve, and that's very hopeful, I think.

MURROW: How does it look to you, Sevareid?

SEVAREID: Well, I think, Ed, there've been maybe I can think of 3 preti hopeful things that've been happening here. One a generalized one that you can't really spell out and that is that the American people have been put to a very considerable test and have come out very well, in one of their weakest points, and that is ... supposed to be our patience. And I think our handling of the Korean war has probably been one good sign about that. Rather to my own surprise, certainly, we have been remarkably steady and calm about the whole thing. It seems to me that there is some evidence that American people generally are more and more aware that this may be a long-term thing with Russia, that we may have a lot of little wars, a lot of little crises - it might go on a generation or more - that's a very important fact.

I think right now in the capital, at Washington, there're

at least two more specific advantages that we hold. One is, of course, that we've got power. The last 6 or 7-yrs. the outgoing administration has been walking through the valley of the shadow; we've had to make diplomatic commitments in many parts of the world, many of them risky, such as going into Korea in the first place, without real power to back it up. Now we've got it including, apparently, the hydrogen bomb.

I think the other specific advantage lies in the change of party responsibility for the government, I mean that the State Department and the White House now will be able to devote full time, and full energy, to the past (sic) rather to the present andthe future rather than having to fight a constant rear-guard action about the past, which has almost paralyzed at least the State Department itself.

MURROW: Now in a moment let's talk a little about what we think we ought to do in the future. But, meanwhile, let's take another short break.

I have worked under the sponsorship of AMOCO for a number of years, and it's a great pleasure to have my colleagues here with me today where we can argue and discuss without any one ever suggesting what we should say, what we shouldn't say, what we should or should not conclude. And I would like you at this time to meet the president of Amoco, Mr. H. C. Smith.

SMITH: We of the American Oil Company are very pleased to sponsor this program YEARS OF CRISIS. It has long been a cardinal and guiding principle of the American Oil Company that if the public is advised of all the facts, without bias, you need never have any fear of its judgment. So as Mr. Murrow and his worldwide staff of news analysts recall the events of the past year for us, many which are history-making, and as they place these events before us in proper perspective, we hope it will enable all of us, including our elected officials, who represent us, to see our position with greater clarity and handle our problems objectively and with decision and with dispatch.

We sincerely appreciate your having joined us at the beginning of this New Year in the very serious business of reviewing what we have been

doing so that we can see more clearly what we must do in the future.

The fine progress the American Oil Company has made during the past 12-mos. is the result of the efforts of the many courteous Amoco dealers, who represent us to the buying public, the efforts of our distributors and all the men and women of Amoco.

This is the traditional time of year to greet old friends, and I'd like to wish every Amoco dealer from Maine to Florida, a Happy New Year.

To our customers go our thanks for making 1952 the greatest year in American Oil Company history. May we continue to merit your patronage through the years ahead.

I would like to take this opportunity, Mr. Murrow, of thanking you and your staff for permitting me to participate in this program.

MURROW: I have never yet met a correspondent, particularly a CBS correspondent and especially a foreign correspondent, who wasn't willing and eager to give advice to statesmen as to how they should run affairs.

We've nowconsidered some of our weaknesses, some of the Russian strength, some of the alternatives that confront us. And I think we might spend this next quarter hour discussing what in the future this nation ought to do. Why don't you start off, Hollenbeck!

HOLLENBECK: Well, in Latin America, where, ofcourse, we're not so sure of our strength of resistance, I think we've got to do what I think was mentioned earlier - we've got to bring down our story to lower levels than we've done in the past; we've got to try to reach people that have hitherto not been reached by it.

But I think in Canada, where I believe we have one of the greatest assets of the western world - a country that's only 15-million people, but one of the richest places on earth in uranium and oil and timber and wheat and the dollar as I've said now worth a little more than our own - Canada has a community of interest that I don't think is possible to find any place else in the world, and I think that we must make use of that and we must try to understand and do better business with Canada and

make more use of Canada in the western world's fight against communism.

MURROW: Smith!

SMITH: Well, Ed, let me begin by quoting an eminent scholar from that area where I work, Professor Toynbee, of England. He maintained - and I believed him - that a civilization can only be beaten by itself, it can't be beaten by its enemies. The death of great civilizations, he said, is never murder, it's always suicide. So I think the principal governing any policies of ours should be that - set our own camp in order, and I think we can take care of our enemies. And I'm thinking of such things as the disbalance, permanent disbalance, of trade between our allies and us. I think if we could lower our tariffs very drastically and enable them to trade with us in normal competition ... it would hurt a few of our industries, perhaps, but our economy as a whole is certainly strong enough to take it and it would certainly relieve the taxpayer the necessity of financing aid. I would ... I should think then that Europe should play its part. It should beat down its old national frontiers and form a stronger international economic unit, and Schoenbrun's been covering that, I imagine he'll want to say something about European unity.

I think that Point Four should be worked at much more vigorously to build up the backward or under-developed countries, give them plows and fertilizers, they could supply Europe with more food. Europe in turn could sellthem machinery and a market for everyone would expand. It's that sort of thing that I would suggest.

MURROW: Well, now let's turn from our chief European correspondent to our chief Washington correspondent. What do you think we ought to do in the fututre, Eric?

SEVAREID: Well, I think mainly it comes down to carrying onthe things we've been doing, and I think that's the brunt of what the boys have said here. Carrying some of these things on further and faster, perhaps. I've never been able myself to see any concrete understandable alternative to what we call 'containment.' If there is, I've missed it. Because after

all, this is really not just a specific policy but a kind of a label on a set of necessities; we do what we have to do to keep these fires from springing up and putting out those that've started.

But I think Howard has mentioned a couple ofthings such as trying to get off this grants and aid business with Europe and getting on to a trading basis that is widely expanded. I think George is quite right about a unified Allied policy in the Far East, where there is no real unity now at all. There're many things of that kind. Point Four certainly could be expanded tremendously. But if you asked me whether these things will be done from the Washington end, pushed harder and faster, I'd have to say we've got to wait at least a few months to see how the new administration handles these conflicts that involve all these things, the domestic politica conflicts that come from both parties and which now may get very acute.

The No. I bill in the House of Representatives, as of yesterday, was a bill to cut income taxes 11%. I think that's starting at the wrong end. And if that state of mind and those people who want that at any cost - cost of foreign policy or anything else - really run with the ball then we're going to have some trouble. I don't think it's going to be allowed to happen, however, and then I think we will come eventually to the whole question of how we avoid a recession that is always a shadow in the background, especially as rearmament goes down.

A lot of it depends on just how we manage things here at home. I just want to wait a few months to see what happens - there's no certitude about it.

MURROW: Kendrick, as viewed from Vienna, what do you think we ought to do?

KENDRICK: Well, Ed, since we're building armaments and since Stalin is building armaments and playing a waiting game, I think that obviously we've got to outbuild him and outsit him and in general that means maintaining our contacts with the people of the iron curtain countries, at the same time increasing our psychological warfare against the governments of the iron

curtain countries and I think we're doing both those things through Radio Free Europe, and I think we will continue doing them on a larger scale.

But there is one thing that we haven't done and I think we should do and that is to get that policy that I spoke about towardthe satellite countries. Let's define what we mean ... what our intentions are, let us state what our aims are toward the people of the iron curtain countries, how far do we intend to go toward liberating them. There is a thing called the Kurston amendment, which was put on to the Mutual Security Act, which provides a $100-million for the purpose of helping those people not only to get out but to get back, if they want to get back, and so far I don't think any of that money has been used for that purpose. We haven't got anywhere yet, although the communists have taken advantage of that Kurston amendment and have hanged a lot of people as American spies, which in fact they weren't.

So I think what we should do is to in concert with our allies get a policy in Eastern Europe towards the satellites and then let's try to work out that policy.

MURROW: George Herman, what's the most helpful thing we could do in Asia in the future.

HERMAN: Well, get to work right away, I mean, it's alright to wait a few months, but I think it'll be a long time before we have as good a chance as we have now. Stalin is fighting us on our own ground, it's our chance. His terror has flopped, he's trying to out-America America, he's trying to prove to the young nations of Asia that he's a better friend and protector than the United States is, and we've got to prove him a liar, and I think we can do it because it's very simple -- he wants them to have a sort of a phony independence with 'captive' leaders whose real allegiance will be to the Kremlin or to Moscow -and I think our strength is that we can afford to build truly independent nations, who have no allegiance to us or no allegiance to anybody. It seems to me it's our theory, and I think it's the right one, that any nation which gets a real taste of independence and

self-government will not want to be dominated by anybody, by the Soviet union or by us. And I think that's what we've got to do. I think the case of India and Indonesia proves that.

Point Four aid is alright. I think the best thing we're doing at the moment is scholarships, when we bring these talented and qualified young Asians home and teach them their technology of government and the technology of everything, of farming, that that's one of the best things we're doing -- it's bringing more people to our side than anything else.

But besides just this high level business of working thru the intellectuals, it seems to me we've got to - on our part - meet Stalin on his ground, and that is on the lower levels, that's where he's constantly fighting us. He starts from the bottom and works up, we have so far been starting at the top, with the upper crust, the socially acceptable people, --- I realize it's expensive and difficult, but it seems to me we've got to get down at the bottom of the people who are starving and give them the aid and bring them up, then, it seems to me, they'll be interested in independence when they're not quite starving, and that's the time.

MURROW: Schoenbrun, what do you think we should do so far as France isconcerned?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, I think that the French themselves are already doing a lot and we should do everything we can to help them, because they're doing over there what George Herman said ought to be done over in Asia. They're doing it in this thing called the new coal-steel community, that's a very uninspired name for a very inspiring project. What they'de done is to take these narrow uneconomic units inwhich Europe has been strangling to death and they have set about breaking them down. This is not longer just an idea or a treaty, this year - for the first time - the coal-steel community began functioning.

What they're doing is this, Ed. They are getting down to the basic low level of the interests of people themselves. They've said on the left bank of the river Rhine is iron ore, in France, on the right

bank is coke, in Germany, you put those two things together, they make steel, steel for homes and factories, where as in the past the French have been fighting the Germans to get their coke, the Germans have been killing the French to get their iron ore, and they've been using steel for bullets.

Now they're trying to have a bloodless revolution. They're trying to create, in Europe, one market of 150-million people, the sort of market that's made our country rich and prosperous. Where a shoe manufacturer, in France, will no longer have a market of 40-million Frenchmen to shoot at, he'll have a market of 150-million Europeans, - that'll allow him to bring his cost price down, raise wages. That's the lower level ~~of these~~ ~~boys~~ that these boys are talking about, that's the common economic interest, they're doing it, but they're not going to succeed unless we make it possible for them to succeed.

MURROW: What should we do?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, the things that Howard Smith and Eric were talking about. These people don't want any more loans or aid from the United States, they want trade with the United States, they want a chance to sell to us. Nowthey're not completely blameless, of course, some of their prices are too high in France, for example, because they have been a narrow unit.

I think, one, we've got to invest in this new community. They're going to come to us sometime this New Year andthey're going to say 'look, we've gathered together a half a billion dollars of our own will you match this with another billion, perhaps, invest in our new coal mine industry. And then we've got to do something the British did in the 19th century when they were the bankers of the world -- we've got to take our surplus profits and our surplus wealth and we must reinvest it back in the other parts of the world. So that if you get a flow of capital going to and from the United States, I think you'll have it.

I can sum it up in one way, Ed, something that a French friend of mine said, he said, "Look, fellows, we want to buy from you, we don't want to be bought by you."

MURROW: Hottelet!

HOTTELET: Well, I can sum it up for Germany, Ed, rather briefly. For Germany, the first thing is that the West remain strong, because it is only on the basis of strength that you can get the confidence on which to build a future and intelligent plans. That strength consists primarily of military strength, because without that you have nothing; it would deter Soviet aggression and reassure the people of Europe that we are in with them and that we share their fate.

Economic strength is no less important. We have got to help Europe avoid a depression. We've got to provide - coming back to Germany, specifically, - provide Germany an outlet for its energy, let it share some of the profit of a western coalition and thereby also make it better capable of bearing some of the burdens in this coalition.

Politically - the Schuman Plan is the clearest and brightest road into the future because through it and its similar programs you can hold Germany in the Western embrane instead of keeping it down in a western straight-jacket. And I think if Germany were held, if it was solidly imbedded in a Western community, perhaps France then would lose some of the fears which seem to dominate it, worries about the past and encourage France instead to concentrate on the necessities of the present and the hope ofthe future.

MURROW: Gentlemen, we have a minute and a half. I was supposed to sum up this program at this point, but I decline to do so. Let's try it in a sentence from each one, starting with our chief European correspondent, Howard K. Smith.

SMITH: Well, I think the British would like to see the world buy much more tweeds, drink much more scotch and refuse to travel in anything but Comet jet aircraft. (laughter)

MURROW: Hottelet!

HOTTELET: Well, I think the Germans want us to be strong, to give

them equality and, if possible, to look into the future and provide them unity.

MURROW: Schoenbrun!

SCHOENBRUN: The French would like to have a prime minister, who could stay around for a little bit and have the American President say some kind instead of nasty words about them in the future.

MURROW: Kendrick!

KENDRICK: I think the people behind the iron curtain want freedom but I don't think they want it at the price of martyrdom.

MURROW: Don Hollenbeck!

HOLLENBECK: Canada wants the St. Lawrence seaway and I think that a tin miner in Bolivia wants a good day's pay.

MURROW: Eric Sevareid!

SEVAREID: Well, I think we'd like to have our allies keep first things first - as we at least try to do. I think the big necessity here is continued strength, well managed, more steadiness, a little less hysteria, and a little more use of reason.

MURROW: George Herman!

HERMAN: I think that the thing that we have to do in Asia is to build up nations which will be strongly independent, which will have the kind of independence and democracy that we believe in that will help them stand and that they'll be the buffet for us.

MURROW: It seems to me one thing has been implicit in this whole discussion and that is that we cannot discharge our responsibility with guns and dollars alone but it must be done by example as well.

I wish you gentlemen much good news to report inthe New Year. Good Afternoon and Good Luck!

ANNOUNCER: There's a story behindthe quality of Amoco products, it's the story of a resolution that has been kept for 43-yrs. That resolution has become so much a part of American Oil Company's daily operation, that it can be seen on the walls of its offices from Maine to Florida. That

resolution is called the American policy. Our policy was, and still is, to offer honest values, honestly described, to market distinctive and better products, to work constantly for their improvement, to sell them at fair prices and to render efficient service. Signed: American Oil Company.

That resolution has been kept for 43-yrs., and American Oil Company pledges you its continuance.

YEARS OF CRISIS has been brought to you by American Oil Co. and its thousands of Amoco dealers, from Maine to Florida.

YEARS OF CRISIS is an annual presentation of the CBS Television Department of News and Public Affairs.

This is Bob Dixon speaking.

WCBS-TV Channel 2.

Ed. trans. E. S.

P. O.

CBS RADIO DIVISION

YEARS OF CRISIS

Sunday, January 3, 1954
10:00 - 11:00 P.M.

ANNCR: Edward R. Murrow and seven distinguished CBS correspondents who have left their posts in important world capitals to record this yearly global report to the American people. You'll hear from men who know their subject - and we hope the next hour will help you to a better understanding of the world situation in these, which are truly YEARS OF CRISIS.

Here is Edward R. Murrow.

MURROW: Good evening!

We speak tonite of 1953 - a year of change and another YEAR OF CRISIS. It was a year in which a great American general was elected President of the United States, a year in which the aged marshal of the Soviet Union died. From day to day the peoples of the world, the free and the fettered, listened and watched and read, seeking some answer to the perpetual questions: How are we doing and where are we going? Tonite we propose to seek out the answers, however tentative. Six CBS Radio colleagues have returned from their year-long tasks in the major free capitals of the world to offer their views - and they are a very goodly company. Gentlemen, may I ask that you each introduce yourselves and tell us what situation you personally witnessed durint the past year.

SMITH: I'm HOWARD K. SMITH from London. I watched a queen crowned in Westminster Abbey.

HOTTELET: I'm RICHARD C. HOTTELET from Germany. I was in East Berlin to see the anti-Communist riots on June 17th.

KENDRICK: I'm ALEXANDER KENDRICK from Vienna. I saw Russian soldiers lifting up road barriers, raising the Iron Curtain a little.

SEVAREID: I'm ERIC SEVAREID from Washington - and I saw a lot of landscape fill up with a lot of Republicans.

SCHOENBRUN: I'm DAVID SCHOENBRUN from France. I saw the shadow of revolution over Versailles Palace when Frenchmen fought over electing a President there.

HERMAN: I'm George Herman. I saw the Korean war and I saw them sign the armistice which ended it with neither peace nor agreement.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, let's begin by examining what you regard as the most important event of the year 1953. Would you like to start it off, Smith?

SMITH: Well, Ed, I think the death of Joseph Stalin was almost without doubt the main event of the year. It brought many consequences inside Russia. It has brought a shift of production from industrial goods, heavy industrial goods, to consumers' good; and, outside, in foreign affairs it's brought a host of small gestures of conciliation like the release of William Oatis from prison and such things as that.

MURROW: But, Howard, how important are these "Gestures," as you call them?

SMITH: Well,most of them probably are just gestures, Ed. But at least one of them has had quite a vital meaning for all of us. When Stalin was alive the Russians turned down the Indian compromise plan for a truce in Korea, but as soon as Stalin died Malenkov took over ... for reasons we don't know, the Communists suddenly took over the Indian compromise plan and a truce resulted. I must say, moreover, I think this consumer goods program inside Russia may be of significance for the future, because that program can't go far without requiring an arms reduction. And all the information we get in London is that the program is very real and is expanding from month to month.

MURROW: Well, Alex Kendrick, do you agree with Smith?

KENDRICK: Yes, I agree with Howard that Stalin's death was the most important event of the year. But I think less for these tangible results that he mentioned than for the new frame of mind that has been created inside Russia and the satellite countries. Now, these tangible results were important enough - this new drive for consumer goods and perhaps the slowing down of the Russian rearmament timetable. But I think the important thing there is the liquidation of Stalinism that now seems to be going on, because it would have been easy to continue Stalinism even tho Stalin had died and without Stalin. But I think the execution of Beria indicates that Stalinism, which Beria, I think represented most aptly, is taking place. Now, I don't think that there has been a power struggle inside the Kremlin which has brought about the change in the Russian program and I don't think that any economic crisis to any great extent inside Russia has brought it about.

MURROW: Well, what has brought it about, then, Alex? Spell it out a little, will you?

KENDRICK: Well, I think that Melenkov has realized that the Ice Age of Stalin has come to the point of diminishing returns, and now Malenkov has embarked on a big de-icing operation; and Beria, I think, was the first to get the heat turned on him. Now, I don't think that Malenkov is necessarily changing the objectives of Stalin, but I think he has certainly changed the methods. And I think that's an important change. The Russians themselves, the Communists everywhere, speak of quantitative change eventually becoming qualitative - and I think that's what we're seeing in Russia.

MURROW: Well, that may be what we're seeing. But exactly what do you mean by it, Alex?

KENDRICK: Well, they mean that when something changes in degree, eventually there comes a point at which it changes in substance. That's what I think is happening.

MURROW: That's Marxian chemistry, is it?

KENDRICK: That's right, yeah.

MURROW: Sevareid, what would you regard as the most important event of the last year?

SEVAREID: Well, Ed, I think that the two most motivating events -- if I can use that phrase --were both in Russia; that is, Stalin's passing and the Russian hydrogen explosion. But I'm very much impressed with the importance and significance of this new government in this country, because it is a government of retrenchment. It's an economy government. Retrenchment is the one theme that runs thru all the departments and has a very governing effect on both domestic and foreign policy. I don't think it means any change in our foreign policy aims. It does not represent a return to isolationism. The great goals remain the same; that is, to contain the spread of Communism and to make the free world more strong and stable, but it means a great change in approach and emphasis. It means that our physical committments overseas, in terms of foreign aid, our troop garrisons and so on, are being reduced and not expanded, but it does not mean that our political commitments are being reduced. In fact, they may be somewhat increased. And the commitment to attack China, in effect, if she invades Indochina, is one of those new commitments. This whole retrenchment business of ours around the world, in order to save money, has meant that we've had to invent a new military conception or strategy. We're in the process of convincing ourselves now that this is going to work. The idea of the so-called mobile reserve, with the real reliance on naval and air power, using the new atomic weapons of all kinds, and far less on actual manpower overseas...I think this is pretty important. It can have quite an effect overseas, that these men would know more about than I. And I might say, Ed, that, ironically, in a way this is a kind of an edging by the President toward the Taft-Wherry line of years ago; that is, relying on air and noval power and atom weapons and not on men, which are expensive. And as I recollect, that was one of the chief reasons that Eisenhower consented to run for the nomination - to beat Mr. Taft and that idea. I think he's drifting in that direction.

MURROW: Well, George Herman, as viewed from Asia, what would you say was the most important event of the last year?

HERMAN: Well, nobody could deny even in Asia that the death of Stalin was extremely important. But I think in Asia the death of Stalin has been sort of filtered down by distance and by the immediate impact of the end of the Korean fighting. And there are plenty of people in Asia who would deny the thesis that's been advanced that the Korean armistice came about only because of Stalin's death. The armistice has been most important there, I think, because of the events which followed out of it. For instance, the end of the fighting in Korea meant the aid of American money and financial aid flowing into Japan and it brought the Indians to Panmunjom, and they found there -- to their considerable astonishment- that we weren'tholding those Chinese prisoners of war against their will; that they would rather die than go back to Red China. They also got .. the Indians therealso got their first bellyful of negotiating with Communists - and I think that was quite a shock to many of their intellectuals. Also, our action as a result of the Korean armistice in withdrawing, or promising to withdraw, two divisions has shown most of the people in Asia that we're not aggressors, as the Communists say, that we're not white men trying to interfere by force in the yellow world. All in all, in fact, it seems to have forced what Secretary Dulles has only threatened for Europe - that is, a reappraisal of all our policies and intentions in Asia.

MURROW: Well, George, what about some specific aspects of that reappraisal in Asia?

HERMAN: Well, it seems to involve very much what Eric has already mentioned - namely, a sort of cost-cutting and retrenchment. And as part of our cost-cutting we want to leave behind us some kind of strong points; we want to make sure that when we withdraw, they are sufficiently strong to protect us. For that reason we're trying to rearm Japan. Those two divisions which we say we're going to withdraw from Korea ... at least one of them will come no farther back than Hawaii, from where it can go any place where it might be needed in the Pacific. Also, it's costing us nothing to put a kind of invisible pressure on Indochina by saying that we will supply them with guns and ships if the Chinese interfere too overtly in the fighting there. And it also costs us nothing to give our silent endorsement to President Magsaysay or Chiang-Kai-shek or anybody who is going to lead a Pacific pact. We won't do it ourselves, but if they want to do it we're for it.

MURROW: Well, George, it sounds to me as tho you were assuming in all this that President Syngman Rhee will not start the Korean fighting up again and that this present cease-fire will hold.

HERMAN: Well, I've covered President Syngman Rhee for about four years now, and it's always been dangerous to try and predict what he's going to do. But I think this time he's had it. I don't think that e the great personal loyalty of the Korean people to President Rhee would enable him to start the war up again, now that they've had a taste of peace and know what it's like.

MURROW: Well, Dick Hottelet, you spend most of your time in Germany. What would you regard the most important development of the last year?

HOTTELET: Well, I agree with the other fellows that Stalin's death is probably the most important event. But if you narrowed the focus down to Europe, I would say that the most important development in Europe in the past twelve months has been the growth of Germany as a democratic power. In this past year we've seen the German people not only take an active role, probably for the first time in their history, but make their choice actively in our favor. In the past, as we all know, the German people have either been completely unstable and divided -- there hasn't been a Germany or hadn't been a Germany in history until about 1870 -- or they had been completely under the control of a madman or an imperialist; they had never really made their own choice. This they did in this past year. On June 17th, I saw crowds of unarmed people do what had never been done before: I saw them shriek and shake their fists in the mouths of Soviet machine guns; I saw them throw rocks at T-34 tanks. That took courage - and these people were demonstrating for a democracy of their own free will. In Western Germany the elections of September 6th were the same kind of choice - more quiet, far more orderly, even more democratic, in a more mature sense, but the choice was the same. They chose Adenauer, his policy of peaceful integration with the West, of peaceful and democratic growth.

MURROW: And you think that for the time being the Germans have decided that democracy pays. Is that right, Dick?

HOTTELET: They have, indeed, and have had every reason to decide that, Ed. And I think the effect for us has been one of the great changes of the year, because in taking this stand the Germans have built a bulwark against Communist subversion, which has already paid off; Germany is proof against communism; and they have also swung the balance somewhat in our favor, given us an advantage and more freedom of manoeuvre in the cold war.

rfm

MURROW: Well, so far there's been a remarkable degree of agreement here as to what was the most important event of 1953. Schoenbrun, who lives in Paris, is generally a dissenter. What would you regard as the most important event, Dave?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, this is a time for Paris to say yes, not no. I do not dissent, Ed. All of our colleagues seem to think the big event comes from Russia. I do, too. I don't think that it was just the death of Stalin. I believe it was the hydrogen explosion. I'd like to say...perhaps we ought to say this, Ed, what we've been talking about, as I understand, is the motivating event of change. I certainly don't want to give the impression that we think Russia rules the world and what happens there is the only thing of importance. But I think the motivating element of change came from there. You just take this H-bomb thing! We've been told, up until now, that the main deterrent to Russian attack was our atomic superiority. Well, if that has disappeared with the Russians getting this absolute weapon, that's a change in the nature and the balance of power in the world.

MURROW: Well, Dave, how do the people in Europe who've had some experience with old-fashioned bombs, how do they feel about this threat of the big one?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, it's a strange thing, but they think it means peace; they think this big bomb is such a terrible and absolute weapon that it imposes peace upon the great powers. There's a certain amount of wishful thinking in that, I suppose, Ed; but wishful thinking or not, that's what motivates people.

MURROW: But, big as it is, this big bomb can't settle everything. It can't stop riots or political demonstrations.

SCHOENBRUN: That's right, Ed. It hasn't stopped them quarreling about Trieste and the Saar. And, as you say, a big bomb can't be used in a bread riot - and we all know there are still millions of starving people in the world. A big bomb can't be used against strikers and workers. And, as Dick has pointed out, there are a lot of brave people in East Germany who have been fighting against the Russians despite the big bomb. So, certainly, Ed, it doesn't change everything. But I do believe it was the single most powerful factor for change this year.

MURROW: Well now, let's examine another aspect of this change and try to determine whether this was really a pivot point of history, a peak in the history of the world, or are we just up on a plateau; has there been a certain surface easing of the tension, but basically the problems remain the same? What would you say about that, George Herman?

HERMAN: Well, I don't know as you'd say there's been an easing of the tension, but there is in Asia, it seems to me, a new balance of the forces of the powers, between East and West. In the early part of this decade the Communist religion as it was spread thru Asia .. the Chinese taking over their own country, throwing out the white men and their influence there and thrusting back the white man's army in Korea, gave the Chinese Communists a certain, oh, religious fervor thruout all of Asia. But that already began to diminish in 1951 and in 1952, and I think this last year the people of Asia found out that, in the words of one of their own proverbs, being rescued by Communist China is rather like being rescued by a tiger; it's dangerous. The Indians, for instance, have been watching rather nervously the Chinese armies parading along the southern frontiers of Tibet; the Siamese for the first time in their history, or in their recent history, have become worried because of the Chinese moving across Indochina towards their own border. So, it's become a different aspect.

MURROW: Well, what happened in Asia that was good, George, if anything?

HERMAN: I presume you mean good from our points of view.

MURROW: Yes.

HERMAN: We have our show places there. I think the election in the Philippines did us a lot of good. The people of Asia saw a practical demonstration of the fact that under our kind of democracy there is a will of the people - not just, as the Communists are always claiming, a will of the so-called ruling circles --- the usual Communist cliche-- dominated by Wall Street. In Japan, the Japanese realized this year that their independence was real. They forced out their pro-American Prime Minister, held an election and subsequently forced him back in again. In short, I think this last year the people of Asia discovered that the United States, Americans, the white man, our kind of democracy, is not the No. 1 thing to fear - and I think that's a great change, a great improvement for us.

MURROW: Well, Alex Kendrick, as viewed from Vienna, would you say that there has been a decisive turning point, or are we just all coasting?

KENDRICK: Well, maybe there's just another Russian zig going on, and another Russian zag is about to come. But, if so, I think it's a longer zig than most of those before and it may be harder to change the course.

(MORE)

KENDRICK:(CTD) Lenin, you remember, spoke of the locomotive of history making a sharp turn. I think that's what is happening now. He went on to say, "when that happens, some people get thrown off." I think Beria was one of those thrown off. Now I think the people in the Kremlin may have finally decided to adopt a live-and-let-live policy, because it seems to me they are certainly more conscious of public opinion than they have been for a long time, from the way they are answering notes and suggesting conferences.

MURROW: But, Alex, in terms of their statements and their actions, it's still their basic purpose to divide and confuse the West, isn't it?

KENDRICK: I would say that on the basis of the All-Party Congress that we spoke of last year that's certainly the intention, but Stalin has died since that time and the Russians are behaving more normally than they ever have before - and I'm just willing to sit back and see what happens.

MURROW: Well, Howard Smith, do you think there has been a decisive turning point?

SMITH: I don't know, Ed. But I do think .. Let me put it this way: I think that the events that we've talked about have definitely caused the prospects of war to recede, to become more distant than it's been since, say, 1946, the first year after the war. There's one big event that no one here has mentioned yet. There was a time, we all know, not long ago when the only thing the Russians needed to get to the Atlantic coast was shoe leather. Well now, today there's a big army in their way, an integrated all-Western army, which roughly equals the Soveit Army which is available in Europe. And in Korea we have showed that we would use such resources as that to combat aggression. Now, I would like to remind you of what Sir Winston Churchill said in a speech in Margate, which I listened to just a few months ago. He said that if the United States had made it clear in 1914 or in 1938 that she would join an alliance to fight any active aggression, probably neither world war of our time would have happened. Well, by our action in Europe in building up a strong force and by our action in Korea in using force to combat aggression, I think we've given the Russians that warning.

MURROW: Well, there seems to be general agreement with you around the table here on that point, Howard.

Eric Sevareid,do you think we've turned the corner, or are we still flying blind?

sfm

SEVAREID: Well, I'm not sure we've really turned the corner, Ed. I don't know whether this is a plateau or turning point. I think I'd probably use the old cliche, "a breathing space". I think the struggle is basiacally the same: the Communist desire to spread communism as far as possible and our determination to contain it as much as possible. But in any kind of a fight there's always a moment arriving when the two antagonists will disengage, even though it's only temporarily, on some mysterious signal or another - and I think that's what we're doing, in a way, to adjust to new tactics and new problems on both sides. I think there's some very plain human reasons for this. I don't think the human psychology can sustain this fear emotion at a high peak very long. The human nervous system just isn't built that way. Nature protects it. Now, wolf crying, after all, does wear out if there's no action. And, Ed, I think there are some fairly simple and plain political reasons for it. I think that every country, ourselves and Russia included, have become very preoccupied with a lot of postponed domestic problems which are now coming to the fore; and also the really top foreign policies, dynamic ones, are always associated with a very powerful executive power. And in the free countries the executive power in the last few years has declined in relation to the parliamentary power. That's true almost everywhere. In a way, it's probably even true in Russia, where, I suspect, the power of the dictator himself has declined a bit in relation to some other groups that we don't know much about. So, I think war is a bit further off this year than it was last - and maybe that phrase "cold peace" that some people use is not a bad one; people who define cold war as a period when the big powers speak and act as though they were at war but stop just short of declaring it; and cold peace as a period in which they speak and act as though they were at peace but stop short of actually negotiating a settlement.

MURROW: Well, now, gentlemen, I suggest that we all relax and take a drink of water and we will pursue this discussion just after we hear from our announcer.

ANNCR: (C O M M E R C I A L)

ANNCR: Now, here is Mr. Murrow.

MURROW: We were discussing whether or not what has happened in 1953 represented a real turning point, or whether we were still just coasting along. How does it look from Germany, Dick Hottelet?

HOTTELET: I see no turning point, Ed. I think the system has outlived Stalin, and the aims of the system have just not changed - and we see that very clearly in Germany. Germany is still split. In Eastern Germany the Communists are dug in -- they, with the Russians to keep them in power -- and there is no sign of their pulling out. There have been changes, it's true. There has been what they call a new course. The repression of the last year and the desperation that the people reached erupted on June 17th and force them to give the people some concessions. They got some more food, they got a bit more clothing, life became a bit easier. But that was all window-dressing. The essentials of this system have remained in full.

MURROW: Well, what would you say the essentials are, Dick?

HOTTELET: Well, the Secret Police is as busy as ever. Zeisser was liquidated, just as Beria was, but his machine is there, working for Ulbricht just as before. The People's Police are still there as an army. And, gentlemen, one thing is, when you speak about German rearmament, the question is not whether to rearm Germany but whether the Eastern Communist Army is to be the only army in Germany. The so-called justice system has meted out ferocious sentences against people who were engaged in the 17th of June and the rest. I think there have been ... This is a tactical retreat, this whole new course, as there have been tactical retreats in the Soviet system before. You remember, the new economic policy was called up by Lenin to rescue Russia from the collapse of the civil war, in 1921.

MURROW: Well, Dick, you would say that nothing basic can change in Germany so long as the country remains divided and the Russians remain in the Eastern zone. Is that ...

HOTTELET: That is exactly it, Ed.

MURROW: Well, Dave Schoenbrun, how does the situation look as viewed from Paris?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, this is my moment to dissent.

MURROW: Go ahead!

SCHOENBRUN: I can't agree with Dick. The situation looks very different over in Paris. I believe that there has been a turning point, a very real one. For one thing, three times this year we asked the Russians to meet with us in Berlin to discuss Germany and Austria and they said no; and finally, at the end of the year, they've said yes; and we're going to sit down and for the first time since 1947 the Western foreign ministers are going to meet with Mr. Molotov. That's a big turning point. There are many others, too, Ed, the thing that Howard Smith referred to. We've got a pretty good army over there in Europe, and nobody talks much about it. We keep talking as though the Russians were strong and we were weak. This is no longer true.

MURROW: But the Russians have a bigger army, don't they?

SHOENBRUN: Well, let me put it this way: They have a bigger army if you go all the way back to Russia, and we've got a bigger army if you go all the way back to the United States - and their communications are better. But right in the heart of Europe, in Germany itself, our army is not just roughly equal, as Howard said, but according to the information I've gotten from SHAPE, the North Atlantic headquarters, our army is bigger than the Russian army. But what it amounts to, Ed, is we are now in a position where we've gotten the screen that General Eisenhower used to ask for, the good, tough, screen, or if you call it the plate glass window. If the Russians throw a brick through that plate glass window we've got in Germany, it means war; they know it, and they're no longer in a position to march to the Channel; they've got to bunch up for a breakthrough; and if they do, we've got a tactical and a strategic atomic counterpunch which is just going to blast them out of existence - and they know it. And that's why I think there is not likely to be a war. Now, I thought so, Ed, as you know, in all of our previous year-end shows, and I think we've reason to think so more this year than ever before.

MURROW: Of course, on that prediction you can only be wrong once, can't you? And we all hope you're right.

SCHOENBRUN: Yeah, but you fellows have also got to be right once. You haven't been right yet.

MURROW: All right, let's change the ground here now a moment and talk about the changes that have occurred in human terms, in the way people live in this year 1953, the changes that have been brought about. George Herman:

HERMAN: Well, there's been a very important change in Asia. The Koreans, of course, have stopped dying on the battlefront at the rate of dozens of Korean dead to every American. In Japan there's terepy -- that's the closest the Japanese language can come to our word "television" -- and they've got two stations on the air and a third one promised ...

MURROW: How did you pronounce that word - terribly?

HERMAN: Terepy! (Laughter)

MURROW: Ah, thank you!

HERMAN: No insult intended.

MURROW: Go ahead!

HERMAN: And all three of their stations are spending a good deal of time talking about how Japan is much too poor to rearm. As for the rest of Asia, I'm sorry to say they still seem to be dying of hunger and disease in the same old-fashioned way.

MURROW: Well, Sevareid, you sit in Washington and watch the changes in this country. What have been the significant ones in human terms?

SEVAREID: Well, a lot of things have been going on around here, Ed ...

MURROW: So we hear.

SEVAREID: ... that you've been too busy to notice. I suppose this last year was the year in which Americans passed the peak of the postwar boom prosperity. They certainly passed the peak of high taxation, maybe the peak of inflation, too. I gather from all the census figures that we Americans generally married more often and younger and they had more babies per family; they explored their country a great deal; the old American urge to travel around their own country still goes on, and generally the movement is toward the West. More and more people moved out of the cities into the suburbs and bought property, including people from the so-called working class; and that, of course, increased this tendency of having more and more people worry about taxes as much as about wages, which made them a little more conservative politically and had considerable political effects.

MURROW: But, Eric, were we any happier?

SEVAREID: Well, Ed, I can't answer that. Everybody, maybe, except broadcasters.

MURROW: Well, let's go on to Alex Kendrick.

KENDRICK: Two things I remember from recent travels. One is a series of "no tipping" signs in Egypt. Now, it's true that not everybody can read signs down there. But if they do follow out the precepts of the Naguib government and abolish baksheesh that will be a turning point. And the second thing that stuck in my mind, and also to my fingers, was the doughnut machine in Rome - the first Italian doughnut machine, which is now turning out doughnuts instead of spaghetti. I think that's a social change.

MURROW: Good or bad?

KENDRICK: Well ...

MURROW: Howard Smith, what was the main change in terms of living in England?

SMITH: Well, Ed, I think it's as significant as anything that's happened in England this year that an enterprising British reporter discovered a statistical measurement for human progress in this industrial age. Out of old records he discovered that a busy man of affairs in London a century ago could get in a coach and pair at the Bank of England and drive to a club in St. Jame's Street in just under ten minutes. And he, in 1953, got in a modern motor vehicle at the Bank of England and drove to that same club in just over thirty minutes, or three times as long.

MURROW: And now the luncheon isn't as good and costs three times as much. I don't know what conclusions we could draw from that.

Schoenbrun, what have the changes in France been?

SCHOENBRUN: The French are having babies this year. Bigger, better and more babies, more births than deaths. That's the sixth year in a row, which means the country is being literally reborn.

MURROW: George Herman, what have been the major social changes in Asia?

HERMAN: Well, I think I already outlined the major one - which was the Korean situation. In television in Japan they had their first commercial, the first television commercial. I won't state whether it's good or bad, but it was, for the record, For Hashimoto's(?) Noodles.

MURROW: Right! Dick Hottelet, what about the changes in Germany?

HOTTELET: Well, there's been a lot of American influence creeping in. Public relations have been taken on in a large way; same thing with instalment buying; and the managers' disease of stomach ulcers is the most fashionable ailment; pigtails are old-fashioned; and, I think, for the first time the average business man and skilled worker has a more desirable position than the government official, altho the government official is more secure than he is in other countries, perhaps. I think, tho, the change that struck me was in the carnival parade in Cologne last February, where a character dressed as Hitler, forelock, moustache and a completely authentic Nazi uniform, was laughed at by the crowd in the same way and in the same volume as all the other clowns in the parade.

MURROW: Did you draw any special conclusions from that?

HOTTELET: Well, I don't know. Dictatorships and their memory don't really survive ridicule.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, it seems to me that you've all been rather optimistic in outlining the changes that have occurred in 1953. But changes, as we all know, bring problems with them. And let's examine in just a moment some of the problems that have been brought as a result of change. But right now we'll pause fifteen seconds for station identification.

This is the CBS . RADIO NETWORK

MURROW: Now, let's look at some of the problems that have been left, as a result of these changes that we have been discussing. Why don't you start, Eric Sevareid?

SEVAREID: Well, Ed, I've been thinking about a few things of that kind in our own country here, where I work, and I'm more and more impressed with certain contradictions in the American thinking, political and otherwise, that I think have got to be resolved in one way or another. I think we've got to resolve this idea that we are running a more dynamically anti-communist foreign policy around the world when, in effect and in truth, we are running a less dynamically one. I think we've got to resolve a certain contradiction here in our long-range atomic energy policy. We are making efforts which we hope will lead toward the eventual abolition of atomic weapons, but at the same time we are now just beginning the actual physical and budgetary work of basing and reorganizing our whole military structure -- Army, Navy and Air Force -- on the basis of these new atomic weapons; and once you do that, how you change it without throwing away your security and your whole position, I don't know. I think another internal problem here is to finish the process of assuring the people of this country that their government is not full of spies and subversive characters and to finish the process of putting an end to what we call McCarthyism. And I feel, myself, that both processes are pretty well under way, went a long ways this year. After all, in the year this government has not produced a single definite new spy, at least that I can recollect now.

MURROW: Well, Eric, isn't it true also that there has come about a change in our attitude towards these complex problems that confront us?

SEVAREID: Yes, I think so, Ed, altho there, again, there's a certain contradiction. We think we think in one way, and actually we're beginning to think as to our actions in another way. The old American idea that you could always solve a problem and not just ameliorate it is beginning, under the pressure of experience, to go out with us. The American idea of the either-or, the black-or-white, the outright solution, you either win a victory or you walk away from a thing, that's beginning to change. I think our whole behavior in Korea is one piece of evidence to show that. Maybe this is something that we've called maturity before. It's certainly what happens when a country lives in the world. The old philosophy could go with our isolationism; it just can't go with modern American involvement. But I think the big practical and concrete and pressing problem now, Ed, that really affects the world is to avoid having this current economic recession go too deep. That could have, if it goes on, some considerable effects of an isolationist character, even tho we called it by another name. And, of course, a depression in this country, a real one, could just about end the whole game for half the free world.

MURROW: Well, Dick Hottelet, what about some of the problems in Germany that have been produced by change?

HOTTELET: Well, the change has been the change of growth, and this has brought its new problems, this new vigor. Germany is in the Western world now as a powerhouse. Unemployment is down to record levels, production is up to the same records; the export balance is colossal. And the change, I think, is best illustrated by the fact that the Germany which was dead broke and absolutely flat in 1945 is today exporting credits; it has its own private little Point-4 program and is capturing markets all around the world -- in South America, in Asia, in the Middle East. Partly, this is due to the fact that they are not building any cannons, which is, I think, illustrated best by the fact that Krupp, who used to build the biggest and best German cannons, just nosed out a British company to build a hundred-and-fifty-million-dollar steel mill in India.

MURROW: Well, Dick, what about the political problems in Germany.

HOTTELET: The political problems are that this powerhouse is getting impatient. It begins to want, and very badly, the rights which it thinks are its natural rights. The Germans don't want to be sitting ducks between two worlds; they want to get in. And they feel that certainly there are risks, but they want to get the sovereignty which they think is their due. They have certain very specific complaints there, most of them directed against France. They say, for instance, that if we're going to be equal, one of our rights, one of our equal rights, is going to be self-defense. We want to take our place in Western defense - and they are very impatient with the French for not ratifying the treaties which give them both sovereignty and this place in Western defense.

MURROW: Well, Dick, isn't it true that there is also a fear of the revival of militarism in Germany?

HOTTELET: There is certainly a fear of the revival of militarism, and it's a risk you can't overlook. But the Germans say the French keep waving this bloody shirt, but look at all the other people who were occupied by the Germans, from Norway to Greece; they all refuse to let the past poison the future and all look for Germany's inclusion, with all due safeguards.

MURROW: Well, perhaps that's because the French have long memories of what the Germans have done to them.

SCHOENBRUN: Yes, Ed. They also ... The bloody shirt they're waving happens to be their blood. And that's something they don't forget. The French have always had two enemies -- one, Germany; one, Russia -- for the last six years Russia has been the dominant enemy -- but now that the French are being told by none less than Sir Winston Churchill, President Eisenhower, Mr. Dulles and others that the danger has receded, they start thinking in terms of an old French proverb, "When the peril is past, the saint comes last," the saint being unity and cooperation and friendship.

SCHOENBRUN: (CTD) And now that there's less danger from Russia, they're looking at the danger from Germany. When Dick talks about the resurgence of Germany and Germany being a powerhouse, he's perfectly right - and it's a powerhouse that disturbs the French very much. And, again, when Dick talks of German democracy and the German right of self-defense, the French say to themselves the Germans have to prove that they are a permanent and durable democracy. Now, one way to prove that, for example, is on such an issue as the Saar, an old, old problem that's becoming a new one again this year. The Germans are making some loud noises about the Saar and talking about the Saar as being German territory, and the French say they'd better stop this kind of talk if we're going to believe in their new democracy and their desire to live as civilized people in a civilized family.

MURROW: But, Dave, don't the French realize that their own future is bound up, in a real sense, in cooperation with this new German republic?

SCHOENBRUN: Yes, they do, Ed, and I think they've given real proof of this, because they've joined Germany in a coal and steel community. That's a union of furnaces, if you like, and I think a very brave thing for the French to do because the Germans build the best furnaces in the world. In those furnaces, the furnaces of Krupp, they sometimes build high-grade steel; but in the past, only a short ten years ago, those furnaces were filled with human bones - and people in Europe don't forget that sort of thing very easily. So when the French join the Germans in a coal-steel community that's a step towards unity, but an army is something else again. They're afraid of the German army and German rearmament.

MURROW: Dick!

HOTTELET: Well, look, Dave, the Germans also look back a bit and they see that France helped wreck the Weimar Republic by coming in and demanding a pound of flesh; they see the Saar as another pound of flesh; and all they hope for is that the past can be left to the history books and that we all learn our lessons from it, but that the past not govern the future.

MURROW: Gentlemen, this argument has been going on between you two, to my knowledge, for five years now - and I think we ought to bring in Asia to redress the balance. George Herman, why don't you ...

SHOENBRUN: Excuse me. May I interrupt a second, before we get into George Herman? Asia happens to be something that's part of the French scene and that affects its relations with Germany - and I won't take more than ten seconds for this. The French Army happens to be today in Asia, in Indo-china, and just as long as that French Army is tied up on the Red River delta -- and they're fighting there right now -- they are not going to be easy about a German army on the River Rhine, in their own backyard.

HERMAM: You think you've got problems, Dave, and you've got problems, Dick. You should consider the problem of a Moslem and a Hindu nation living side-by-side, with a history of riots and race violence that goes back so long it makes French-German stuff look like baby-talk. And then, just for good measure, throw in the problem of not having enough water to feed both those countries. Take India and Pakistan - both of them perfectly good avenues of attack for a Russian drive into South Asia. Give Pakistan an idea that you're going to help her in the least little bit and India is up, screaming. And India herself, of course, doesn't want any help from us. She wants to stay neutral, even if neutralism is a sort of a fiction. The Indians are watching Tibet, where the Chinese are building roads, and the Indian army is practicing manoeuvres and operations against the Chinese Communist armies in Tibet, even while Nehru denies that they're anywhere in the landscape. And India has her own problems of Commies, internally, far more so, I think, than France, especially in the areas where the land has not been distributed as Nehru and, before him, Gandhi said it would be distributed.

MURROW: Well, George, what about Japan? Is her recovery like Germany's? Can she stand on her own feet now?

HERMAN: Well, the Japanese economy and her recovery are somewhat like that in Germany, in the sense that it's very brilliant, very dramatic. I mentioned the television stations building; there are buildings going up all over the place. It's very glossy to look at. But possibly, unlike Germany's, I think the recovery of the Japanese economy is very shallow. It's flashy but it doesn't go very deep. Japan's trade balance has been held up almost entirely by money coming in from the American military stationed there. Now we're trying to withdraw the American military and at the same time we're trying to force the Japanese to rearm; and they're quoting at us the MacArthur constitution which we forced on them as a legal reason why they can't rearm. And it's a kind of a paradox. I think probably they could rearm, economically, if it weren't for the fact that we're trying to get it at the very time we're withdrawing.

MURROW: Kendrick, what would you like to say on this whole problem.

KENDRICK: Well, one of our new problems is in Yugoslavia. I don't think there's any danger of Tito returning to the Soviet bloc, but there is a very definite danger that he might go neutralist.

(MORE)

pf

KENDRICK: (CONT'D) The Yugoslavs have always leaned that way and they admire the Indians very much, who, as George pointed out, are also neutralist. And if a balance of power has now been achieved, as it may have been, the Yugoslav neutralism becomes practically inevitable. Now, it's true that the Yugoslavs are in a pact with Turkey and Greece, who are our NATO allies, but that is a very strictly local pact which is aimed at the threat of Bulgaria - and I think the threat of Bulgaria has diminished.

MURROW: Well, Alex, is there an increased threat of neutralism in the Middle East?

KENDRICK: Definitely so, also. I think the Israeli and Arab States have responded to the American tight-rope policy in the Middle East by walking a tight-rope of their own between us and the Russians. Also, Egypt is trading with both sides of the Iron Curtain, with East Germany and West Germany, and we've got to take into account that economic factor.

MURROW: Well, Howard Smith, combined scholar and reporter, you've been listening to this discussion of new problems. Why don't you summarize it for us?

SMITH: Well, put in its most general terms, Ed, I think the problem common to all of us, in Asia and in Europe and in the United States, is a kind of dispersive tendency. As the threat of war seems to recede, everyone tends to look away from the common interest to his own individual national interest. In Britain, I'm sure that if you added up the columns of space in the newspapers and time on the radio devoted to different events, you would find that the doings of Queen Elizabeth this year got five to ten times as much attention as big events, like the hydrogen bomb in Russia and so on. That, I think, is not very harmful, but there are some cases where this dispersive tendency has been extremely harmful. Italy is a typical case. The Italians in 1948 had elections; they were so frightened by the prospect of war and communism that they all joined together behind the main anti-Communist party, gave it a big majority, and it's been able to govern fairly well for the past five years. Now, this year, '53 -- last year, that is -- they had elections again, but the threat seemed to have diminished, so the Italians scattered their votes and now there's no party with a majority and they're subject to unstable governments, as France is. That led, I think, directly to the Trieste crisis. The Italian Government, in order to try and bring some unity about, sort of promoted the Trieste crisis and almost caused an Italo-Yugoslav war.

(MORE)

pf

SMITH: (CONT'D) I think what's needed is to find some positive motivation to substitute for the negative fear of war and communism that we've been operating on up till now.

MURROW: Well, would you be inclined to agree then, gentlemen, that substantially what has happened is that a great deal of the Western unity was produced by the pressure, the fear and the threat of the Soviet Union, and now that that threat has apparently, superficially at least, been eased there is a tendency for the Western power to begin their old traditional and historic arguments, would that be about right?

HERMAN: That's what Stalin said and it's happened.

MURROW: Well, now in just a moment, let's examine what has happened to American prestige and influence abroad. But before we turn to that matter, here's something else for your attention.

ANNOUNCER: (C O M M E R C I A L) Now here again is Mr. Murrow.

MURROW: Alright, gentlemen, let's now look at the question of whether American influence abroad has waxed or waned during 1953. Schoenbrun, why don't you start.

SCHOENBRUN: I think both. I'm afraid there's no simple answer to that question. If you take Eisenhower's United Nations speech, his atomic energy proposal, you'll that it was applauded throughout France and I think most of Western Europe, and gave American prestige a very big increase, so in that way, I think you could say that it waxed. On the other hand, Mr. Dulles came to France twice this year, I think, and he delivered ultimatums to the French that they'd better get on with ratifying the European Army, German rearmament, and they didn't budge, whereas three years ago, when Mr. Acheson told them to do it they made a proposal agreeing to do it. In otherwords, we are losing influence and I think one of the reasons why we're losing direct influence is what Eric Severeid has been telling us about, the American retrenchment policy. We've pulled divisions out of Korea, we've actually reduced our forces by almost fifty thousand men in Europe, quite silently, without anybody talking about it. When you pull back, cut commitments, retrench you're bound to lose influence, so there, I think we've waned.

MURROW: Well, Howard Smith, what has happened to our influence as viewed from London.

pf

SMITH: Well, I ... I don't know. It's hard to measure influence but I would say that our popularity has gone up. In the beginning of this past year, people were genuinely worried about the problem of who was running the show over here under the new administration. Now the President's putting of Senator McCarthy in his place indicated who's going to preside and the President's atomic materials proposal before the UN indicated the President would give a lead to the West that the West has been waiting for. But I think this is a good beginning but I think the British would like to remind the President that in politics, no less than in golf, the initial impact is important but it's the follow through that counts. (LAUGHTER)

MURROW: Well, Dick ... Dick ... Dick Hottelet, what's happened to our influence in Germany?

HOTTELET: Well, it goes up and down, Ed; McCarthy sends it down, Eisenhower sends it up. I think the dominant factor is whether we support them as long as we support Germany our influence is tops.

MURROW: George Herman, what about Asia?

HERMAN: Well, people of Asia don't seem to have heard much about Senator McCarthy, but Panmunjom did us a lot of good, as I've already mentioned, and also the Chinese propaganda about germ warfare died a fuzzy death as all the confessions and tortures and methods came out. But I think the main thing was, as has been mentioned, President Eisenhower's atomic proposals. In Asia, they worship factories, they worship power, they worship things and machinery, they're so scarce there and President Eisenhower's proposal for nuclear electric power for countries which are underdeveloped and to Asians that means Asia did us a tremendous amount of good.

MURROW: Well, Kendrick., has anything happened to our influence so far as you can measure it behind the Iron Curtain.

KENDRICK: The Iron Curtain, Ed, is like the mirror in Alice in Wonderland, things are seen in reverse, and U.S. influence isn't measured by what we say or do but by the picture of us that's presented by Soviet propaganda. Well, now frankly that picture has been changed deliberately by the Russians. They are following us to lookbetter for reasons of their own; they're now debating us instead of denouncing us. As a consequence, we look better to the people behind the Iron Curtain.

MURROW: Well, how do we look in the Middle East?

pf

HERMAN: Well, American policy there may be a question mark but not individual Americans. I think the Point Four technicians, who've really gone to the soil down there and lifted ground with their own hands are the best ambassadors we have in the world.

MURROW: Well, Sevareid, what would you say has happened to the administration's influence here at home?

SEVAREID: Well, Ed, I think during the year it's probably waned a little from that tremendously high peek, it had to, but not too much. I think the President's basically still the boss when he wants to be -he can certainly beat the McCarthys or the isolationists whenever he really wants to make a good college try at it, but in a way, Ed, there's been no really critical test of his personal leadership; I mean he's never had to do anything really painful such as taking the country into a Greece or a Korea or even to raise taxes, nothing really unpallatable yet and therefore all has been reasonable sweetness and light.

MURROW: Well, what in your view should we do as a nation, as an administration?

SEVAREID: Well, Ed, as far as the rest of the world goes, I think I would say first negative side of it and that is that we do nothing whatsoever to harm this Western alliance, that must be the foundation stone. After all, this may be a breathing space or a plateau or a turning point, but nevertheless, the Russians have not only said but actually are trying to split this alliance, working chiefly on the French, using what George Herman says the Japanese call silken pressures instead of their fists. I would say that if Mr Dulles, in his agonizing reappraisal means that we withdraw from direct continental defense in Europe to the extent of threatening NATO, then we simply can't do it and I don't think we will do it. But I'd like to say this, particularly to my colleagues from Europe, that the feeling in Washington is really very strong, that the initiative now does rest with the Europeans; there's not going to be any more heroics here such as the Marshall Plan, nothing on that scale. We've pushed and we've shoved for European union from this side until we've got to the point where the more pushing and shoving we do the more it seems to set things back. It's resented. Well, if, as Howard indicates, European union is beginning to tarnish as a vision of Europeans and everybody's getting dispersive and back to a lot of local quarrels like the Saar then to responsible people in Washington this is a rather tragic and ominous thing. They are afraid that despite the progress on the surface, if that's the tendency in this last year, it could mean that this has been a year that could lead to a great tragic and historic failure, and that if European union does die then the old, old cycle of Europe's very bloddy quarrels might start up again.

MURROW: Well, Dave Schoenbrun, what's happened to our influence in France?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, in France, as Eric Sevareid has said, we're pushing and pushing and that's pushing them backwards not forwards and I just think that what we've got to do is grin and bear it, there's nothing we can do, I think, but take the agony without the reappraisal, for I agree very much with Sevareid and I think all of the French do, that it's unthinkable that United States can possibly go back to isolationism; we just can't risk it.

MURROW: Kendrick, what do you think we should do in regard to Russia and the satellite countries?

KENDRICK: Well, the main thing is to refuse to become exasperated by them; we've got to continue to test their intentions; we've got to continue to try to negotiate; we've got to offer proposals like the Eisenhower atomic energy proposal; and we've also got to respond to their overtures. Of course, we must continue to demand evidence of their good faith, but we shouldn't return indictments before the evidence is in. We should seek small arrangements instead of global settlements.

MURROW: Well, George Herman, what should we do in Asia?

HERMAN: Well, retrenchment and cutting costs is all very well but it seems to be, in Asia at least, based on the idea that the Korean fighting is over that we can afford to retrench and cut costs. Now you may remember that last year we all said that that's what Stalin is counting on, this dispersive tendency. There was a Chinese in Hong Kong who said to me, "You Americans, you're dedicated to the end of Chinese communism, now you've got Communist China on the run, she's got to have an armistice and what do you do, you give her an armistice." And there're a great many Americans and military men who think the same thing. If this is, as Eric has said, a breathing spell we've got to look out for the next round, and I'm not sure that retrenchment is the way to get ready for it.

MURROW: Well, Dick Hottelet, what should we do in connection with Germany?

HOTTELET: Well, Ed, that a very topical and a very concrete question, we're going to have to do something about Germany on or about the January 25th, because there for the first time in many years we get together again with a Soviet foreign minister in a four power conference.

-MORE-

HOTTELET: (ctd) And although I think that there'll be no settlement there, should there be hosanna it's more likely to be a sparring match and both sides are going to have to trade punches and the man with the fewer ideas and a fewer punches is going to lose. We can hit the Russians with really good ideas; we have good arguments for security, freedom, atomic control, German unity. The Russians will certainly clip us with demands to get Red China into the family of nations; they will try to undermine Western Germany - they call Adenauer the Hitler of today - by getting us to recognize Eastern Europe. What they may also do is just delay the whole proceedings, wind us up in endless debate and haggling over the agenda and make us all look foolish and silly.

MURROW: Now, gentlemen, all of you have put rather considerable emphasis on the President's atomic energy proposals. Do you really think anything concrete and practical will result from those proposals.

HOTTELET: I don't think anything will, no, because his proposals sum up in essence Bernard Baruch's proposals of what is it...seven, seven-and-a-half years ago, the crucial here is control: Will the Russians be prepared openly and acceptably to world opinion to open their atomic plants to western inspection? But when it gets down to the essence, let me tell you the pay-off is going to be: Will they allow United Nations inspection?

MURROW: Eric:

SEVAREID: Well, I don't think there'll be anything concrete and practical at least for several years, Ed, but to me the impo(sic) one of the important things about this whole presentation of the President's was this, that he was able to say "let us privately negotiate" with Russia and everybody else; the Secretary of State can now say that. This idea of going back to old fashioned private diplomacy, which we have not had since the war, was represented in that speech; it's sort of a hallmark of trying to conduct this new period of the "cold peace," is probably a very important change. And I might also point out that one of the benefits of changing administrations here has been that this administration can propose to deal privately with the Russians on such a sensitive thing as atomic energy without being smeared as soft on communism or subversive or what not. That I think is probably a necessary change and it gets us somewhere.

MURROW: The final question for Howard K. Smith. Howard, speaking of positive plans for action, what is the future in 1954 of Prime Minister Churchill's plan of 1953 for a top level meeting with Malenkov?

SMITH: Well, it's not very hopeful, Ed. The United States is opposed to the idea. The Russians have never, at any time, given any indication of favor for it, and inside Britian Churchill's own Foreign Office and his own Cabinet oppose it. Ah, the tendency in Britian is to think that old fashioned horse-drawn diplomacy is coming back, that big global conferences are on the way out. For example, the kind of thing that they're thinking that may bring progress in the future such things as the chat that Sir William Hayter, the British Ambassador in Moscow, had with Malenkov about three weeks ago, the chat that Malik, the Russian ambassador in London, had with Churchill, just before I left London. The kind of thing to avoid, it's often said, is conferences like that at Bermuda, where every (sic) where two hundred reporters were present and every word was magnified to ten times normal size. The Bermuda Conference was not, however, entirely useless in people's opinions over there, Ed. I think one important negative fact came out of it: Sir Winston Churchill, who called the conference, is without doubt the greatest statesman in all personal ways, but he just doesn't have the basis of power to maneuver from to influence the Western world to follow his lead. By its very absence of results, Bermuda showed that if lead there's going to be for the West, that lead has to come from the President of the United States.

MURROW: And for the last hour I have had the opportunity of sitting here with six of my colleagues, discussing what happened in 1953: George Herman, Dave Schoenbrun, Eric Sevareid, Alex Kendrick, Dick Hottelet and Howard K. Smith. We've not answered all the questions, we have perhaps not stated all the questions, but speaking for myself, it's been a great pleasure to sit around this table with these old friends and good colleagues and attempt to discuss what is going on in this world. Thank you, gentlemen.

ANNCR: This recorded report has been brought to you by the Amoco family of quality products. (Commercial)

And, remember, make that "one for the road" coffee, won't you?

Ed. trans. - E. Scheiner
P. Olszewska (30)

COMMERCIAL ------

(TO COME)

tb

SMITH: I am Howard K. Smith from London. I saw a Queen crowned in Westminster Abbey.

HOTTELET: I'm Richard C. Hottelet from Germany. I saw the Anti-Communistic Berlin riots on June 17th.

SCHOENBRUN: I'm David Schoenbrun...covering France. Last month I saw the shadow of Revolution loom up over Versailles Palace.

KENDRICK: I'm Alexander Kendrick. I work in Vienna, and I saw Russian soldiers removing road barriers -- raising the Iron Curtain a little.

HERMAN: I'm George Herman. I saw the Korean war and I saw the signing at Pan Mun Jom which halted the fighting with neither peace nor agreement.

SEVAREID: I'm Eric Sevareid from Washington. I saw a lot of landscape fill up with a lot of republicans.

MURROW: (TO COME)

KENDRICK: There was the fellow in Austria who got himself put into a bottle and lived there for a year. He came out, just before Christmas, and they asked him how it was. "Well," he said, "except for being more public, life inside a bottle isn't any different from life outside a bottle these days."

MURROW: (TO COME)

HOTTELET: Everyday life has taken on a number of American touches. Business men have become public relations conscious (they use the American term because there is no German equivalent), and their customers are wild about the instalment plan.

The most fashionable ailment is what the Germans call "Manager Krankheit" -- literally, manager's sickness -- consisting of stomach ulcers, high blood pressure and all the familiar symptoms of American overwork.

Clothing fashions follow the French, but American teen age fashions are coming on the market. And pigtails are distinctly out of date.

I saw one of the most interesting sidelights in the carnival parade in Cologne last February. One of the characters was dressed as Adolf Hitler in an authentic nazi uniform. He got the same number and the same KIND of laughs as any other clown.

MURROW: (TO COME) Optimistic - favorable changes but change brings problems -

(What ~~was the year's most important~~ event?)

Lets examine them. -

ras

Important Event. —

SMITH: I think the death of Joseph Stalin was the most important event. It hasbrought changes in Russian policy that seems to me to be significant. Inside Russia, it has brought an easing of heavy industry programme in favor of increased output of consumer goods. In foreign affairs it has brought a small host of gestures of conciliation, like the release of William Oatis from prison in Czechoslovakia, the granting of permission of Russian girls married to Americans to leave Russia with their husbands...

MURROW: But Howard, how important are these -- you used the word-- gestures?

SMITH: Well, I am sure most of these things are just gestures of no great importance. As Churchill described it, the Russians have stopped doing some things to us that we never were doing to them. But, at least one of the Russian actions has had a very important bearing on all our lives. When Stalin was alive the Reds flatly rejected the Indian compromise plan for a cease-fire in Korea.

-more-

ras

SMITH: (CTD) After his death, when Malenkov succeeded him, the Communists --for reasons we don't fully know -- suddenly adopted the Indian compromise as their own idea...and the truce in Korea came about.

Moreover, I think the shift of resources inside Russia from heavy industry to consumer goods is important. If that program goes far, it is bound to affect arms production in Russia. And all the evidence reaching us in London is that the consumer goods program is a real thing, and is expanding from month to month.

MURROW: (TO COME)

Rendezvous do you agree with Smith?

ras

KENDRICK: I would agree with Howard that Stalin's death was the most important event of the year, but I think less for its tangible results than because of the new frame of mind I think has been created in Russia and the satellite countries. The tangible results -- the new emphasis on consumer goods, and the apparent slowing down of Russian rearmament, are significant enough. But it would have been possible to continue Stalinism after Stalin's death, without Stalin. Some people think it is being continued, in a more subtle way. But I think the execution of Beria, the man who represented Stalinism most faithfully, shows that there is indeed something new in Russia. I don't think Beria was executed primarily because of a struggle for power in the Kremlin, and I don't think the Malenkov New Deal was ordered because of economic crisis in Russia, or because of any appreciable actice discontent. Such things are controllable under Communism, and Beria and the M.V.D. were just the boys to control them.

MURROW: Why the change then? Would you spell that out?

fad

KENDRICK: Well, I think Malenkov realized that the Stalin Ice Age had brought the country to the point of diminishing returns, both internally and internationally. Now he's engaged in a giant defrosting operation. I think a policy of live and let live is being adopted at home and abroad by the Kremlin. Perhaps Malenkov has not abandoned the objectives of Stalinism, but he has certainly adopted new methods, and it's a Marxist axiom that quantitative change becomes qualitative. Nobody knows how long the change will last, but the mere fact that it's happened at all is significant.

MURROW: What does that line about quantitative change and qualitative change mean?

KENDRICK: The Communists believe that any chance in degree sooner or later becomes a real change in substance. You might call that Marxian chemistry.

MURROW: (TO COME)

fad

SEVAREID: I agree that the two chief motivating events were both in Russia - the death of Stalin and Russia's hydrogen explosion.

But the significance of this new American government of retrenchment is very great. Retrenchment - economy - is the key to Washington today; the one theme connecting all departments, influencing all our moves on foreign policy.

It does not mean a basically new foreign policy; it does not mean any return to isolationism. It does not change our foreign aims, which are to contain the spread of communism and make the free world strong and stable.

It does mean a chance in approach, however. It means reducing our physical committments around the world, giving less direct economic and military aid to others, reducing our garrisons both in Europe and Asia. It has produced, of necessity, a new concept of how to physically protect the free world; the concept of the "mobile reserve", most of our force centered at home, the rest operating chiefly from quickly manned bases overseas, and with air and naval power, usint atomic weapons the principal reliance.

(MORE)

fad

KENDRICK: (CTD) We are going to do this because it is cheaper; and, correctly or not, we are now in the process of persuading ourselves that it will be just as effective in military terms.

It does not, however, mean reducing our political committments overseas; it probably means sutstituting more of them; as we have in fact done, in the case of Indo-China, where we have virtually committed ourselves to attack China directly if she invades Indo-China with troops.

Ironically, this whole process means that Eisenhower is edging toward the old Taft-Wherry policy of reliance on planes and atom weapons; one of the main reasons Eisenhower ran for the nomination was to beat Taft and that idea. As to the effects of this American trend overseas, the rest of you know better than I.

MURROW: (TO COME)

fad

Viewed from Asia

HERMAN: Well, Ed, nobody can deny the importance of Stalin's death, even in Asia. But it was filtered down and softened in its direct impact there by the more immediate importance of the Korean ceasefire. The end of the fighting in Korea and more specifically the events arising out of it are far more important in Asian eyes. And not everybody there would agree with Eric's thesis that it took Stalin's death to bring about that ceasefire. But with the end of the fighting in Korea comes the end of a lot of the financial aid flowing from America to Japan. And the armistice brought the Indians to Pan Mun Jom and showed them, to their considerable astonishment, that we weren't holding those anti-communist Chinese prisoners against their will -- that they really would rather die than return to Red China. And it gave the Indians their first bellyfull of negotiating with the communists, - which was a rude awakening for many of them. Also our promise to withdraw two divisions from Korea has given the peoples of Asia real grounds for reversing the communist propaganda line that we are aggressors, - that we are white men still trying to interfere in the yellow world. In short, the Korean ceasefire has forced on us and on the world that Mr. Dulles has only threatened for Europe, - a drastic re-appraisal of our strategy and our intentions in Asia.

mw

MURROW: How about some specific aspects of that re-appraisal?

HERMAN: Well, our general policy seems to be one of retrenchment and cost-cutting. But at the same time we want to maintain strength wherever it is absolutely necessary. So we want Japan to re-arm and we are applying what they call silken pressure on her, - silent but strong, - to do so. One, possibly both of our divisions recalled from Korea will stop at Hawaii, to save money, yet be ready to move rapidly when needed in the Pacific. It's also inexpensive to apply more pressure in Indo-China by saying we will send ships and planes if the Chinese interfere too openly. And we won't organize a pacific treaty organization like NATO ourselves, but we'll encourage Philippine President Magsaysay to do so, - or any other pacific leader on our side.

MURROW: It sounds to me as tho you were assuming President Syngman Rhee will not start the Korean fighting up again, - that the ceasefire will hold.

HERMAN: Well, Ed, I've found over the past four years that it's dangerous to predict just what Syngman Rhee will do. But I think the end of the fighting in Korea has deprived him of his major hold on us. (MORE)

mw

HERMAN: (CONT'D.) I don't think even the great personal loyalty of the Korean people to him would stand for his leading them back into war again now that they have had a taste of peace.

MURROW: (TO COME)

HOTTELET: The death of Stalin certainly stands out in the big picture. But when you focus sharply on Europe I'd say that one of the most important trends of the past twelve months is the steady rise of Germany as a democratic power. For the first time in modern history the German people have taken their fate into their won hands and made their decision in favor of the west. -- The people of the Soviet Zone, whom I saw throw rocks at Russian tanks and tear the red flag off the Brandenburg gate were risking their lives to demonstrate for freedom. -- And when the people of Western Germany went to the polls on September sixth they chose western democracy too, more quietly but just as emphatically. They swept the communists and the remaining nazis out of parliament and stamped their approval on a program of European unity and peaceful growth.

(MORE)

mw

HOTTELET: (CONT'D.) On the economic side the Germans kept working like mad, rebuilding their country, reaching out into foreign markets. In doing so they proved to themselves that freedom is not merely a noble abstraction, but that it has solid advantages. In other words, Germany has seen that democracy pays.

The people and their government have built a bulwark against communist pressure. More than that, they have helped put the Kremlin on the defensive in the heart of Euorpe. The stability of German politics and the strength of German industry have helped the west in the balance of power - and given it an advantage to exploit, if it's minded to do so.

MURROW: (TO COME)

SCHOENBRUN: I think the big bomb was the big news...that is the hydrogen explosion in the Soviet Union on August 8th. It changed the nature and blance of world power. It poses more critically than ever the dilemma of security versus solvency, since absolute defence against the H-bomb -- and there's considerable doubt that any such defence could be achieved -- might conceivably wreck our economy--force a radical reduction of our standard of living and way of life.

mw

MURROW: How do the people in Europe feel about this new threat?

SCHOENBRUN: Strangely enough they think it means peace...that the H-bomb is so terrible a weapon that it imposes peace upon the great powers. This paradox of hope arising out of fear was given encouragement by Eisenhower himself by his atomic energy pool proposal which was applauded all over Europe as a call to peace.

MURROW: But the H-bomb can't settle everything - it can't stop uprisings such as the German workers...

SCHOENBRUN: Yes, the Europeans know that. They know the H-bomb can't be used in a bread riot, and there are still millions of starving people in the world. The H-bomb can't keep men from dreaming and fighting for their freedom and there are brave men fighting for freedom in factories of east Germany and in the rice fields of Asia...so, the H-bomb certainly isn't everything but I think it was the most powerful factor for change in this year of change.

MURROW: How about your part of the world, George? Was this year a turning point in Asia? Peak or Plateau?

mw

HERMAN: Definitely there is something new in the balance of forces in Asia this year. Communism spread thru the Orient with the force of a new religion after the Chinese communists took firm control of their land and thrust back the white man's army in Korea. But the peak was reached in 1950 or 1951 and it had already begun to fade in 1952. The people of Asia in the words of their own proverb, began to realize that to be championed by Red China was something like being rescued by a tiger. The Red Army's new military highways in Tibet make the Indians might nervous. The offensives in Indo-China have forced the neighboring Siamese to spend more energy on defense than on enjoying life. What happened there was good And on the other side, the election in the Philippines disproved the communist argument that under democracy there is no will of the people, only the will of the ruling cirlces dominated by wall street Japan, another American showplace, discovered its new independence is real, forced out its pro-American prime minister, held an election, and forced him back in again. In short, the peoples of Asia have begun to realize that we are not the number one thing to be scared of anymore, - and believe me, in Asia that's a major change and improvement.

mw

MURROW: (TO COME)

KENDRICK: Maybe it's just another Russian zig that we are witnessing, and the zag is yet to come, but if so, I think it's a longer zig than any before and it may be harder to change than any before. I'll paraphrase Lenin and say that the locomotive of history seems to have made a sharp turn. Anything that helps bring about more normal relations is a deterrent to war, and the way the Russians have been making proposals and answering notes of late shows that they are more responsive to and conscious of world public opinion than for a long time. Now some people think they're just trying to confuse us and divide us, to stall and take the wind out of the West. But whatever the cause, I do think the effect is of a turning point.

MURROW: There's no dbout from the All-Party Congress last year that they are trying to divide and confuse, is there?

KENDRICK: Not much doubt, but don't forget that was before Stalin died, too.

MURROW: (TO COME)

mw

SMITH: Plateau and Turning point are figurative terms; I don't know exactly what they mean. But I am persuaded that all these events of 1953 have put the prospect of a new world war at much greater distance than at any time since, say, 1946. In Europe there was a time when all the Russians needed to get to the Atlantic coast with shoe leather. Today, an army, a good army, an international army that roughly balances the strength of their own Red Army in Europe...stands in the way. In Korea we gave evidence that we would use the forces at our disposal, like that one, to keep fight against any aggression. Those I think are significant developments. Sir Winston Churchill said in a speech I heared in Margate England not long ago that if the US had in 1914 and in 1938 given clear notice she would join the alliance and fight against any aggressor, probably neither world war of our time would have happened. Well, that notice is just what we have given by means of the war in Korea and the buildup of strength in Europe.

MURROW: (TO COME)

turned the corner
not still flying blind

mw

SEVAREID: At the least, it's a breathing space for both sides to adjust to new tactics. Both were forced to; neither could quite stand the old strain and pace. In any struggle there comes a moment when the antagonists disengage, even tho temporarily, on some mysterious signal. But the basic struggle remains the same - Russia determined to see communism spread if possible; we determined to stop it, if possible.

There are human reasons for this change; people can't sustain the fear emotion at high peak forever. Without action, wolf-crying wears out. But there are also some simple political reasons. Every country, including Russia and our own, has become more pre-occupied with domestic problems. And in every free country the executive power, where any dynamic policy rests, has been declining in relation to the parliamentary power. In a sense, this is probably true also of Russia where other groups besides the dictator now seem much stronger. (MORE)

mw

SEVAREID: (CONT'D.) So world war is a little further off today than a year ago. Maybe we're coming into what some have called the "cold peace." In cold war, the big powers talk and act as if they were at war, but they stop just short of declaring war; in cold peace they talk and act as if they were at peace, but stop just short of negotiating a real settlement.

MURROW: (TO COME)

mw

HOTTELET: The west has a strong position and a local advantage in Germany - but, frankly, I don't see that the changes of the past twelve months add up to a turning point in the cold war. The iron curtain still cuts Germany in two and the both sides are still as bitterly opposed. In the east the communist regime, though badly shaken by the uprising in June, is still firmly in power -- because a large Russian army is there to keep it in power. The regime has been compelled to give the people somewhat more clothing, more food and better housing. The so-called "New Course" has opened more stores and restaurants, toned down the propaganda and added a little color to the drab scene. -- But this is window dressing. The essentials have not changed. What are essentials The secret police are as busy as ever and judges go on as before grinding out ferocious sentences against so-called western agents and saboteurs. The communist party is still dedicated to class warfare - it is expanding collective farms and pressuring labor. The regime admits that the New Course in the soviet zone is only a breathing spell. There have been similar retreats in Soviet history - in the early twenties after the civil war; in the mid-thirties after the great famine and again ten years ago after Hitler's invasion. (MORE)

mcw

HOTTELET: (CONT'D) In each case concessions were temporary and designed only to strengthen the Kremlin's grip. In each case they were followed by fierce repression and a return to orthodox communist strategy.

In Germany today there is every sign that the Russians still aim for complete domination. There will be no decisive change in this key area until Russia is prodded or persuaded to pull out of the Soviet Zone.

MURROW: (TO COME)

SCHOENBRUN: It's a turning point, I feel ... a real change in the climate of world affairs. It may not prove to be permanent nor can we be sure how fast the world will go down the new road but there's no doubt that the great powers have turned off the old one this year and are beginning to explore new directions.

They did this because the old road was blocked and all sides were tired of sitting in the same cold rut. This year for the first time it became clear that Russia could not with ease or impunity force that road block. The west now has more soldiers and firepower in the heart of Europe, in Germany, than Russia has ... some five hundred thousand allied troops against 300,000 Russians.

mcw

MURROW: But the Russians have many more divisions in reserve in Eastern Europe and Russia itself and they still could break through to the channel.

SCHOENBRUN: Yes that's still true but our road block is now very tough and backed by a strategic atomic counter-punch and the Russians know it. That's a big change ... so that I believe the world is further from war this year. I've thought so in the past too and I've said on all our year-end shows in the past that war was NOT likely in the foreseeable future. I'm more sure of that than ever this year, if we continue to do what we should do: stand firm, build strength and keep cool.

Communal —

MURROW: (TO COME) Changes in Human Times

Summit: How they live & think

HERMAN: In Korea, of course, there's one important change, -- Koreans have stopped dying on the battlefield at the rate of dozens of Korean dead to each American or UN soldier. And in Japan there's terebi,-,- that's the nearest the Japanese language can come to television. They've opened two new stations and promise a third and devote a lot of time on all of them to saying Japan is too poor to re-arm. The rest of Asia is still dying of hunger and disease in the same old-fashioned way.

mcw

MURROW: (TO COME)

KENDRICK: Well, I've just been in the Middle East, and the Neguib regime has posted "No Tipping" signs all over Egypt. To anybody who's had to buy his way with baksheesh everywhere, that could be the beginning of a real social revolution.

MURROW: (TO COME)

SMITH: Well, I think it is as significant as anything that has happened in England this year, that an enterprising newspaper made an actual statistical measurement of human progress in the industrial age. From old records, it was discovered that a century ago a busy man of affairs could leave the Bank of England in a coach-and-pair and drive to a certain club in Saint James' Street for lunch in just under ten minutes. This year, on a typical day, a reporter from that paper left at the Bank of England in an automobile and drove to that same club in just under thirty minutes -- or about three times as long ...

mcw

MURROW: (TO COME)

SEVAREID: Well, in fifty-three, Americans passed the peak of the postwar boom prosperity; past the peak of inflation and also the peak of high taxation. They married more -- and younger; they had more babies per family; they continued to explore their country, still going west; they moved out to the suburbs, bought property and worried about taxes as much as wages, so that the so called working class diminished and the middle classes expanded -- with a consequent expansion of conservative politics; The commercial centers of the big cities, the loop districts, began to stagnate, as big stores moved to the suburbs and traffic began to choke the centers to death. We got physically healthier, made great strides in medicine and education -- but whether we were any happier, I couldn't say.

MURROW: (TO COME)

mcw

SCHOENBRUN: In France this year some two thousand cafes closed down and one thousand snack bars opened up. That means the French are drinking less and spending less time at the table. And that's an encouraging sign of soundness and vitality under the fog of political uncertainty and disorder in France. Even more important the French are having a lot of babies, more and more each year ... more lives than deaths for the sixth year in a row ... which means that France is being literally reborn even though its governments seem to be intent on committing suicide.

MURROW: (TO COME) Murrow

mcw

SEVAREID: One big problem for Americans is to resolve some contradictions between what it thinks it's doing and what it's actually doing. We claim we are carrying out a more dynamically anti-communist foreign policy now; but actually is less dynamic; the inevitable result of retrenchment at home and a resurgence of independence on the part of our allies.

We have a big job here, to complete the process of reassuring the country that the government is not full of spies and reds and the process of stopping McCarthyism. Both processes are underway; in a year, the government has not produced a single definite new spy; and the McCarthyism hysteria has passed its peak, even if Europeans don't think so.

We have to resolve the contradiction of working internationally for ultimate control of atomic weapons while at the same time we are beginning to reorganize our whole military structure and strategy on the basis of atomic weapons.

Philosophically, it might be well if we understood that we are abandoning the American tradition of believing that all problems can be solved, not just ameliorated.

(MORE)

SEVAREID: (CONT.) We don't admit it, but we are being pushed inevitably toward the European philosophy of living with these awful world problems. We are beginning to give up the either-or, black or white approach; our whole behavior in Korea is evidence of this. The old philosophy could fit with American isolationism; it cannot go with modern American involvement around the world.

But the immediate practical task is to prevent the present economic recession from going too deep; that would set in motion forces here, for high tariffs, ending foreign aid, cutting the military still deeper, and so on that would give some of the effects in the world of American isolationism even tho we called it by another name. A depression here and maybe the game would be up for half the free world.

MURROW: (TO COME)

HOTTELET: The very vigor of German growth in the past year has brought new problems. ---For one thing, this vast productive energy is crowding its way into world markets. (MORE)

sr

HOTTELET: (CONT.)

Krupp, who has sworn off building cannons, has just beat Britain to a 150 million dollar steel mill contract with India. -- The Germans dead broke a couple of years ago are advancing large credits in South America, Egypt, Greece and Asia. They are well aware of the new problem to keep this great industrial machine turning over at high speed. A depression could ruin both it and the beginning of German democracy. --

Political Problems?

The biggest new political problem is to give this German power house a place in the western world. It is still legally an occupied country, and the restrictions are growing more and more irksome. Germany is certain in the coming year to insist on equal rights. Only the general well being has kept tempers in check so far and given Adenauer the chance to preach moderation.-- The Germans see France denying them their natural right of self defense; and they get hot under the collar when they reflect that the European Army which France has refused to ratify was originally a French idea. Responsible German leaders are as worried about a revival of German militarism as anyone.

(MORE)

sr

HOTTELET: (CONT.) They see an integrated European Army and a European political community as the best, maybe the only means of harnessing German power for constructive ends. And they see in European unity the only real security for Germany next door to Russia. -- French behavior leads many Germans to believe that France is more interested in keeping Germany weak than in building western unity against the common danger of soviet aggression. They suspect that France would make a deal with Russia at Germany's expense. And they regard the French demand for separation of the Saar as a nineteenth century plot to cut Germany down to size, which makes no sense if the French take European unity seriously.

French Memoirs -

Here is the new problem. Past history and past antagonisms are beginning to poison the future. By making Germany an outcast among nations France can help wreck the Bonn Republic as the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 helped to dig the grave of the Weimar Republic. -- The Germans see other victims of nazi aggression willing to put the future before the past - From Norway to Greece they are all for Germany taking its place in the western front - with full vigilance and strong controls. (MORE)

sr

HOTTELET: (CONT.) --This can still be done but the opportunity won't last forever. If men like Adenauer are discredited and removed because their prowestern policy has failed, their successors could make Germany a restless, surly giant ready to lurch into the soviet camp.

Time limit?

MURROW: (TO COME)

SCHOENBRUN: The French have no new problems but they have a lot of old ones that are getting more acute now that tensions are easing. They have a proverb that says: the peril past the saint comes last..and the immediate peril point has been passed this year. At the April meeting of the North Atlantic alliance in Paris the new republican team from the USA...Mr. Dulles, Mr. Wilson and others officially abandoned the old theory of the critical year of danger...the year 1954 and agreed to change to the strategy of the long pull the steady slow buildup. What that meant of course was an immediate slow down instead of build up...and that new pace was set by the Eisenhower Administration.

MURROW: And that contributed to the French hesitations about going ahead with German rearmament in a European Army?

sr

SCHOENBRUN: Yes it did, that and other old problems that took on new meaning with the peril point past. The Saar issue for example -- ancient source of friction between France and Germany. A surgent Germany feeling its strength is again demanding return of the Saarland or at the least forcing the French to give up their economic privileges in that disputed borderland...with the result that the French Parliament has warned the government that it would not ratify the European Army Treaty unless Germany recognized France's rights in the Saar...an old problem that has become new again. The French have had two great enemies in the past: Russia and Germany....if the Russian danger looks a bit diminished this year the challenge of German power looks greater.

MURROW: But don't the French realize that their future depends on cooperation with a new democratic Germany to end the suicidal rivalry of the past?

SCHOENBRUN: Many French do but old fears persist and we Americans ought to realize that they're not just frivolous fears. The new German government is democratic of course but there's good reason to worry about the permanency of German democracy. (MORE)

sr

SCHOENBRUN: (CONT.) There have been other democratic regimes there and then new madmen like Hitler arose. The French wonder about what they feel is America's naive admiration for Germany. The Germans work hard...yes. They make the best furnaces in the world in which in which they turn out highgrade steel. But the French point out that only some ten years ago many of those furnaces were filled with bones not steel. One way to prevent that happening again is by European unity and let's not forget that the French have joined the Germans in a steel and coal community...but an Army is something else again and the French are having second thoughts about German rearmament. That's also a direct result of the erasing of pressures this year. The European Army idea was proposed by the French three years ago under American pressure at a moment of panic when war broke out in Korea... but this year the shooting stopped in Korea and the pressure for German troops receded too.

MURROW: There's still a shooting war going on in ~~Korea.~~ Indo China

sr

SHOENBRUN: And that another reason the French have found to mark time on German rearmament. Just so long as the French army is tied down on the Red River delta in Indochina they're afraid to let a new German army arise on the banks of the Rhine in their own backyard.

MURROW: (TO COME)

sr

HERMAN: You, Dave, and you, Dick, -- you think reconciling France and Germany is tough? You should try resolving the differences between a Moslem and a Hindu nation living side by side with a long history of riots and recriminations, -- and then add in the problem of not enough water for both. India and Pakistan. Both of them legitimate avenues for a communist drive into South Asia. Just try strengthening Pakistan's defenses and India screams. India herself wants no American military help, -- it would spoil her neutrality with respect to Red China. It makes no differences that this neutrality is highly unrealistic, that the Indian army is building roads and holding maneuvers directed against the Red Chinese armies fortifying southern Tibet even as Nehru denies the very existence of those armies. India also has to worry about a very grave danger of internal communists, especially in areas where the Ghandi-Nehru land reform is still a dream not a political reality.

MURROW: Isn't it pretty much the same between Korea and Japan?

HERMAN: Much too much so. Japanese despise Koreans, -- consider them a lesser race. Koreans hate Japan and attack her fishing boats wherever possible.

(MORE) ta

HERMAN: (CONT'D) And it's all complicated by hundreds of thousands of Koreans, brought to Japan a generation ago as more or less slave-labor, who now refuse to leave Japan and decline to stop hating her. That's worse than the French-German friction, with nazi-type racial overtones thrown in.

MURROW: Well how about Japan herself, -- is her recovery like Germany's, -- can she stand on her own feet now?

HERMAN: Well Japanese recovery is like Germany's in one way, --- it has been startlingly rapid and dramatic. But it's not yet a healthy recovery, -- it's only skin deep and the Korean War has covered over the major faults. The Korean fighting brought American troops, American orders and American money to the Japanese economy and made the Japanese trade balance come out even with America. Now that military money is diminishing. We don't want Japan to trade with China, our businessmen don't want Japanese goods competing in the United States or Britain. And there's the problem of Japanese rearament. We want them to take over part of the burden of defending democracy in Asia. They quote the MacArthur constitution which we forced on them against their will as legal prohibition against rearming.

(MORE) ta

HERMAN: (CONT'D) But the main factor is that we are pressuring them to re-arm just when their precarious economy is entering its most dangerous period. They might have been able to swing it smoothly if the Korean war had continued. But to Japan, peace in Asia means severe danger of a depression.

MURROW: (TO COME) our Problems Last year's Changes

KENDRICK: One of our new problems is typified by Yugoslavia. We're no longer afraid that Tito will go back to the Soviet camp -- at least, I'm not -- but we are afraid he might go neutralist -- like India, as George mentioned. Now it's true that Yugoslavia is in a Balkan pact with our two NATO allies Greece and Turkey. But they are acting on a regional basis against the local threat of Bulgaria -- and the threat of Bulgaria has diminished. The recent Trieste crisis raised a lot of doubt in Yugoslav minds about any closer identification with the West, and I would say the Yugoslavs are feeling more and more neutralist. Maybe that's inevitable when you get a balance of power.

MURROW: What about new problems in the Middle East?

ta

KENDRICK: I think neutralism is also increasing in the Middle East. On this recent trip there, I gathered that the American policy of walking a tightrope between Arabs and Jews has caused the Arab states and Israel to start walking their own tightropes between us and the Russians. There are also economic reasons for neutralism. Egypt is trading feverishly with both Western Germany and Eastern Germany, and so is Lebanon. Czechoslovakia seems to be doing as well in the Middle East as Japan. That's a new problem, and we still haven't solved the old problems -- the quarrels between the Arabs and Israel, between Britain and Egypt over Suez.

MURROW: (TO COME)

SMITH: Well, to sum it up in a couple of words, the new problem created in 1953 and apparently common to all the non-communist world -- to Asia, to Europe and to the US -- is a kind of dispersive tendency. As the threat diminishes, or seems to, each nation tends to look away from the common interest and back to its own individual interest.

(MORE)

ta

SMITH: (CONT'D) In Britain, where I do most of my reporting, I think if you added up the columns of space in the papers and the minutes of time on the radio given to different events of this year, you would find that the doings of Queen Elizabeth and her husband have had between five and ten times as much attention as big events like the H-bomb or the death of Stalin plus all its consequences.

MURROW: Is there anything wrong with that??????

SMITH: Not in the example I just gave, perhaps. But in most other cases, the effect has been distinctly harmful. For example, the movement towards European unity has virtually stagnated in 1953, after making very promising progress the year before.

Italy in 1953 is a good example of the dangers that can grow from this tendency to relax, and to scatter, to forget common aims and look to narrow national aims. In 1948, the Italian people afraid of Communism. So in elections then, they gave the main anti-communist party a majority and as a result have had a strong stable government for five years. Well, in 1953, new elections fell due. But the threat had diminished.

(MORE)

ta

SMITH: (CONT'D) So the Italian voters split their votes up among.... many parties. Now none has a majority and Italy is subject to unstable government, falling cabinets as France is. As a direct result of that the Trieste issue arose in 1953. To get people's minds off party politica at home and to unite them, the Italian government stirred up the Trieste issue and we very nearly had an Italo-Yugoslav war on our hands.
The essential problem, it seems to me, is to find now a positive motive for union and cooperation to replace the negative fear of war.

Communist —

MURROW: (TO COME)

What happened to U.S. influence

SCHOENBRUN: Well both I'm afraid. There's no simple answer to that one. American influence and prestige in France revived overnight with Eisenhowers UN speech which was hailed by all Frenchmen as a constructive new approach. Even the communists were silent for once and the anti-American campaign died down to a whisper.
Yet American influence has also waned in France...in the push to European unity for example.

(MORE)

ta

SCHOENBRUN: (CONT'D) Three years ago we forced the French to propose a European Army with German troops. This year Mr. Dulles issued three ultimatums to the French to get on with it...and they didn't budge. We can't force them any more. We can lead, persuade, cajole, help but not force. Particularly not when we ourselves are beginning to back down on our former commitments and policies...pulling troops out of Korea....talking about reductions of troops in Germany, releasing 35,000 men from the Air Force. We can't tell others to push ahead when we are cutting back---no matter what the reasons---without seeing our influence decline. On balance -- we're doing better prestige-wise -- worse pressure-wise.

SMITH: I don't know how to measure changes of influence. But I do think our prestige and our popularity have risen in the last months of 1953. People in Britain were genuinely worried about who was going to run the show here under the new administration. Now, the president's firm putting of Senator McCarthy in his place has indicated who is going to preside over the US. The president's fresh, welcome initiative at the UN on atomic materials indicate he is at last taking over the lead of the West which our allies have held out to him.

(MORE) ta

SMITH: (CONTD) I think right now, our prestige is probably higher with Britons than at any time since President Truman dismissed General MacArthur. President Eisenhower has made, the British think, a good start. But in politics no less than golf, though the initial impact is important, it is the follow-through that counts.

MURROW: (TO COME)

HOTTELET: In Germany too, America's credit goes up and down. Senator McCarthy's activities, for instance inspire no confidence in our judgement. --- But basically our influence depends on one thing, on American determination fully to support Europe in peace or war. Every time there's a suggestion, for instance, that American divisions will be withdrawn from Germany, German confidence -- and our influence -- slide back.

MURROW: (TO COME)

HERMAN: Part of the year we waned, -- towards the end we waxed. On the whole, I'd say that at the end of the year we look better than we did.

(MORE) ta

HERMAN: (CONT'D) Our prestige is up. The stories that came out of Pan Mun Jom and thereafter did a lot of good. Germ warfare died a fuzzy death. The death marches and tortures don't impress the Orientals as much as they did us, -- but they had an effect. President Eisenhower's atomic proposals were far more important. The people of Asia worship factories and machinery and useable power. The proposal to develop nuclear electric power for underdeveloped areas, -- and to Asians that means Asia, made an immediate hit. The struggle for Asia is really a struggle for mens minds, and this year we gained ground.

MURROW: (TO COME)

KENDRICK: Behind the Iron Curtain, American influence is not measured so much by what we say or do, as the picture of us drawn by Soviet propaganda. Well, that picture has been deliberately changed. The Iron Curtain is up a little. As part of their plan to look better to their own people, the Russians have allowed us to look a bit better. They are debating us now, instead of denouncing us, and though they always win debates -- in their own minds -- it's at least a two-sided affair instead of a Moscow monologue.

ta

MURROW: How do we look in the Middle East?

KENDRICK: Well, there American policy is a question mark, but Americans are a series of exclamation points. We look good in at least one respect. Our Point Four technicians, who have rolled up their sleeves and gone to work in villages and on native farms, built cisterns and dug irrigation ditches, are the best ambassadors we have.

MURROW: (TO COME)

SEVAREID: The government's influence abroad depends a good deal on its influence at home. With its own people, this administration's power of leading has waned a little, but not much. The president can win any showdown with the McCarthys or the isolationists if he really tries to. But there's been no really critical test of his leadership so far, because he hasn't tried to put over anything really unpalatable. Hasn't had to make any painful decision yet, such as going into a Korea, or a Greece or raising taxes.

MURROW: (TO COME)

ta

—What should we do—

SEVAREID: We do nothing, no matter what the desire for economy, that will threaten this western alliance. Breathing space or not, Russia shows every determination to separate the allies from the United States. If Mr. Dulles "agonizing re-appraisal" means abandoning direct continental defense to the extent of threatening the breakup of NATO, we just can't risk it. I don't think we will, even if the French don't come into the European army scheme. We are trying shock diplomatic tactics now, but they are only tactics.

But, nevertheless, Washington feels that in a very true sense the initiative now does rest with Europeans. There won't be any more heroic American rescue operations on the scale of the Marshall Plan. We've shoved and pushed for real European union, until we're at the point where more shoves from this side just seem to set things back. It's up to Europeans now. If they are already losing their bright image of European union and their own zest for it, then, in American eyes, a tragic, historic failure may be in the making; failure of the deepest of American desires: to us, this would imply frustration of the greatest possible meaning of the victory in world war two. To us, it would mean that sooner or later the old, old cycle of Europe's bloody quarrels would start up again.

ta

MURROW: (TO COME)

SCHOENBRUN: So far as France is concerned we had better just grin and bear it, I'm afraid, our exasperation with French hesitations and disorders is certainly justified. No on knows better than I how exasperating the French can be...I live there....and spend a good part of my time stuck in elevators and being chased up trees by French cars.

But France is the key to secruity of the free world on three continents. There's no defense of Europe possible without the French.

Africa will be lost if the French fail there.

Indo China is the gateway to strategic Southeast Asia, far more important than Korea.

So we ought to stop kidding ourselves about agonizing reappraisal...for all we'll get is the agony and not the reappraisal. We have no place to go but back to isolationism if we break our alliance with France.... and that would have disastrous consequences for our country.

MURROW: (TO COME)

ta

KENDRICK: The best thing we can do is refuse to become exasperated, either by the Russians or by our allies. We continue to test Russian intentions. We try to negotiate. We offer them proposals like the Eisenhower proposal for an atomic energy pool. That's our positive policy. But we also respond to any overtures they may make. We recognize that the best we can hope for is a modus vivendi and we make small arrangements, instead of seeking global settlements. We demand to see the evidence of Russia's good faith -- but we don't return an indictment until the evidence is in.

In the Middle East, more Point Four. And that would be a good place to start thinking about Point Five -- atomic energy for peacetime uses.

MURROW: (TO COME)

HERMAN: If we are going to cut costs and pull back our lines, as it now appears, then we've got to make sure the democratic strongpoints we leave behind us to face the enemy are truly strong. That means financial aid to make sure Japan doesn't go into a tailspin, and leave us undefended to the North.

(MORE) ta

HERMAN: (CONT'D) It means tact in India and the nearby states who follow her ideological leadership so we will have strong friends to the South. We must maintain our leadership in the struggle for the minds of the Asians, -- which means, in the struggle for peace and improved conditions. And that means more moves like the Eisenhower Atomic proposals. We must gently urge Japan and Korea together to cut our expenses and give them an economic life of their own. The key word is gentle pressure in right direction and no visible or overt force.

But this is all based on our policy of retrenchment -- which I am not convinced is right, --- altho it is apparently inevitable. Could I take a moment here to rebel, -- to register a dissent against an apparent historical trend?

MURROW: Go ahead, -- let's hear it. Hear hear, etc.

HERMAN: All this retrenchment, cost cutting, pulling back of divisions, etc., is based on the end of the Korean fighting and the idea that this means peace and relaxation. Last year around this same table we all said that was just what Stalin was counting on --- lulling us with peace.

(MORE)

ta

HERMAN: (CONT'D) In Hongkong a Chinese Nationalist gave me an entirely different view of the armistice. "You Americans baffle me," he said. "Here you have Red China bleeding White in Korea, dying for an armistice, -- must have one to preserve her very existence, -- willing to overlook even Syngman Rhee's provocations. And you Americans, dedicated to the overthrow of Communism in China, what do you do? You give her an armistice." There are lots of people, including Americans and American military men who agree with him. Eric called this a breathing space between two opponents. I say let's not use it to turn our backs, -- to relax, but realistically like a fighter struggling for his life. Let's use it to prepare for a consolidated built-up Communist China. She's going to be ready for the next round, -- are we?

MURROW: How about your earlier advice of gentle pressure.

HERMAN: That's a large part-perhaps a major part of our struggle. In Asia it's a battle for men's minds, -- and for their countries, -- we can't neglect either.

MURROW: (TO COME)

ta

HOTTELET: That is a very concret and topical question, Ed, one which the western foreign office face right now in preparing for the Berlin Conference three weeks from tomorrow.

Berlin will be the first face to face meeting with Molotov in more than six years. And it will be at least an open test of skill and strength.

The Kremlin has made clear its desire to cut Germany out of the Western camp and to drive a wedge between France and the West. The Russians have been promised the Germans national unity, a peace treaty and the status of a great power if they will join the Russian bloc. -- There offers are not even a faint temptation as long as Germany is secure inside the western family.

But Russia keeps waving the bloody shirt of German militarism, in the hope of frightening France and the others away, and keeping Germany a parish.

From Chancellor Adenauer down, thinking Germans believe one thing -- a Germany which is politically isolated from the West, -- or neutralized, -- will sooner or later be dragged into the Soviet orbit. France and Europe would surely follow.

(MORE) ta

HOTTELET: (CONT'D)

This Soviet strategy will be a real challenge to the West in Berlin. But the four power conference will also give our statesmen a chance to confront the Russians with a program of peace and security based on freedom, which the Kremlin would find hard to dodge. The meeting will show whether the Western coalition sees its opportunities clearly and is united enough to use them.

ta

MURROW: Howard Smith, speaking of positive plans for action ... what is the future in 1954 of Prime Minister Churchill's plan of 1953 for a top-level meeting with Malenkov?

SMITH: Not hopeful, Ed. The U. S. seems cold to the idea. The Russians have never in any utterance indicated any approval of such a meeting. Inside Britain, Churchill's own foreign office and his own cabinet are cool to it. In other times, Churchill might have considered this opposition merely as adding more spice to the challenge. But he has aged a great deal due to his illness last autumn. There are more rumors that he will retire in 1954 than that he will make an ad lib trip to Moscow.

MURROW: How do the British see the future, then? Do they have any alternatives to the Churchill proposal?

SMITH: Well, old-fashioned horse-drawn diplomacy is coming back in Britain. Big loud conferences and global solutions are going out. Early last month, British ambassador Hayter in Moscow was called in for a private chat with Malenkov. In London, Russian ambassador Malik was called in for a private chat with Churchill. No one knows what transpired at those little chats. (MORE)

mcw

SMITH: (CONT'D) No one took up any positions he would be unable to back down from due to fear of a bad press. That is the kind of method the British think may pay off in piecemeal agreements from now on. The type of thing to avoid is the Bermuda conference of last month, with 200 reporters present and every word spoken magnified to ten times normal size.

MURROW: You think the Bermuda conference was useless, then?

SMITH: Not entirely. I think one very important negative fact came out of it. Sir Winston Churchill, who called the conference, is no doubt the world's greatest statesman personally. But the conference proved that he cannot take over the lead of the west. The British base of his power is just not strong enough to enable him to carry the US and France along with him. Bermuda, by its absence of results, showed that if lead there is going to be for the west, that lead must come from the president of these United States.

mcw

Dear Ed - A great panel of faces & voices & minds you quarterbacked yesterday. A privilege & experience to have fellowship with them over the phone. You are thoughtful about me as I move this week into my 78th milestone. See you Feb:

Carl

Sandburg -

Special Program

CBS RADIO DIVISION

YEARS OF CRISIS

SUNDAY, JANUARY 1, 1956

5:05 - 6:00 PM

ANNOUNCER: YEARS OF CRISIS - 1955. At this time, CBS Radio presents the seventh annual year end report by CBS News correspondents, who have gathered in New York from their posts around the world. Eight members of this distinguished team of reporters are meeting today with Edward R. Murrow, to bring you this recorded analysis of the year's major news developments. Now, here is Mr. Murrow.

MURROW: Let's begin, gentlemen, with the question: What kind of year has it been? First, Bob Pierpoint, stationed in Tokyo, who is just back from a trip through Southeast Asia.

PIERPOINT: It's been a year of change, of awakening and of opportunity.

MURROW: Dick Hottelet - from West Germany.

HOTTELET: In Germany, fulfillment has been clouded by fear and frustration.

MURROW: David Schoenbrun - from Paris.

SCHOENBRUN: For the French, a year of terror in North Africa, and the end is not yet in sight.

MURROW: Eric Sevareid - the chief of our Washington Bureau.

SEVAREID: In America, a year of bigness in everything from business to basketball players, but not in doubts; the doubts were small.

MURROW: Howard Smith - our chief European correspondent, from London.

SMITH: In Britain, I suppose it's been a year of converting the nation from the stern cold war fortress of Churchill to what might be called the prosperous garden of Eden.

MURROW: Dan Schorr - from Moscow.

SCHORR: In the Soviet Union, a year of aggressive co-existence, the year when Kardanovich proclaimed "this is the century of communism."

MURROW: Alex Kendrick - from Africa.

KENDRICK: In most of Africa, a year of dawn. But in South Africa, a year of sunset.

MURROW: Bill Downs - from Rome and the Middle East.

DOWNS: In the eastern Mediterranean, and this has been the year of the hot grenade in the concrete kindergarten.

MURROW: Well, it would appear then, gentlemen, that we still live in a time of crisis. Do you find that the nature of this continuing crisis has changed? Dave Schoenbrun, how do you feel about this as you view it from Paris?

SCHOENBRUN: I feel the crisis has changed, in time and place and kind. In time, there's no longer the sense of immediacy, the ever-present fear of war, that characterized the last decade of history. In place, the crisis has shifted from Europe to the Middle East and Asia. Finally, it's a different kind of crisis. The Russians call it "competitive co-existence" - Mr. Dulles calls it "peaceful competition". So, apparently, the Americans and Russians do agree on one thing, the crisis has changed in form. But I would say that we could all agree that, fundamentally, it is still the ancient crisis of freedom versus tyranny.

MURROW: Eric Sevareid, how does it look to you in Washington?

SEVAREID: About as it looks today in Paris I think, Ed, but this is not only a struggle of iedologies, it's also an old fashioned power struggle for purely national ends. Russia has not yet balanced the air atomic equation; she has gone only two-thirds of the way. First, our advantage was in the supply of the weapon itself and she equalized that. Our next advantage was in the means of delivering the weapon. Judging by this year's reports on her long-range bombers, she's about to equalize that. Our last remaining advantage is in the location of the bases from which the weapon can be delivered. And Russia's immediate objective is to equalize that one. She can't get her bases out of Europe any time soon. She is trying to remove them from the Middle East. She's determined to break up the American-British alliance system now extending along her southern borders. She began that process with an end run; the arms deal with Egypt.

MURROW: Dan Schorr, what do you say, as some one who has just spent four months in Moscow?

SCHORR: In the Soviet Union, the big change is the recognition of an atomic stalemate, or the "senselessness of war" as Bulganin and Khrushchev have put it. The idea of inevitable war followed by inevitable victory of communism is out the window. Now it's recognized war might be followed by inevitable nothingness. And the Communist Party Congress, in February, the first since Stalin's death, will have to face up to that.

MURROW: Bob Pierpoint - what about the continuing crisis in Asia?

PIERPOINT: In a sense, the crisis in Asia, Ed, had become more of a standing threat now that the Communists have at least temporarily halted their military aggression. Only in the Formosa area is there still a shooting war. Elsewhere during this past year, the Reds switched their emphasis from the military to the political and economic. They've started a sales campaign. The Soviet Reds even sent their two super-salesmen, Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Bulganin, "old baldy and bulgy", as we call them in the Far East, to spread the good word of communism through India and Burma. It's the new soft line.

MURROW: Howard Smith, how would you explain these new tactics?

SMITH: Well, let me put it this way, Ed. I think we were on the road to war and both we and the Russians became afraid that war in the fusion bomb age would mean mutual annihilation so in 1955 we both tacitly agreed to turn off onto a new road, which might be called "struggle by all means other than war."

I think the Russians were not sure what our intentions were, so they paid some high prices in 1955 to get us to declare. They gave Austria her peace treaty; they abased themselves before the Yugoslavs; they cut some amiable capers in the presence of American reporters who reported this home and this affected public opinion. That public opinion enabled the President to reject his party's right-wing, which was opposed to negotiation, and persuaded the President to go to the Geneva summit talks and show by his behavior what the Russians wanted to know, that America very much wanted peace and could be counted on to remain peaceful unless militarily provoked. With that assurance, the Soviets proceeded to what is called the new phase of the conflict: courting Asian countries, spreading bad will propaganda. The new phase is troublesome but I think it's a decided change for the better.

MURROW: Well, some of you fellows have mentioned the phrase the "Geneva spirit." Whatever happened to the Geneva spirit, anyway? Hottelet!

fad

HOTTELET: The "Geneva spirit" was a fabulous piece of political ectoplasm. Howard has described how the Russians conjured it up: Austria, Belgrade, establishing relations with Adenauer's Germany, cutting the Soviet Army by 640,000 men and, finally, at the summit, swearing that they want peace as much as we do.

But what the Kremlin really wanted was a breathing spell. It wanted outer calm to cope with difficult internal problems, political, economic and military. Meanwhile, it wanted to hold its ground and soften up the West by getting Western recognition of the status quo. "Live and let live" is an appealing slogan. But it was designed to weaken Western resolve and kill the hopes of people in Communist hands. The Western Foreign Ministers, at Geneva, showed how phony it was.

MURROW: Bill Downs, what do you think happened to the Geneva spirit?

DOWNS: Well, I think that so-called spirit was only co-existence with a smile. Then when Molotov frowned, at the Foreign Ministers' conference, four months after the summit conference, the West for some reason felt hurt and disappointed. But the basic fact of co-existence as a substitute for war, has not changed in Geneva or anywhere else.

MURROW: Howard Smith, that summit meeting produced a lot of high hopes. What do you think went wrong?

SMITH: Well, the spirit of cordiality that was so obvious there, that was visible there, was simply not followed up by either side, I think, Ed. We know that the Russians refused to come closer to us by yielding vital interests like their hold on East Germany. We found that they were still afraid to let their people have too much free contact with Western people. In the very marathon of conferences on disarament they proved that they still wanted to make propaganda on that subject, but there was still no basis of trust on which to construct any real agreement to disarm.

We know all these things. But what we tend to overlook I think is that we, too, did nothing to develop the spirit. We continued, for example, to build military bases on Russia's frontier, in Iran, for example. I think it's a little misleading of us to blame the Russians entirely for the failure of the Geneva spirit.

I would say that the basic truth probably is, in present circumstances, a spirit of friendship between us is out of the question. The Geneva spirit really had no foundation. I would like to emphasize, however, that I believe the Geneva summit talks did radically change the terms of the world argument from war to less dangerous methods and I think that was an achievement.

fd

MURROW: Alex Kendrick, what do you think was achieved by the Geneva meetings?

KENDRICK: Well, don't forget there were three Geneva conferences this year, not two, and it may be that the middle one turns out to be the most important. That was the one devoted to the peaceful uses of atomic energy, based on the exchange of information and the re-establishment of scientific relations between East and West. Now this was done on a limited scale, but, nevertheless, it was done. And it's too early to say to what degree this liaison is being maintained. But I think an important step has been taken in the realm of competitive co-existence. The three Geneva conferences, two political and one scientific, cancelled out the atom and started East-West competition on a new basis. I think that's what the Geneva spirit really means and I think it's still around and likely to be so for some time.

MURROW: Well, Dan Schorr, from your base of operations, in Moscow, what did the Russian people think about the Geneva spirit?

SCHORR: Well, (indistinct) the Russian man on the street isn't aware of any change in climate since the Geneva Foreign Ministers' conference. I think we've misunderstood what the Soviets meant by the Geneva spirit. To them it meant a standoff among the atomic powers to allow them to pursue their aims without fear of a general war. But the trouble they've been stirring up in Asia and Africa, well, that's just their idea of competitive co-existence. When President Eisenhower talks of freedom for satellite states, Khrushchev gets mad because under their idea of Geneva spirit - or let's say the Moscow spirit - we're supposed to accept the status quo in Europe. In a word, we're not supposed to rock their boat, while they're trying to rock ours. That's their idea of co-existence.

MURROW: Bob Pierpoint, what about the Geneva spirit in Asia?

PIERPOINT: The new Communist approach during the past year - and that's what I think we're all really talking about here, Ed - it emerged in Asia at Bandong, even before the first Geneva conference. Delegates from twenty-nine different African and Asian nations met in April, at Bandong, Indonesia, to discuss the problems and the ambitions of the world's colored peoples, the non-whites. It was the first time in history that a strictly racial conference of this scope has ever been attempted. Well over half the population of the world was represented. It was the Afro-Asian conference at Bandong that gave the Communists the opportunity to peddle this thing we call the Geneva spirit, the five principles of co-existence, the peaceful friendly line. The sort of naive faith that the Communists sold at Bandong is still going very well. I'd say, Ed, that the hopes inspired by Bandong and Geneva are far from dead in Asia.

fad

MURROW: Well, the Geneva spirit would seem to be a much livelier ghost in the Soviet Union and in Asia than it is in the West.

Now, let's try to find out what you gentlemen think was the single most significant change in your area during 1955. Kendrick, what did you observe in Africa?

KENDRICK: The most significant change in Africa, in 1955, was the unilateral declaration by the Sudan. The Sudanese just couldn't wait to go through the prescribed constitutional process. And this urge to get rid of Colonialism or "can't wait basis" is spreading through Africa.

MURROW: Howard Smith!

SMITH: I think probably the main change in Britain was the one that took place in Princess Margaret's mind.

MURROW: Now, like everything else in Britain, that was a gradual change, wasn't it? (laughter)

Hottelet!

HOTTELET: West Germany became a sovereign nation. It put aside the cushions and crutches of Allied occupation and went ahead on its own. Adenauer's Germany now has complete freedom of choice, and unlike Princess Margaret, it has not changed its mind. It's still carrying its full share of responsibility in the Western alliance and it feels the full force of Communist pressure.

MURROW: Pierpoint, what was the most important thing that happened in Asia?

PIERPOINT: Perhaps it was the realization, partly inspired by that Bandong conference, again, that Asians as a people are a powerful force in the world today. The men who met at Bandong are now fully aware that when they get together they make up the largest share of the world's population. And this realization of their potential has given them added and needed confidence. Asians are becoming increasingly aware that not only can they throw off the domination of the white colonials and successfully rule themselves, but even that they can grow industrially and militarily strong. Today the people of Asia are beginning to understand that it's not only the Westerner who can be rich and powerful.

MURROW: Dan Schorr, what about the Soviet Union?

fad

SCHORR: Well, there the most significant change was the opening of windows on the West and the way the Russians have flocked to those windows for a breath of fresh air. It's now officially permitted, in fact almost compulsory since things that are not prohibited there are compulsory, to note American superiority in some technical fields. Russians are meeting a few Americans. And there's an explosion of enthusiasm about the whole West as though they were starved for these contacts. Last week I saw members of the "Porgy and Bess" company almost mobbed by admirers on the streets of Leningrad. And the whole Soviet world of ardent culture is breaking through the old Stalinist crust, groping for new freedoms. All this may go further and faster than the rulers intended. The thaw has already reached the point where even now it would take some grave international crisis to turn it off.

MURROW: Bill Downs, what's the single most important thing that happened in your area?

DOWNS: Well, out in right field in the eastern Mediterranean, I'm sure it's the new conditions created by the Communist arms sale to Egypt. This not only represents a Russian foothold in the Middle East, but also reveals a new pattern of foreign economic policy now being employed by the Soviet bloc.

In fact, probably of more importance than the sale of Stalin tanks and MIG jets to the Egyptians, is the Russian offer to finance the high dam on the Nile. Well, as of now, the revolutionary government of Premier Nasser has not chosen to further mortgage its future to the Communists. But it would appear that the Russians are now embarking on their own brand of foreign economic aid to win alliances and support among the uncommitted peoples of the world. It's a challenging Moscow Marshall Plan.

MURROW: Eric Sevareid!

SEVAREID: Well, Ed, of course, the President's heart attack... but in connection with that, the start of, I think, a great change in the institution of the Presidency toward trimming its responsibilities to manageable size, which might soon take at least statutory form.

MURROW: And, Dave Schoenbrun, from Paris!

SCHOENBRUN: I think the social revolution began in France this year, almost unnoticed. The nationalized Renault Automobile Company offered its workers a guaranteed wage increase if they helped to increase production. The Communist unions rejected the offer as a capitalist trick, a speed-up system. But the workers accepted it.

(MORE)

fad

SCHOENBRUN: (CTD) They forced their Communist labor leaders to endorse the contracts. This has been a severe setback to Communism for it means that the French workers no longer believe a basic Marxist axiom, the inevitable pauperization of the working class in capitalist society; or, translated, simply, that the bosses just won't share increased profits with the workers. This, I think, has been a direct result of an American example, which was the granting of a guaranteed annual wage to the auto workers. It opened up the eyes of the French workers and, I think, it blackened the eyes of the Communists.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, unrest exists in great areas of the world. There's been something of a disposition, I think, to credit this to communism. But much of it, I suspect, may be a natural reaction to colonialism. Would you fellows care to comment on that? Will you start, Pierpoint?

PIERPOINT: Colonialism still exists as a burning issue in the minds of millions of Asian peoples, Ed, peoples who've won freedom only in the recent past. It exists because they cannot quickly forget the indignities and the frustrations of colonial rule and because they simply don't trust the white man.

The question that bothers me is whether it's really necessary for America to stay neutral on this problem of colonialism. In Asia, people say bitterly that America refuses to oppose colonialism any more because it may hurt our relations with NATO allies. What about this, is it true?

SEVAREID: No, I don't think so, Bob. Our allies are not in NATO merely to please us. They're in the alliance for their own survival and I don't think we need support their colonial rule just to keep them as allies.

MURROW: Alex Kendrick, what about colonialism in Africa?

KENDRICK: It's a hundred years old there, and in one form or another it may survive in some places for a good while to come. But this year I think its death knell was heard. The Sudan took its own independence, and there was nobody to say no. After keeping him in exile for two years, the British were compelled to let the Kabaka, the tribal ruler, come back to Uganda in order to keep their slight grip there. A major event is about to occur in Kenya. The Black Man will be given the vote. Nigeria and the Gold Coast, long time British colonies, should be getting their independence in 1956. And the interesting thing is that all this, Africa busting out all over, has taken place without any reference to the cold war. Colonialism is not being ended by the power and assistance of international communism, as Khrushchev and Bulganin boasted just the other day. But it's by the deep-seated natural instincts on the one hand and the acceptance of inevitability on the other.

fd

MURROW: Well, of course, you don't mean to imply that the Communists are not interested in Africa, Alex.

KENDRICK: No, not at all, Ed, because as colonies become independent, their first reaction is to be over-independent and to avoid East-West complications by staying neutral - and that the Communists would like. The uncommitted nations that Khrushchev and Bulganin are wooing lie in Africa as much as in Asia. The Bandong conference was as much African as Asian. But it's easy to blame unpalatable developments on communism - and I think we make that mistake most often in Africa. In the first place, the ending of colonialism should not be unpalatable for us; and in the second place, there's no credit to communism there. African nationalism owes less to Marx than to Woodrow Wilson; and even Mau Mau was the result of a London and not a Moscow education.

MURROW: Dave Schoenbrun, you recently visited North Africa. What's the outlook there?

SCHOENBRUN: Great crisis ahead, Ed, but for the first time, I think, some hope. Slowly, painfully, with mental reservations, but irrevocably, France is coming to terms with North African nationalism. Home-rule was granted to Tunisia this spring, and now nothing can stop Tunisia's evolution to complete independence whether the French grant it or not. The same is true for Morocco. I was there a few weeks ago and saw the Sultan restored to his throne and an independent government set up. Now, this didn't bring peace overnight, of course. The French are still paying a price in blood for years of oppression, but the turning point has been passed and hope is ahead - except in one place: Algeria. The crisis there is desperate. The French made Algeria part of France in law but not in fact. Almost one million French settlers are an oasis of wealth and privilege in a desert of misery for eight million Arabs and Berbers. I don't know how they can resolve this built-in conflict between two such huge and almost irreconcilable masses. But I am sure of this: Algeria, too, means to be and will be free.

MURROW: Howard Smith, the British have had a lot of experience with colonialism and have liquidated most of their empire. What's the future as viewed from London?

SMITH: Well, there's a casebook example of some people giving the Communists credit they don't deserve - and that, I'm afraid, is Britain's handling of the Cyprus question. It's a case of pure British bungling, with no assists from any other quarter.

MURROW: Eric Sevareid, on this issue of colonialism, does it seem to you that our country is stepping a bit out of its traditional character?

fad

SEVAREID: I think it is, Ed. We have a 180-year-old tradition of very vigorously opposing colonialism, because we were a colony. I think we're downgrading this tradition now, maybe not in our words -- there are still a lot of words about this -- but in our acts or our non-acts. The reasons are rather obvious: our chief allies happen to be colonial powers and also, I think, because apparently we do not dare to appear to be on the same side of any question with the Communists. But I don't know, Ed, maybe it's not so important. To judge by what these boys have been saying, colonialism seems to be liquidating itself.

MURROW: Well, Dick Hottelet, what about the Soviet-style colonialism?

HOTTELET: That is not liquidating itself. You know the hypocrisy with which the Russians have capitalized on colonialism is nothing short of staggering. It's they who've brought a new, 20th century brand of colonialism into world history. The satellites of Eastern Europe are Soviet colonies. They're exploited for Russia's profit, moulded on the Soviet pattern, and for them there's little present hope of liberation. Look at East Germany! The whole economy is geared to the Soviet Five Year Plan. Moscow sets the terms of trade and gets the gravy; the people live in poverty. Collective farms are taking over agriculture; the middle class and the little business man are being wiped out; opposition is destroyed; only the Communist bosses are sitting pretty. That's Russian colonialism for you!

KENDRICK: Yes. And don't forget, Dick, about Soviet central Asia: Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan.

MURROW: Well, certainly Russia practices colonialism. The United States often merely abstains. All right, fellows, what's the best thing we did in your area last year? Let's start with Sevareid.

SEVAREID: Let's see! We sent the Salk vaccine abroad and we kept Cohn and Schine at home.

MURROW: Bill Downs?

DOWNS: Well, we set up a program to share the atom instead of only threatening to drop it.

SCHOENBRUN: I think that we did a good thing to bring the Comedie Francaise from Paris to New York. News that their national theatre company was a box office hit on Broadway boosted French morale and it helped them love us just a little more because we loved what was best in them.

fad

HOTTELET: The best thing the United States has done in Germany this year is to continue radiating economic and political strength. This country is still the most important stabilizing force in Europe.

PIERPOINT: Frankly, I'd say that about the best thing we did in the Far East was when the State Department brought the Symphony of the Air Orchestra out. They made a tremendous hit. On a political level, we seem to have made a smart move in strongly backing President Diem in Indochina. Despite the prophecies of all the doom-criers, my colleagues and myself, President Diem has performed a near-miracle this year in South Vietnam.

SCHORR: In the Soviet Union the best thing we did was to exchange farmers and engineers and newsmen, to lift passport restrictions on travel to Russia, to send a company like "Porgy and Bess"; in a word, to blow a little fresh air into the window they opened.

SMITH: Well, so far as the British are concerned, I think possibly the best thing was the meeting in Geneva on the ambassadors' level between the United States and the Red Chinese. Red China, as you know, is the only important issue dividing Britain and America now - and that meeting, plus the decline of tension over Formosa, has contributed to make this the year, I think, of the least anti-American feeling in Britain since the war.

KENDRICK: The best thing we did in Africa on the moral plane was to outlaw segregation in our own country, and on the practical plane our decision to help finance the Egyptian high dam project, even though it was on a late, limited and grudging basis.

MURROW: Well now, gentlemen, those are some of the good things we did. What, from your vantage points, were some of the worst things we did? Smith?

SMITH: Well, commercial television opened in Britain in 1955. Ed, and I have heard it said that perhaps the worst thing the U. S. has done to Britain has been Liberace at 3:00 P.M. every Sunday.

MURROW: Well, but that was a free and voluntary decision on their part, wasn't it?

SMITH: Yes. (laughter)

fad

KENDRICK: In Africa the worst thing we did was to keep equivocating on the colonial issue in the U.N. But on a personal level, the stupidest thing Americans have done in Africa this year was to start an American club in Addis Ababa which does not allow Ethiopians in - the only example of segregation in the whole country, and it's somebody's else's country.

SEVAREID: Well, I'd say that Americans suffered a rather distressing loss of prestige inside the United Nations by a fumbling and switching on the big question of the new memberships, above all. So we find ourselves abstaining on votes, a rather footless position for a great power, and as a result we no longer enjoy an automatic majority.

SCHOENBRUN: Well, in France ... I don't think I can really think of anything. It's been an excellent year in French-American relations and no major frictions to report.

HOTTELET: What shook the Germans most this year, albeit only temporarily was the apparent effect of the Geneva spirit on the United States. The Germans are secretly just as much afraid that we'll sell them out to the Russians as we are that they'll make a deal with Moscow. Illusions like the Geneva spirit gave them the creeps.

SCHOENBRUN: They've given us some creeps in the past...?

PIERPOINT: In my opinion, the worst thing we did in Asia this past year was to evacuate Chiang-Kai-shek's troops from the Tachen Islands. And the second worst thing was not to evacuate them from Matsu and Quemoy. This may sound like double-talk. But what I mean is this: by encouraging the Nationalists to defend these islands at first and then by pulling the Nationalist troops off as soon as the Reds start putting on the pressure, we play directly into the hands of Chinese Communist propaganda.

DOWNS: Do you mind running through that again? (laughter)

KENDRICK: To my mind, the worst thing we did in the Soviet Union was to refuse to go in for free trade. I think if there's any hope of mellowing the Russians, it's only by insuring they have some more of the good things of life.

DOWNS: How would you mellow a Russian?

SMITH: That sounds a little like mellowing an enemy by refusing to shoot at him and getting him unaccustomed to being shot at.

fad

HOTTELET: I think Dan believes that candy is candy and liquor is quicker.

KENDRICK: Well, candy and liquor are fine. But I found that the Russians are crazy about American gadgets.

DOWNS: Well, in Italy, gentlemen, (interruption)...

SCHOENBRUN: That'll unmellow them. (laughter)

DOWNS: In Italy, I submit that our biggest failure was that of not importing Gina Lollobrigida.

MURROW: I'll speak to Foster about that! (laughter) Well, gentlemen, you may now relax. We've come to that point, in our recorded program, when I am required to say - we will be back in thirty seconds, after a pause for station identification.

ANNOUNCER: This is the CBS . RADIO NETWORK.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, for the most part we've been threshing around here with some rather weighty subjects to the best of our ability, but let's look at some of the smaller insignificant things you've noticed.

Dick Hottelet, what did you see in West Germany that reminds you of home?

HOTTELET: I'd say Coca Cola, laundromats, public relations and the installment plan.

KENDRICK: The biggest American soda fountain in all Africa, in fact, I think the only one, has been opened in Khartoum.

SCHOENBRUN: Well, in Paris I've seen two American innovations, self-service in restaurants and a strip tease act in night clubs and I've seen Parisians behaving in the latter as though they were in the former.

SPEAKER: Uh-huh.

DOWNS: Well, the land of the lasagna last year - they began manufacturing corn flakes and cocktail crackers.

SPEAKER: I'll still take lasagna. (laughter)

SCHORR: In the Soviet Union, the first American-style night club; young people listening to American jazz on the Voice of America.

fad

PIERPOINT: The Japanese built a television tower on top of Mount Fuji.

SPEAKER: Didn't they used to jump off it?

PIERPOINT: They still do!

MURROW: Moscow claims that Communism is still on the march, and will ultimately win the world struggle. Let's see what's happening to Communism outside the Soviet Union. Italy has the largest Communist Party outside the Soviet Union, and you cover Italy, what's been happening there, Bill?

DOWNS: Well, I think the picture not only in Italy, Ed, but in Western Europe is generally good. Would you agree, Howard and Dave?

SMITH: Absolutely!

SCHOENBRUN: Oh yes!

DOWNS: Well, there've been no definitive popular elections in Italy, but in the major factories, such as Fiat, there's been a sharp decline in Communist union strength. The Sicilian elections also showed a decline in the Communist vote, but a corresponding increase in the fellow-travelling Socialist vote. In other words, the strength of the Left has not declined but there are signs that the workers and intellectuals are getting sick of the vacillations of Marxist dogma.

MURROW: Alex, what inroads have the Communists been able to make in Africa?

KENDRICK: So far, they've been able to make some economic penetration. The Czechs and the East Germans, especially, are doing lots of business. The Czechs sold out their exhibit of cheap consumer goods at the Addis Ababa Fair. But then why not? The American exhibit consisted mainly of a Ford Thunderbird, thirty-six hundred bucks!

MURROW: Dan Schorr, what would you say about communism in Russia?

SCHORR: Well, in the GHQ of communism they're apparently getting ready for another shift in tactics. There's new emphasis on expanding of the Communist Party. That's reversing the Stalin-Beria policy of a small hard core of trustworthy members. Membership in the party is going up and more people will be recruited.

(MORE)

fad

SCHORR: (CTD) Outside Russia, perhaps as a reaction to what's been described by Bill Downs, the popular front is going to be given another whirl. And one of the most significant things was Khrushchev's recent offer of cooperation with the Norwegian Socialist Party, bypassing the Norwegian Communists. Communist parties abroad may be given greater independence of action. But if you think the Soviets are ditching the Communist Party for good, just remember this: At a Kremlin reception a few weeks ago, Khrushchev told two French Communists "Every year we gain is a promise for the future."

MURROW: Well, there are certainly -- and I think we would all agree -- three obvious danger points: one in Berlin, the other the conflict between Israel and the neighboring Arab States, and the third around Formosa. Let's examine those briefly. Will you start off, Hottelet, with Berlin?

HOTTELET: The tension in Berlin is terrific - and Berlin is only one part of the continuing bitter contest for all Germany. The Russians are using every device to pull Germany out of the Western camp. They know as well as we do that Germany is the keystone of Western security in Europe. They're tempting the Germans with neutralism and the promise of markets in the East. They whisper in the dark and they shout in propaganda - and when deceit gets nowhere, the Soviets resort to open blackmail. They sold Adenauer ten thousand prisoners in return for diplomatic relations. The means keep changing, the struggle and the danger never stop.

MURROW: Bill Downs, you've just made a trip through the Middle East. What about the Arab-Israeli powder keg?

DOWNS: The critical time for Israel will be the spring. It's reported that important amounts of the new Communist arms being delivered to Egypt are going into training centers north of the Suez, and this forms a tempting prize for Israel's army if that nation feels that it must try to invoke a settlement by force. However, there is a school of diplomatic thought that says war is not made inevitable because of the Communist arms sale, that Premier Nasser has gained so much prestige and strength that he can now manoeuvre diplomatically, possibly even make a settlement of some kind with Israel. The Israeli dilemma is whether to place their hopes on diplomacy, thereby losing valuable time and possibly their military superiority, or to move while they feel that they can win. On both sides of the line I found no popular desire to go to war. But if the hope of settlement ever disappears in the Middle East, then watch out!

MURROW: Bob Pierpoint, what are the particular danger points in the Far East?

fad

PIERPOINT: Just one, Ed. If the Communists attack Matsu and Quemoy this spring, as it looks like they may do, war could spread to Formosa and beyond.

MURROW: And it could also be reopened in Korea, couldn't it?

PIERPOINT: It might be - but we certainly hope not.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, let's examine now a problem that is perhaps best described as being below the surface. What undercurrents have you observed as you've wandered about in your areas that have particularly affected the lives of the people, things that have not made big banner headlines but which nevertheless have been significant in the life of the countries where you're stationed? Kendrick, what's happening in the African countries?

KENDRICK: Every country in Africa is different. There are forty-odd countries and almost as many kinds of colonialism, almost as many kinds of nationalism. But there is a definite pattern to the main current beneath the surface. In order to develop the natural resources of the Continent the white man has had to educate the native to new skills. The native gets improved living standards; the death rate from disease goes down; the native becomes more prosperous; he demands more education, and more education means more nationalism, more urge to govern himself. So the white man starts out as boss and ends up lucky to be partner. And, frankly, there are not many people in Africa who are sorry. For independence is just as magic a word there in 1956 as it was here in 1776.

MURROW: Hottelet, what about the ground swells in Germany?

HOTTELET: In Germany you begin to see the contours of a new society. High prosperity and political stability have given more people something to defend, have made them more conservative in the good sense. The old social extremes, the arrogant aristocracy and the militant Marxist proletariat, are being whittled away. A new, larger middle-class is taking shape - and it's a middle-class such as Germany has never had in all its history. In Parliament it is now exercising political leadership with growing self-assurance.

MURROW: Wouldn't you say, Schoenbrun, that French society is undergoing a somewhat similar change?

SCHOENBRUN: Exactly the same thing, Ed - a vigorous comeback of the democratic middle-classes in France. And I think this will be the big story to emerge from tomorrow's national elections there. The democratic parties will win at least two-thirds of the votes.

(MORE)

fad

SCHOENBRUN: (CTD) And when all the returns are in, I think we'll find two big democratic blocs on top: the non-communist Left of Mendes-France and the non-fascist Right of Antoine Pinay and Edgar Faure. Neither one, I fear, will win an absolute majority; so there's no immediate prospect of stable government in France, but the trend is towards larger, more cohesive and democratic blocs. That's quite a difference from 1951, when the Gaullists and Communists were crushing a weak and frightened Center and when democracy seemed doomed to die in France.

MURROW: Howard Smith, what sort of social weather vane do you observe in Britain?

SMITH: I suppose this is as important as anything else, that a London borough, after fifty years, renamed a local club from the Workingmen's Association to the Community Center. That, I think, adequately indicates the steady elevation of the Western worker into the stratum of the great middle-classes in these years of prosperity. I don't know whether it fits your question, Ed, but another thing: all the color has gone out from Parliament since Winston Churchill retired, and reporting in London has become a much less rich experience than it was.

MURROW: I'm sure all of us who have had that experience would agree with you, Howard.

Pierpoint, what about the basic change in Asia?

PIERPOINT: In Asia, Ed, as in Alex's Africa, many nations, many currents. But one thing is becoming increasingly evident - the fact that Asians as a people really desire the material riches of Western civilization. It's easy to say that the average Asian rice farmer must be perfectly content if he can provide himself and his family with enough food to eat and enough clothes to wear and a decent place to live. That's a cliche - and it just isn't true any more, if it ever was. Today Asians see all our bright, shiny goods in our movies and in their own newspapers and magazines, and they don't see why we should be the only people to have them.

MURROW: Dan Schorr, would you say there is a restlessness in Russia?

SCHORR: Oh, I don't know if you'd call it restlessness in Russia, but there is something, Ed. It's especially among the younger generation, who seem to be getting a little bored with theoretical Communism. They're even starting to tell jokes against their regime.

(MORE)

fad

SCHORR: (CTD) This one may not be very funny or very new, but it is being told at Moscow University. Someone says, "You know, Adam and Eve were Russians". And when you ask how that could be, the answer is: "There's absolute proof. You see, they shared an apple between them, they had no clothes, and they thought they were living in Paradise."

SPEAKER: No, it isn't new anyway. (laughter)

SCHORR: Now, don't get me wrong. I don't say there's widespread dissension.- There isn't. But there is a generation maturing to whom the Revolution is just something they read about, to whom ideological teachings are a bit boring. These young people are not disaffected - they're just unaffected.

MURROW: Well, Eric Sevareid, what about our own society?

SEVAREID: Ed, I really think we're changing very rapidly, in our minds and in our matter. There's a certain swing away from preoccupation with great international themes and issues and toward a preoccupation with our personal, family, community problems, our health, our juveniles, our neuroses, our cars, gadgets and sports. The television ratings show this, so do the new emphases in big magazines and papers. We're interested in the problems and the opportunities of our wealth and leisure. We seem to be in a period, at least superficially, like the Twenties. And in physical and economic terms the change is rather breath-taking. It's a new country, just in the last ten or fifteen years. Bigness is everything. The old family-sized farm is disappearing; the over-all profits of big business grow, while those of small business shrink; the number of mergers is incredible; hundreds of corporate mergers this year in manufacturing and mining alone; hundreds of bank mergers; even labor has merged into a giant semi-monopoly. But there are fewer individual business titans with great personal power, as we used to have, because ownership is being more widely spread, including a lot of employee ownership. I think, all in all, Ed, that we're tending to become smaller individual cogs in bigger mass machines. Now, the material result, of course, is fabulous. We seem to have truly discovered the Midas touch. The question is: Do we pay a price in moral and intellectual terms as we more and more work and think and dress alike, as big government, big press, big business tend toward a kind of coalescing? Are we losing our individuality, our moral toughness, our courage to think and speak differently? One American puts it this way; he says, "it's like great, jagged mountain peaks melting down into one vast level molten mass."

MURROW: I wish I had said that - because I believe it to be true, Eric.

fad

SEVAREID: Well, I rather do, too, Ed. And it seems to me the great question now for our country is whether this is the way to strength and to world leadership or the way to some kind of terrible ultimate weakness.

MURROW: And these, you think, are the real national issues for this country today?

SEVAREID: I do.

MURROW: Bill Downs?

DOWNS: At the beginning of the show I said that this past year was the year of the concrete kindergarten. Well, it was reinforced concrete. I discovered that building on an Israeli collective farm on the Gaza border. The settlement needed a new kindergarten - birth rate was up. But government specifications just about have wrecked the economy of that farm because of that kindergarten. It was ordered that the kindergarten be made of reinforced concrete, in order to protect the children from mortars and shells. And on the other side of the Gaza border, there now are a third generation of Arab refugees who don't have any kindergarten at all.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, could we examine for a moment ultimate objectives? What do we want and what do the forces of Communism want? First, Eric, what do you think we want?

SEVAREID: I think, Ed, we want what we have always wanted - and that is a genuine peace, a world tranquility. A great, rich country always wants peace. It doesn't want real change. But we'll settle, I think, for a reasonable non-atomic facsimile; and I believe that this means that, in truth, we will settle for a world that is part free and part slave, as long as the slavery is not extended. You might call that the Missouri Compromise on a world scale. We never, of course, say this, but I think it's really the fact of the matter. At Geneva, at the summit meeting, the President wasted no more time than the simple decencies required talking about freedom for the satellites, for example, then dropped the subject. I think we ought to face it - we're not going to do anything overt about those satellites or about the Communist possession of China; we're not going to go out of our way to help the colonial people get their independence. I have the feeling that we're drawing away, in everything but our words, from a tradition that goes all the way from the Declaration of Independence to the Korean intervention. But I am not saying that this is wrong or evil.

(MORE)

fad

SEVAREID: (CTD) I suspect it's inevitable, part of the price of great responsibility for human lives in a hydrogen world. It always seems to me it's a little like an individual who grows to middle age and finds that he has to come to terms with life. Perhaps America has come of age. Age always brings some disillusionment and some compromise.

MURROW: Dan, what about the ultimate objectives of the Russians?

SCHORR: Well, I think the Russians want something quite different. I think that the Soviet Union could not afford to admit that it has come of age, even if it were true - and it's not true. What the Communists want is still Communism. First of all, they want to be assured of peace, so they can bill Communism in their own country; and then they want to see it spread, or make it spread, although they are now reconciled to a longer haul than they originally contemplated. Khrushchev has said in effect: Let's fight it out with production, with propaganda, with everything but war, and then let's see who wins. Karganov had said in November that Communism travels without passports or fingerprints. Seeing the Soviet leaders at close range, you get the impression that they're supremely confident, an opinion that is shared by diplomats of long experience in Moscow. Their confidence may or may not be well-founded, but they're prepared to act on it. Furthermore, I think they have to act on it, they have to push ahead in order to rekindle the flagging revolutionary spirit.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, if this competition is to go on, if this grinding, wearing process is to go on and on, always in the shadow of the possibility of mutual annihilation, what must we do to be saved or, more particularly, what must we do as a nation in order to compete successfully with the Communist world? Kendrick, what do you say?

KENDRICK: Obviously, the best way for us to compete in colonial Africa is to remember that we used to be a colony ourselves and to give moral, political and financial encouragement to the idea of independence in Africa, no matter how many of our colonial allies may be offended. The Russians certainly use the anti-colonial theme to a high degree in their propaganda and we were able to do that once also. But I think American sympathies are instinctively on the side of self-determination in Africa, but we have sometimes let short-term political expediency confuse and divert us. Our reputation on the Dark Continent this year has been dark, too, but we can still redeem ourselves.

MURROW: Dick Hottelet?

fad

HOTTELET: Well, I think that in Germany we have a concrete example. There, we have so far competed successfully with the Russians; we're away from theory. The most important thing we have done in Germany has been to help kindle and feed a desire for freedom. This has made the Germans highly resistant, if not impervious, to Communist and Fascist pressure. What we've done is to tie Germany to the West with every bond of legitimate self-interest. The German people have prodigious vitality, and we've given them a wholesome outlet for it. Economically we've given them the satisfaction of working hard and the profit of enriching themselves. Politically we've given Germany the influence and responsibility which is due a great nation in the councils of the Western world. Our policy has made Germany a genuine ally and it's imbued the defense treaties, which might otherwise have been empty and meaningless hulks, with a spirit of solidarity. This is a practical precedent that might have come unconsciously, but we might do well to apply it elsewhere.

MURROW: Dave Schoenbrun, what do you think we must do in order to compete successfully?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, I think first of all we must keep strong. We must continue to give support to the North Atlantic Alliance, not forgetting that it was the fact that this alliance created a military stalemate in the heart of Europe that made the Russians shift their tactics and the place of their attack to their new challenge. And I think we should accept this new challenge with confidence, in fact with joy. For if the Russians really want to compete with us policitally and economically rather than militarily, then this is exactly what we are best equipped to do, or say we are. Our democratic way of life is surely richer in spirit and resources than the communist, so why don't we export it? We could build bigger and better dams for the Egyptians than the Russians can; we can buy more rice from the Burmese and we can give it to the hungry Indonesians, and we can give it without political strings tied onto the rice bags. When people are forced to sign a military pact or something like that just in order to eat, then everything they swallow tastes like crow. With their rice, too, I suspect, they want something else. They want respect perhaps even more than they want rice. This may be a gamble; it may be a gamble to offer aid to people who won't join our team, people who want to be neutral, but I suspect it's the kind of gamble we're going to have to take as this new Soviet challenge grows.

MURROW: Dan Schorr, from your position in Moscow, what do you think this nation must do in order to compete successfully?

fad

SCHORR: I'd like to see the gamble that David talked about carried even further; I'd like to see it carried to the home grounds of the Soviet Union, because just as they're convinced that their system will stand the ultimate test against capitalism, so am I convinced that we can beat them. And I mean in Russia. I think democracy can also travel. I think we should seize every opportunity to penetrate Soviet Russia with trade, with travelers and with ideas. I think the more the Russians are exposed to Americans and to other Westerners, the more we can implant a certain kind of doubt in their minds about their system. Because, you know, despite all their talk about exchanges, the Russians so far are sending only picked delegations abroad, and in Moscow some of us have the impression that they don't dare to let their people travel freely. Yet they say Americans can go to Russia. Well, I would like to see a lot of Americans try to go and get there, as many as possible. I should like them to see Russians on their home grounds and talk to them and see what effect that has on them. Incidentally, I'd like some company. (laughter)

MURROW: Bill Downs, what do you think our nation must do in order to compete successfully?

DOWNS: Well, despite all of this excellent advice being handed out here, I think this question is going to be settled among the American people. I think we've got to make up our mind if we really want to compete. We've lost, or appear to be losing, the international title as the greatest revolutionary power in the world and we seem to be losing it to a revolutionary form of totalitarianism. We might be getting so fat and happy that maybe we're not interested any longer in the title; and, being so tremendously successful, maybe the American revolution really is over. Most of the people in my part of the world don't think so. But if it is true and we let the championship go by default, we know who's going to pick up the gloves and, who knows, we might at some future time have to revolt again - this time against the commissars.

MURROW: Howard Smith, as our chief European correspondent, how do you see this?

SMITH: Well, Ed, I think there are two general things for this generation to worry about in the realm of international affairs we're talking about. First, what may happen to Germany in the wooing and pressures she is to be subjected to by the Russians from now on; and, second, how far Russia may succeed in courting the uncommitted Asian and Near Eastern nations, which she's begun.

(MORE)

fad

SMITH: (CTD) In regard to the first of these threats, that in Germany, the answer seems to me to be what it always was: we must do all we possibly can to urge the creation of European unity. Once Germany is imbedded in a United States of Europe as solidly as, say, California is in the United States of America, our fear of Germany going neutralist or pro-Russian will be over. In the uncommitted countries a big increase in monetary aid is obviously called for. I think we should not be too worried about Russia offering help also. Economic aid tends to reinforce whatever system prevails in a country, and if Russia wants to help reinforce non-Communist governments I think we should encourage her in this praiseworthy endeavor. We should do so to the extent of ourselves offering very large amounts to, say, India on condition that Russia will match the amount. The United Nations could administer it. I think it would be good for our Asian friends and acquaintances to hear Russia's answer to a proposal of this kind. I think we would soon be much less concerned about bad-will tours of those countries by Bulganin and Khrushchev.

MURROW: Bob Pierpoint, as you view the situation from Asia, what do you think the United States should do to compete successfully?

PIERPOINT: Nothing revolutionary, Ed. We've already got the formula in Europe that was called the Marshall Plan. I think we can successfully compete in Asia by putting in more of the same, more aid and more effort - except that we need a change in emphasis. Playing down the military side of American aid, with an increase in the political and economic, would help our program a great deal. Certainly we can't afford to let our military guard down while the Communist threat still exists. But the Reds are beginning to hear from another front in Asia - the propaganda and progress front. The Asian people want progress; they want economic development as fast as possible, and the Communists claim their system can bring it faster. They're wrong! And I believe that we can show Asia how to get this progress better than the Russians can. To successfully compete now, we should take advantage of our opportunity by pouring more aid and more effort into a program that's already under way.

MURROW: Eric Sevareid?

SEVAREID: Well surely, Ed, we must keep the great image of America, the finest, the humanitarian face of America, turned to the world, remain militarily strong, stay prosperous, extend our own democracy within our own borders, including racial democracy, strengthen others, open our gates wider to others, try by every means to keep the present small gates in the Iron Curtain open. Peace may depend upon ushering, and quickly, half the people of the world into the twentieth century.

fad

MURROW: Gentlemen, you appear to agree that in this struggle between the forces of freedom and tyranny the danger of mutual annihilation has receded somewhat, the economic and ideological competition has increased; you feel that this country has become somewhat pact-happy, demanding military arrangements as pre-conditions for economic aid; you note areas where limited conflict could produce unlimited nothingness, turning citizens into cinders; you report a situation in which there are no easy or quick solutions. Some of you wonder whether this country has the patience and fortitude, the willingness to sacrifice that may be required. You all feel that people who are struggling to be free have a claim upon our conscience.

Thank you very much, gentlemen! Good luck and good news!

fad

CBS RADIO DIVISION

YEARS OF CRISIS-EDWARD R. MURROW

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1956
4:30 - 5:30 PM

ANNOUNCER: YEARS OF CRISIS! At this time, CBS Radio presents the eighth annual year-end report by CBS News correspondents who have gathered in New York from their posts around the world. Seven members of this distinguished team of reporters are meeting today with Edward R. Murrow to bring you this analysis of the year's major news developments. Now, here is Mr. Murrow.

MURROW: This has been a year of crisis but not the crisis that any of us foresaw. Last year we were sitting here looking forward to lessened tensions; atomic stalemate had been achieved; universal war was ruled out. But what's happened? There have been two big explosions and both have been almost incredible. One was in the Middle East and one in Middle Europe. One tore the Western Alliance apart and it even brought the United States and the Soviet Union together for a moment to snuff out a local war in Egypt. The other produced revolutions in Poland and Hungary that did the impossible. They proved that tanks and machine guns can't crush civilians set on winning freedom.

My colleagues and I have come in from the storm centers and propose to examine for the next hour what's happened this year and why, what the meaning of all this is? What do you fellows think really happened this year? First, Howard K. Smith, our chief European correspondent.

SMITH: Well, I think that 1956 may be remembered as the year that tension relaxed so much that fighting broke out all over the place.

MURROW: Richard C. Hottelet, who is based on Bonn and who has just returned from Poland and the Hungarian frontier.

HOTTELET: I believe that this year has put an end to Communism as a world revolutionary force.

MURROW: David Schoenbrun, our Paris correspondent.

SCHOENBRUN: This is - looked like the year of the turning of the worm. All around the world, little people have turned on their mentors -or their tormentors -in a kind of global epidemic of revolt.

G

MURROW: Dan Schorr from Moscow.

SCHORR: It seems to me that this is a year that Russia gained a foothold in the Middle East and lost her footing in her own backyard.

MURROW: Winston Burdett, whose base is in Rome but who has spent the last two months covering Suez.

BURDETT: I think this was the year when the pattern of post-war politics fell apart.

MURROW: Next, Bob Pierpoint, who came home from Tokyo by way of Syria, Lebanon and Jordan.

PIERPOINT: It was a year in which Asians worked quietly at trying to get along with each other and then found that when they could, the West couldn't.

MURROW: Eric Sevareid, the chief of our Washington Bureau.

SEVAREID: I would say that this was the year Americans began to wake up from their cozy dream of peace at bargain basement prices.

MURROW: All right, gentlemen. That's what happened. Now did the whole thing start? Dan Schorr, suppose you begin.

SCHORR: Well, Ed, the key event happened last February in Moscow -the Party Congress proclaiming de-Stalinization. In the period of confusion and uncertainty that followed, Tito made a bid for Communist leadership. There were some puffs of steam in Russia herself. The long pent up pressures began to explode all over the satellite countries. The lid blew off in Poland in the Poznan riots last June. That lid is now back on but insecurely. Then Hungary, in October, where the lid is still off.

MURROW: Hottelet, how about Hungary?

HOTTELET: Well, the Hungarians asked for the same things that Poland had won. They wanted to throw out the Stalinists and ease the dictatorship but in Hungary the Stalinists hung on just a little too long. Perhaps only twenty-four hours too long. The people demonstrated, panicky police fired on them, the people blew up in a rebellion that has still not ended today.

MURROW: Well, just a moment, gentlemen. While this revolt was erupting, what did the rest of the world think about it? Did people grasp what was going on? Hottelet, the Germans were right there on the border.

G

HOTTELET: Indeed, and they were scared stiff. In fact the West Germans did everything they could to persuade the East Germans not to revolt.

MURROW: Schoenbrun, how about the French?

SCHOENBRUN: Ed, they were torn between their desire to help the Hungarians and their fear that it might start World War III.

MURROW: Burdett, how about the Italians?

BURDETT: In Rome there were demonstrations of rejoicing and bricks were thrown at the Communist Party headquarters.

MURROW: Pierpoint, what did people in Asia say to this eruption in Middle Europe?

PIERPOINT: In the beginning, Ed, not very much because Eastern Europe is just too far away. But eventually even Nehru's India came around to criticising the Russians.

MURROW: And, Sevareid, how did Washington react?

SEVAREID: Well, perhaps one measure of our surprise down there is the fact that our ranking diplomatic emissaries were absent both from Poland and from Hungary when all this happened.

MURROW: At this very moment, when all the world was watching the revolt behind the Iron Curtain, another explosion went off -in the Middle East. The Israelis invaded Egypt, and the British and French prepared to land at Port Said. Burdett, you were in Israel. How did it all begin?

BURDETT: It began more than a year before, when Nasser made his first arms deal with the Communist bloc. The Israelis sat and watched the Russian-made MIGS and tanks and Eleutians pour into Egypt while Nasser boasted that he would destroy them. They felt their survival was at stake. For a year they weighed the pros and cons of preventive war. In October, Nasser was deep in conflict with the West, the United States was deep in her Presidential elections. Things seemed ripe -and the Israelis struck.

MURROW: Smith, why did the British decide to move in?

SMITH: Well, there're two versions of that, Ed. The authorized version of the British government is that they wanted to stop hostilities and prevent a conflict from spreading. The unauthorized version, which I think is accepted by most people now is that the British feared Nasser would use his grip on Suez to menace British vital interests, so they felt that his grip had somehow to be broken.

MURROW: Schoenbrun, what caused the French to move?

SCHOENBRUN: The same thing that moved the British -Nasser. The French felt they had to knock him over because he was the main source of supplies and encouragement to the rebels in Algeria.

MURROW: Well, you gentlemen seem to agree that the nationalization of the Suez Canal is the thing that really triggered off the Mid-East crisis. What made Nasser pull the trigger? Burdett?

BURDETT: Well, that was an act of violent defiance of the West, Nasser's reply to America's public withdrawal of its Aswan Dam offer one week before. For Nasser that was an insult and humiliation. His prestige in the Arab world demanded a swift, dramatic answer.

MURROW: Sevareid, what do they say in Washington about the Aswan Dam decision?

SEVAREID: Well, it's complicated, Ed, but in some -publicly it was said that Egypt was a poor credit risk. Privately, that this kind of aid would be feeding what we decided was not, after all, a pleasant puppy but a kind of a cub lion.

MURROW: Well, now specifically in your areas, who gained and who lost what? What would you say, Burdett, about the Middle East?

BURDETT: In the Middle East everybody lost something. The British, the French, the United States, the Egyptians and even the Israelis, everybody except the Russians. Some will say that Israel, at least, gained something. Israel's short term gain was in time. She knocked Nasser's new Soviet weapons out of his hands before his army had learned how to use them. But what Israel lost by her attack was perhaps more important in the long run for a little country whose main problem is survival. She lost the prospect and possibility of peace, that is of a final settlement with the Arab states. Israel's isolation in the Middle East was never so total as it is today. American prestige in Arab countries stands high at this moment, because to their surprise we condemned Israel and broke with our British and French allies when they invaded Egypt. In Egyptian eyes we take the credit for compelling the British and French to withdraw. However, our popularity of the moment is a fragile thing to set against a general collapse of the West positions.

(MORE)

G

BURDETT: (Cont'd) Those who have gained are the Russians. They have discovered their ability to upset the Mid-East balance of power. A new alliance was born between Arab nationalism in Russian policy and this alliance, fed by Communist arms and Communist trade deals, gives the Russians almost endless possibilities for building fires in the Middle East.

MURROW: Howard Smith, did the British gain anything in this adventure?

SMITH: Well, in -in the case of the intervention in Suez, Ed, I'm afraid the whole account for the British has to be written in red ink as a total and historic loss. The Canal that Britian acted to secure is blocked because of Britian's action; the oil pipelines that Britian depends on are blown up and dry; the economic crisis that Britian sought to avoid is upon her since the substitute oil she has to buy from the States is eating up her limited reserves of dollars that are needed for other things; the British Commonwealth has been shaken; the Atlantic Alliance may never recover its spirit of mutual trust; the British nation itself is bitterly divided and, as Burdett indicated, Britian's position as a power in the Middle East has gone up in smoke. I think it's fair to say that Britian truly climbed way out on a high limb and carefully sawed it off.

MURROW: Schoenbrun, how did the French come out of all this?

SCHOENBRUN: Very badly, Ed. They lost one of the most desperate gambles in their history and they lost oil, which will put brakes on France's expanding economy just when it seemed that a real boom was in prospect. Perhaps the greatest loss of all may, in the long run, turn out to be a gain, for the French lost more than a battle in Egypt. They lost an illusion -an illusion that's been blinding them for the entire 20th century -the illusion that France is still a great imperial power. But that's a dream world of the 19th century which has now been shattered and I think that's a great gain, for mental health begins with an acceptance of reality.

MURROW: Dan Schorr, what kind of balance sheet would you make up for Russia?

SCHORR: A definite net loss, I'd say. Last February the Party Congress confidently proclaimed the policy of de-Stalinization at home and many roads to Socialism for the satellites, competitive co-existence for the rest of the world. Buoyantly they launched their five-year plan to catch up with the U.S. economically.

(MORE)

G

SCHORR: (Cont'd) The whole sense of confidence was reflected in the faces of men like Khrushchev and Bulganin when I'd meet them at the Kremlin, but a couple of weeks ago, when I saw them, they looked anxious and depressed. From February's Party Congress to December's Central Committee meeting,a whole rosy dream of a Communist future had blurred and turned into their nightmare. The carefully blue printed transition to a sort of safer and saner form of Communism after Stalin had got out of hand, developed its own momentum. It revealed unexpectedly violent forces, threatened the disintegration of this empire that the Russians were trying to turn into a Cominworld.

MURROW: Is that all that you have to say on your balance sheet, Schorr?

SCHORR: It's about all, except I would add that looking at it from our point of view, there is a great bounty in all of this, but a bounty so cloaked in peril for us that I hesitate-I hesitate to say so far that it's a net gain for us.

MURROW: You're reserving judgment, right?

SCHORR: I'm reserving judgment, yes.

MURROW: Dick Hottelet, who gained and who lost what in Middle Europe?

HOTTELET: On balance, I think the West has gained in Middle Europe. In Poland and in Hungary, the system of Soviet Communism has been seriously and maybe finally weakened. In Hungary a whole nation rose and did what we all had said was an unthinkable. It showed that courage and sacrifice are, for a brief time at least, a match for tanks and bullets. This demonstration is a beacon for all the peoples in the Soviet bloc and a warning to Moscow that the time of automatic obedience is past. The Hungarians, perhaps, went too fast and too far. The Poles, on the other hand, with great restraint have wrung from the Soviets an almost incredible degree of freedom. Poland is today a satellite in name only.

G

SCHORR: It doesn't look that way from Moscow.

HOTTLET: Oh, Khrushchev and Molotov found that out when they came to Warsaw in October and were slapped down, defied, and humiliated, Dan.

SCHORR: Well, it seems to us that Gomulka is still very much the Communists' man.

HOTTELET: Well, he's the Communists' man in Russia, perhaps, but certainly not in Poland, not in terms of the system, not in terms of military power and I think the Poles showed their independence by breaking up the whole eastern economic structure of the five-year plan, throwing that into a --

SCHORR: But the Russians were ready for that.

HOTTELET: They may have been ready for it, but it's one thing to accept something because you have no choice and another thing to - to set it going. And the Poles are the initiators in this whole thing. Now I think, Dan, that Poland is not a satellite. Of course, it's surrounded by Soviet powers, got the Red army in its country and the Poles can't afford to antagonize or provoke the Kremlin unnecessarily, but they have asserted their desire for national independence. They are discarding, not only Stalinism but Marxism as well, and seeking their own way to a better life. And this experiment in freedom that's going on in Poland has had its corrosive effect in satellite East Germany. Young people there are beginning to ask questions and the party is afraid - afraid to make concessions. Instead it's dug in behind threats and Stalinist doctrine and Soviet occupation troops in the Soviet Zone have been enormously reinforced. As to gains, I think on our side in the heart of Europe, the most important fact is that West Germany has remained stable politically and economically and in its dealings with Western nations, it's showed itself to be a good neighbor and a good ally.

MURROW: Bob Pierpoint, you operate in Asia. What gains and losses out there?

PIERPOINT: Communist China and the United States both gained during 1956, Ed. Britain, France and Russia lost. Early this year, perhaps following Khrushchev's line from Moscow, Communist China began a carefully planned campaign to convince a skeptical world that China today is a progressive, peace-loving, law-abiding nation. By the end of this year, that campaign had proved so successful that Communist Premier Chou En Lai was invited on a series of friendly state visits throughout southeast Asia, including, I might add, a stopover in Pakistan, a member nation of the American-Created SEATO pact.

(MORE)

mr

PIERPOINT: (CTD) In Japan, there's frank talk today of more trade and closer relations with Communist China. But the United States also gained friends, prestige and influence. The action of America during the Egyptian crisis, both surprised and pleased the Afro-Asian bloc. America demonstrated for once that it is willing to impose imperialism, a great gain in colonial-conscious Asia. As for Britain, France and Russia, they merely proved what the Asians have long maintained that imperialists will act like imperialists when the chips are down. Britain and France lost even more prestige in Asia than Russia because Hungarians are not Afro-Asians, they're white people. But Russia lost too.

MURROW: Sevareid, what about gains and losses in this country?

SEVAREID: Well, obviously, Ed, the Dodgers and the Democrats didn't do very well. Fact, I would think it's quite possible that Yankee and Republican preeminence - domination - may continue for a good many years. I think the President both lost and gained. He gained stature in a sense of world popularity, chiefly because the French, British and Russian leaders threw their own away. In terms of the alliance he is leading, it's no longer really a unified command. It's a kind of a combined command that is breaking up its old formations and doesn't yet know how to reform its ranks. The President gained new moral prestige with the loose grouping called the Afro-Asian bloc, but at the price of participating in the political weakening of our strongest allies; a process of course, of which they not he are chiefly responsible. I wouldn't say, as some do, that isolationism has gained in this country. I would say that the concepts of America as a world mediator and a moral proctor has gained over the concept of America as the active determined leader of the West and maybe that could become a way-station to neutralism. Most of us in this country certainly gained in our supply of health, wealth and equality. We lost, I hope, in the supply of our illusions. I think fewer of us believe the peace of the world will be automatically kept by the combination of virtue and H-bombs and maybe that's a gain. But not if it's replaced by another illusion - that the peace will automatically be kept by the combination of moral force and United Nations. I would think that short of world government, and we're far short of that, peace will not be preserved unless the vital strength of the peaceable nations is preserved. That means our allies as well as our own. It's true that might does not make right. It's also true that right does not always make might.

MURROW: Well, I shall try to sum up what you gentlemen have said and I hope that I can make it right. It's a very difficult assignment with such divergent points of view but it seems to me that you gentlemen have compiled a rather strange profit and loss acoount. It shows more losses than gains. The biggest gain was Russia's gain of power in the Middle East, but that was offset by the Russian defeat in Poland and Hungary. Here, the Soviet Union's military and economic power were sapped and Left Wing sympathies the world over were forfeited. The United States lost much power in the weakening of the Western Alliance but it gained some prestige particularly in the Afro-Asian world. In exchange for British and French solidarity, we have Arab gratitude, for as long as such gratitude lives. We have chosen to mediate rather than to lead; and when we mediate between our friends and their enemies, we sacrifice some of the power of our friends, which in turn means we sacrifice some of our own power. Britain and France, as you gentlemen see it, won nothing at all. Israel, at best, won a little time. Poland and Hungary have escape annihilation and have won a partial promise of independence, but still, it's only a promise. And the nuclear stalemate continues to hang over everything else and to dominate it. So, as you gentlemen see it, what's where we are.

The question arises: How did we get here? What forces were brought into play? Schoenbrun?

SCHOENBRUN: Ed, I think it was a case of too much too fast. Just too rapid a change. As I see it, the world this year doubled up in the bends like a deep sea diver who came up to the surface before equalizing pressures on him. And I think that co-existence was responsible. That is the relaxation of pressures on a world frozen into a two-bloc mold for ten years was just too much. When the pressures were released, the blocs began to break up. The Soviet bloc was the first to break because there the pressures were heaviest; and the Western powers were then caught unprepared. Concentrating on co-existence, the perpetuation of a status quo, we in the West did not have a policy to deal with the disintegration of the Soviet bloc. Moreover, our own Western bloc had begun to disintegrate itself, with the sudden removal of Stalinist pressures upon us. Tiny Iceland early this year told America to go home. They thought they didn't need our air bases any more. All around the world, all of us have seen this happen from Reykavik to Rabat, from Warsaw to Budapest. We've seen it in Cairo, Tel Aviv, Singapore and Hong Kong. Small nations and little peoples breaking their bonds or their allegiances and defying the great atomic powers.

MURROW: Dan Schorr, would you agree that it was this relaxation of pressure that set the whole thing off?

SCHORR: Well, yes and no, if I can put it that way.

MURROW: You can.

SCHORR: Well, let me explain it though. You could say that the explosions in the Soviet Empire were the consequences of de-Stalinization. In fact, some of the more Right Wing, or let me call them reactionary Communist leaders, have been explaining that in Kremlin councils. But I think it's too simple. It's like blaming the valve instead of the build up head of steam. I think it's a consequence, not of three years of de-Stalinization but the delayed result of thirty years of Stalinization. The new leaders may have opened the valve too little, too late. They may have made the mistake, as some Communists think, of releasing political controls a bit before improving the economic situation. In effect, letting people talk while they had too much to yell about. But the pressures were so intense that it's doubtful they could have been long contained anyway. So, the main element was these thirty years of Stalinism, but there were others. The Communist regime fostered mass education, but having taught people to read and to build machines and to solve chemical formulas, they found that some had also begun to think and that wasn't a part of the plan. And then, I think a third element - and that was the feeling of national identify, the same nationalism that the Soviets successfully exploited among the former colonial nations turned against them in their own colonial empire - Hungary, Poland we've heard about - but even in the Soviet Union the Latvians, the Lithuanians, the Georgians. Tito started it I guess. Russia then tried to depolarize Tito by bringing him back into the family only to find that it set up a terrific new polar attraction within the family.

MURROW: Dick Hottelet, how would you explain what's happened in the Soviet bloc?

HOTTELET: The root causes go back a long way, Ed, as Schorr says, but the present crisis in the Soviet bloc started with the death of Josef Stalin, the one man strong enough to hold it together. With his death, his own international police network fell apart, and just in Russia, satellite leaders began to clear out the men who had terrorized them. The police grip relaxed, the fear of reprisal in general diminished. Then, last February, when Khrushchev denounced Stalin, the Kremlin destroyed the appeal of Soviet Communism. The so-called science of society turned out to be only another word for dictatorship and its promise of victory was highly doubtful.

(MORE)

HOTTELET: (CTD) Many who had put their faith in it were left with nothing to believe. With more chance to look around and compare ideas, and stripped of their illusions, the people became acutely aware of Communism's shortcomings. A glimpse of the truth had a dramatic effect on intellectuals, writers, newsmen and especially students. Suddenly, almost miraculously, after so many years of suppression, they demanded freedom and government of, by and for the people. But I think, to keep things in perspective, that it's important that we see one thing. What is shaking the Soviet Empire today is an elemental force, the essence of man's history - an irrepessible striving for truth and self expression. It is not a victory of Western policy. In fact, the Suez episode showed how little it was understood in the West and how little credit Western nations may claim. At the very moment, when the eyes of the world were on Hungary, Suez blurred the issue, paralyzed the West and gave Moscow a priceless smokescreen behind which to act.

mr

MURROW: Well, let's turn to the Middle East for a moment. Burdett, what factors brought about the situation there?

BURDETT: Ed, I think we got where we are in the Middle East largely because of an almost insoluble problem which we ourselves created - the problem of Palestine. Now we've been living with that problem and watching it grow for nearly nine years, since Israel was created; and we have let it slide.

MURROW: You mean the problem of Israel?

BURDETT: The problem of Israel - and the conflict with the Arab states. And the fact that we've let it slide, it seems to me, is the reason why Israel went to war against Egypt this year. Unless I'm completely wrong, the Israelis attacked out of a desperate sense of insecurity. They saw Nasser building a lavish new army and new air force and Israel waited in vain for a clear arms commitment by the West or a clear and binding guarantee of her borders. There's a great deal of argument as to whether Israel's position was really desperate. The fact is that she felt desperate. It became the ruling thought and obsession of her national policy that she would have to rely on her own strength alone. This fact the West failed to recognize and Israel received from the West neither a firm guarantee nor an unmistakable warning that an attack on Egypt would be condemned, and opposed. We underestimated Nasser. We thought he was bluffing when he said he would go to the Russians for arms. When he did, we panicked and pressed on him our offer of hundreds of millions of dollars to build the famous Aswan Dam. Our eagerness gave Nasser his chance to play us off against the Russians and to blackmail us with the threat of accepting large scale Russian aid. We all know how it ended - the collapse of the Aswan negotiations, the breakdown of confidence, Nasser's furious reaction in nationalizing the Suez Canal and then the Anglo-French invasion. One lesson that we've learned from it all, I think, is that we just cannot blatantly buy the Arab world over to our side.

MURROW: And do you think we've learned that lesson permanently?

BURDETT: I think that we've learned it in the sense that hereafter we will press our economic assistance on the Arabs less blatantly and with greater discretion and restraint. To that extent, yes.

PIERPOINT: Winston - Winston, I'd like to ask you if we cannot buy the Arabs, why is it that the Russians have been so successful in doing so in Egypt and Syria with their arms deals?

BURDETT: It's a psychological difference, I think, Bob. It's the West that the Arabs mistrust and they're hypersensitive to the conditions that we set down for our aid. As for the Russians, they're newcomers in the Middle East and the Arabs think, naively, that they can outsmart them.

SMITH: (?) Nasser said to me when I interviewed him: "Russia has no history in Egypt, but Britain and France have."

SCHOENBRUN: And I don't think really there's any evidence that they have yet bought the Arabs.

MURROW: Well, the difficulty always in talking with Arab leaders, as Howard will agree I'm sure, and the same thing is true in Asia, that it is quite impossible to substitute intelligence for experience. They have had no experience with Russian colonialism and therefore they do not recognize that it exists. But, Howard, can you explain how the British got themselves into this mess in the Middle East?

SMITH: Well, that, Ed, is one of the year's best mysteries. I think the real objection to what Britain did in Egypt is not that it may have been immoral but that it was impossible. The British say, and I think they say rightly, that America should not moralize about their attack on Egypt, for America did almost the same thing in Guatemala a couple of years ago when an unfriendly government there seemed to threaten our interests on the Panama Canal. I think the British are right when they say that but I think they've missed the point. Politics is still the art of the possible in this imperfect world and what America did in Guatemala was, moral or not, possible.

MURROW: Well, if the British action had no chance of succeeding, why did they do it, Howard?

SMITH: Well, it's only a theory I have, Ed, but I think the answer is panic. Panic and something else. The decision to invade Egypt was taken by the Conservative Cabinet. No British diplomat on the spot was consulted or advised; members of the Foreign Office permanent staff have told me that they were not informed. The Cabinet that made this decision consists of 18 senior ministers. I think it's an essential fact that of the 18, ten are graduates of Eton. What I'm getting at is - this is the aristocracy and nine centuries after William the Conqueror, Britain is still ruled by the aristocracy of blood through the instrument of the Conservative Party as freely elected by a majority of the people of Britain. Now they're a good aristocracy and as long as things went reasonably normally in the world, they behaved all right. But in 1956, they got kicked around by the natives too hard, too often.

(MORE)

aac

SMITH: (CONT'D) They put Jordan, their little Arab ward, into the Baghdad Pact and the Jordanians rioted and jumped right back out of the Baghdad Pact. Rebellious terror against them on Cyprus got nearly unbearable, but worst of all, Nasser, to whom Eden had conceded a great deal, refused to be friends and finally nationalized the Suez Canal and insulted Britain. The small imperial Right Wing of the Tory Party, always angry at adjusting to the modern world, began to scream at their government, "when are you going to stand up to the natives and stop being weaklings" and so on. The government panicked under this pressure. It began stocking the East Mediterranean with troops that it had had to use or else look doubly ridiculous for backing down. So, out of the frying pan into the fire they lept, shutting their eyes and hoping, like Mr. Micawber, that something would turn up. It didn't.

MURROW: Then you're saying that Suez was lost on the playing fields of Eton, but it's also necessary to say that for a period of three months, the British followed our lead, decided it wasn't good enough and then decided to go it on their own. Isn't that right, Howard?

SMITH: That's roughly it.

MURROW: Pierpoint, about a year ago we were sitting here talking about possible invasion of Formosa. Asia was supposed to be a powder keg. What happened to the keg?

PIERPOINT: The powder keg is still there, Ed, but for the moment at least the fuse has stopped burning. The Communist Chinese eased off their pressure. They even went so far as to offer Formosa's Chiang Kai-shek a new job as Vice-President of the people's China. This sort of thing happened in other areas of Asia too. In Laos, that tiny little country tucked away in the far corner of Indo China, the government and the Communist insurgents are now holding meetings trying to form some sort of coalition cabinet. To tell the truth, Ed, I don't think America can take much credit for this sudden peace in Asia, although right at the moment we look pretty good in comparison to Britain, France and Russia. Maybe that's merely because this year America just stood still while the other big powers moved backwards.

MURROW: Eric, what would you say about all this?

SEVAREID: Well, Ed, I don't want this to sound like hindsight but I don't think it is really, because if you look back through the last years you'll find that all kinds of people, including some of us at this table, had all kinds of recommendations for a decisive American policy in the Middle East that it never followed out, which now we are trying to do a little late.

(MORE)

aac

SEVAREID: (CONT'D) But anyway, for eight long years we and our allies have let this vacuum spread in the Mid-East from Turkey to India. Obviously, somebody was bound to try to fill it. And with all the great power and authority of the West, it never really insisted on a settlement between very weak and dependent countries like Israel and Egypt. As for the United States, we were willing to sign the 1950 Tripartite agreement with Britain and France allowing action outside the UN if necessary to preserve Mid-Eastern peace, but we were not willing to take the action last spring when the British asked for it. We were willing to see the British leave the Canal Zone two years ago; we were unwilling to arrange some counter balance. We were the ones who pushed for the Baghdad Pact, but we were not willing to join it ourselves. We were against Russia selling arms to Egypt, we were unwilling to do the same ourselves, nor did we give any concrete hope to Israel on such things as her rights of passage through Suez. In the showdown last summer, after the seizure of the Canal, we were willing, in principal, to put economic squeezes on Nasser but unwilling in practice. As to Middle Europe, I think this is all (sic) with all of us hindsight because everybody at this table did not expect a year ago what has happened this year. And, of course, necessarily therefore, America made the mistake of not planning in ten long years for a policy in case there was this rebellion that nobody anticipated. But I think we can be too hard on ourselves. There's some very fundamental things that we can claim considerable credit for. We did help produce this remarkable West European economic boom that has provided a constant contrast to all those people under the Russian boot in East Europe and we did have the good sense to take a chance on Tito, in spite of a great deal of domestic quarrelling about it.

MURROW: And Tito was probably the best gamble that we have made in the post-war period, wouldn't you say?

aac

SEVAREID: One of them, certainly.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, we've been rather juggling hemispheres here for the last few minutes with some rather profound comments, both fore and hindsight. Any of you fellows heard any good anecdotes lately? People must have been talking about something other than crises. Where'll we start? Smith?

SMITH: Well, I spent part of the year in the Middle East and there's a story there. Part of it I know was true, I don't know whether all of it was. The head of a British archeological expedition there said he was driving his jeep in the desert one day and there on the trackless horizon he spotted a car moving. He got out his binoculars and sure enough it was one of those Arab Cadillacs bought with oil dollars. So the British scientist pulled on his emergency brake and decided to sit this one out. Well, the Arab car crept all the way across the desert and came up to him and bang! Hit his jeep right on the fender. I'm not sure what it illustrates, but the Sheik who was in the back seat is said to have pulled down the window and look out and smiled and said in English, "Sorry, inexperienced driver. He always loses his head in traffic." (laughter)

MURROW: Another illustration of the lack of consistant policy, right?

VOICE: It was a French driver.

MURROW: Hottelet?

HOTTELET: Well, old Chancellor Konrad Adenauer may have been wanting to sum up the events of this past year when he said recently: "The good Lord set limits to man's wisdom, but He did not limit man's stupidity and that's just not fair."

MURROW: Schoenbrun? There must be a good story in Paris.

SCHOENBRUN: Well, there is, Ed, but I don't think I can tell it on a family radio program. However, there was a political story over at the NATO meeting in Paris two weeks ago about a group of Foreign Ministers talking about critical times in which we all live. One of the diplomats, I think actually was the Dane, said to a colleague, "If you had a choice, in what period of history would you like to have lived?" And the other Minister replied, "In Napoleon's time." When asked "Why?" he said, "Because at that time, only one man thought he was Napoleon."

RG

MURROW: I remember Ben-Gurion saying to me in Israel that in that country "You must believe in miracles in order to be a realist." (laughter) I think it summed up Israel's position rather accurately. Dan Schorr?

SCHORR: Well, Ed, I've used this one before, but I still like it. It's the one Russians tell about the three Hungarians who meet Bubyanka (?) prison in Moscow. And one of them asks the second one "What are you in for?" The second says, "I was pro-Nagy." How about you?" Second says, "I was anti-Nagy." The third had been silent all this time and they turn to him and say, What about you?" And he says, "I'm Nagy." (laughter)

SCHOENBRUN: Do you think he's still there, Dan? Do you know where he is?

SCHORR: I - I think he's in Bucharest or in a villa right near Bucharest right now.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, you may now relax. We've come to that point in our program where I am required to say that we will be back in thirty seconds, after a pause for station identification.

ANNOUNCER: This is the CBS . RADIO Network.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, we've heard a few stories. What are some of the other things people in your area have been talking about? Schoenbrun?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, over in Paris, mainly about how to keep warm, how to get gas and oil, but also about the magnificent performance of Ingrid Bergman in the French version of "Tea and Sympathy."

MURROW: Dick Hottelet?

HOTTELET: Well, the West Germans have taken a leaf out of our book, Ed, and they've plunged into their election campaign even though election day is not until September 8th. The speakers are speaking and the pollsters are polling: everyone is feeling the pulse, taking the temperature, arranging coalitions. And all the results are different. For the next eight months, it'll be an all too-familiar picture of confusion.

MURROW: No one examining the grass roots?

HOTTELET: Old turnip tops, too.

MURROW: Bob Pierpoint?

PIERPOINT: In Japan, Ed, they're talking about juvenile delinquency. They've got trouble with young boys who wear American Aloha shirts and ducktail haircuts and girls who dye their black hair red and put on toreador slacks. The kids say their parents are old fashioned, don't understand them. The parents are beginning to ask us what we do about our J.D. problems.

MURROW: Winston, what're they talking about in Italy?

BURDETT: The talk of Italy, Ed, is television. It's been the rage and revelation of 1956. And the girls who've walked off with the cash prizes, on Italy's Double or Nothing quiz program, are more honored and more talked about than Gina Lollobrigida.

MURROW: Don't boys win prizes?

BURDETT: Very rarely. They shouldn't. (?)

MURROW: Dan Schorr! What about Moscow?

SCHORR: Well, in Communist Russia, this may surprise you, people talk mostly about money, money and what it will buy; wage scales and pensions and consumer goods. The one item they most discuss is automobiles, how long you have to be on the list to get one; and where are all the new models that've been promised all these many years.

MURROW: How long do you have to wait on the list?

SCHORR: Officially, two years.

MURROW: Howard, what do you hear in London?

SMITH: Well, after Suez I suppose they talk mostly about people; and this year it's been mainly two people who visited Britain, the Russian lady discus thrower, whose fingers stuck to some ninety-five cent hats in a London store and almost fractured relations between Britain and Russia, and an American lady named Mrs. Arthur Miller, who spent the autumn in London making a movie but turned down the role of "Lysistrata," the Greek woman who stopped war by a withholding action.

MURROW: I noticed that none of you mentioned war, except Smith, of course. Do you hear any talk of another world war? - Schoenbrun.'

RG

SCHOENBRUN: Yes, Ed. In fact, there was quite a war scare in Paris, with a most extraordinary result. It caused panic-buying of salt. Someone spread the story that you can protect yourself from atomic radiation by sitting in a bath tub full of salt water and about half Paris is immersed these days.

MURROW: Have you really researched that when you say half?

SCHOENBRUN: I refuse to answer that question. (laughs)

MURROW: Dan Schorr!

SCHORR: Well, I don't know in Russia about the magical properties of salt, but there's been some hoarding and panic-buying there, too. But perhaps more important is - not since Stalin - have the Russians been so nervous about the possibility of a war. They seem to sense from the new tough line of their press that things are going badly for their government, that the leaders are in trouble, trying to reflect the reaction by whipping up some kind of a war scare, or at least a cold war scare.

When the Kremlin took its menacing position on Egypt, many Russians felt that this was partly because of desperation by Hungary. The Russians don't think their government wants a general war. They do think, however, that a calculated risk, intended as a diversion from Hungary, might turn out to be a miscalculation.

MURROW: Howard Smith!

SMITH: I think the British are too preoccupied with the aftermath of their little war to start thinking about a big one.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, we've been talking about what happened and why. Now, where do we go from here? How does it look to you, Howard?

SMITH: Well, I believe in a general way we have to negotiate with the Russians as we've never negotiated before, however dirty their hands may be, to try to disengaged them out of Eastern Europe, for that is Hungary's only hope of freedom and the world's chance of avoiding a war. In the Middle East - I think we should use our new-won prestige with the Africans and Asians, to try to pressure the Arabs into negotiating with the Israelis, with promises of some substantial help of all kinds in return. And in Europe - I think we should do all we can to induce our British and French friends to forget dreams of retaining imperial influence or reviving it, and induce them to see their future in amalgamating with one another inside Europe.

(MORE)

RG

SMITH: (CONT'D) That way they could constitute a stronger unit than America or Russia, and command much more respect from people, like the Egyptians, than they do today. I think the situation, generally, is frought with opportunities and dangers, as has been said. But my personal view is very optimistic. I think the opportunities far outweigh the dangers.

MURROW: Winston Burdett, what do you think we ought to do in the Middle East?

BURDETT: It's much easier to say what we should not do, Ed. The United States is in the game along now and, certainly, we must avoid slipping into the disastrous pattern of past dealings with Nasser. But, what will he do? Will he go back to the Russians for help in rebuilding his army? Or, in his need for economic help on a scale that only one country can provide, will he turn to the United States? Will he seek new prestige triumphs at the expense of the West? Or will he concentrate on solving the immense problems of Egypt? I don't know the answers to these questions, and, at the moment, I don't think there are many people who do.

Certainly, in this coming year, we must keep striving with positive pressure on the Arab States for an Arab-Israeli settlement. I say that even though I don't believe that we have the faintest chance of getting a settlement in 1957. In some ways the problem is more acute and more dangerous than ever; chiefly because the Russians are now actively in the picture. Israel is Russia's political ace in the Middle East. The Russians can always tell the Arabs that they are willing to pay the Arab price, which is Israel's destruction. It's a price which the West can never agree to pay.

This year the local conflicts of the Middle East became part of a much bigger affair, of the larger conflict between East and West. I think there's a big decision that this country must face up to in 1957. Perhaps, we are facing up to it already. A decision to make known our readiness to move into the Middle East in force.

The last thing the Russians want to see is American military strength securely based in that region on their southern flank. The only way we can hope to halt Russian penetration of the area, the only way we can get them to talk about a general Mid-East settlement is by using our power. By letting them know that, if need be, we are ready to move in.

SMITH: You don't mean an invasion, of course, you mean just establish bases and filling those bases with troops.

HOTTELET: Just that precisely.

MURROW: Bob Pierpoint, what course do you prescribe for us in Asia?

PIERPOINT: At the moment, America stands almost alone, with relatively clean hands, in the eyes of the Asian world. This is an opportunity to move in and exert our influence toward greater stability. It's in our own interest to do so, because the political and economic instability of Asia is a constant threat to world peace. But there's still one big factor which limits American leadership in Asia: our refusal to recognize and deal with Communist China. We won't even allow our newsmen to go there to report. Our day-to-day relationships with Japan, Southeast Asia, Nehru's India are all hampered by this policy toward a nation of more than a half a billion people. There are some serious dangers in trying to reach a working agreement with Communist China. For example, what happens to our relations with Formosa and Chiang-Kai-shek? And what about some of our smaller Asian allies, such as Thailand and the Philippines, governments that have committed themselves to America's policy of refusal to recognize Peking. Without proper preparation, these governments could be left far out on our limb, in real trouble with their own people for blindly following wherever America leads. But these are facets of the China problem that must be met and solved if America is to take full advantage of its present opportunity in Asia.

MURROW: Dave Schoenbrun, where do you think we go from here?

SCHOENBRUN: Ed, I'm not sure that I know where we go from here. But I'm sure that we must go somewhere other than where we've been. I think we must agree that the status quo of the past decade has been broken and that the bits and pieces of the post-war structure cannot be put together again as they were before. If that's true, then it's time to explore the possibilities of a permanent European settlement.

For the past ten years, Europe has been a divided house; half slave, half charity ward, living under the feet of the Russians and the protection of America. I don't think anyone wants that to continue. The Russians themselves began to withdraw from Europe when they pulled out of Austria, a voluntary evacuation of territory by the Soviets. They stepped out of Finland, eased up their grip on Poland. Apparently, I think, they were going to try a similar relaxation in Hungary when the Hungarians over-relaxed.

(MORE)

GW

SCHOENBRUN: (CONT) It's now agreed by all of the West European governments that every effort must be made to explore further this long hoped-for withdrawal of Russia. That's what Hottelet was saying when he said the West Germans are doing everything possible to discourage revolt in East Germany. They don't want to frighten the Russians or make it impossible for the Soviets to relax their grip. Discouraging revolt is, however, a negative and, in the long run, a demoralizing, perhaps even an immoral policy. I think it's justified only as a temporary measure to create the conditions for a negotiated settlement. That is, to try to find out what price, if any, the Russians really would accept for the reunification of Germany and the establishment of independents governments in Eastern Europe. And, of course, what price we of the West are willing to pay for such a package. That would mean reexamining the strategy of NATO, the presence of our troops in Germany. It would mean the danger of neutralism serving the Communist cause and a host of other issues. I don't know the answers, Murrow. I don't know how we're going to get this settlement. I do know that the questions must be asked, the challenge faced, for we cannot stand still any longer.

MURROW: Dick Hottelet, what do you think we should do about Russia?

HOTTELET: Schoenbrun is right. We cannot stand still any longer. And I believe we must take resolute action. Let me be quite specific. Tremendous social forces are at work inside Poland. Among them, universal and bitter feeling against the Soviet Union and a yearning for national independence. Anti-Soviet incidents keep flickering all over the country. Moscow could, at any time, provoke a major riot or take one that's got out of hand as a pretext to step in and reimpose Soviet control.

There are twenty-six million Poles. They have an army and a tradition of revolt. They would fight; and a civil war would make Hungary look like a dancing class. This is a clear, concrete danger. To avert it, Western leaders must prevail on Moscow to accept the inevitable and not to try to turn back the clock. Promises and reassurances are not enough. The Kremlin knows as well as we do that satellite revolt is contagious and a serious blow to the entire Soviet system. Righteous indignation is no deterrent either. Hungary has shown what the Soviets think of United Nations resolutions. No. The Western position must be backed up with a warning; and this warning can have no substance unless it is based on Western and, let's face it, that means American military power.

SCHORR: What kind of warning do you have in mind, Dick?

HOTTELET: Well, it can be a warning along any kind of lines. Diplomatic warning, discreet, without humiliating the Russians, not violating their legitimate interests, but warning them against violence.

SCHOENBRUN: What do you mean, Dick? You mean that you'd ... warning the Russians that we're going to do something if they don't let freedom in Poland and Hungary? What'd we do?

HOTTELET: This is no novel suggestion. For the past eight years, we have said that an attack on Berlin means war; and this has certainly helped stabilize peace in Europe. But time does not stand still, gentlemen. Can we now cling to old formulas when the whole of Eastern Europe is in a state of flux? What about Poland now? What about Yugoslavia? Not to mention Hungary where the crisis is far from over. We have met other similar challenges, with the Truman Doctrine, and in Korea. Again, today, we and our allies have got to make up our minds. We have a choice. We can sit still and let Russia feel free to do what it wants in Eastern Europe without the risk of war. But this will solve nothing. Just as France's unwillingness to die for Danzig in 1939 did not solve anything. Does the West want to go on indefinitely just picking up the refugees?

We can take diplomatic action, on the other hand, as I said, secretly and discreetly, not blocking the way back for the Russians. And if that leads to war then war was inevitable. But if our warning succeeds, Moscow will have accepted reality and we will at last and for the first time have solid ground on which to bargain and negotiate the big settlements, European security and world disarmament.

MURROW: Dan Schorr, as our Moscow correspondent, what do you say?

SCHORR: Well, I agree with about almost everybody who's spoken about this, except Dick Hottelet. I agree that a settlement must be explored. I do not agree that the ... we must explore by means of a threat. Let me restate this thing as seen from the point of view of Moscow. It seems to me the leaders of the Kremlin are are pretty nervous right now. They're beginning to wonder if there's any percentage in trying to hold the satellites by force; whether perhaps neutral states like Finland and Austria may not offer them greater real security than a belt of unruly satellites. Whether it might not be worth their while, in fact, to give up physical control of the satellites <u>if</u> the price were right.

(MORE)

GW

SCHORR: (CONT) I think Bulganin hinted all this in his disarmament declaration on November 17th, suggesting a thousand mile wide demilitarized zone through the center of Europe. This implied that if we moved out of Western Europe, Russia would get out of most of Eastern Europe. And with Soviet troops out of Eastern Germany, it would be pretty hard to stop German unification.

The implications of this are breathtaking. There's some breathtaking questions, too. Does the Kremlin mean it or is it just trying to buy time? Making an offer while off-balance that it would repudiate once it had recovered its balance. Further, would it not disrupt the Western alliance if we made a deal with Russia and pulled our troops out of Western Europe? But beyond all this is a much more fundamental question. Should we help Russia to restabilize her position? Should we now take the possible freedom of the satellites? In other words, take the thirty-two thousand or gamble and stay for sixty-four thousand? - the possible complete upheaval of communism.

Remember, gentlemen, leaders of communism have the capability - before they are destroyed - of unloosing destruction on the world. These aren't broad gauge men. They're the tough little politicians who survived Stalin. And little men, when cornered, sometimes do desperate things.

The big question, gentlemen, is disarmament and a security deal with Russia now or go for broke.

MURROW: Well, Eric Sevareid, as our chief Washington correspondent, what do you think the United States should do?

SEVAREID: Well, I think Winston is quite right, in the general argument, that there's no longer a way for the United States to avoid playing an extremely active role in the Mid-East, in spite of the cost and money or commitments or risks. If this tremendous area should slide under Russian domination, Russia, conceivably, would be on her way to becoming a greater world power than we are. I think we have to go ahead with concrete terms for canal management, Palestine borders, Arab economic development and all the rest of it and really trying to drive them across, whether through the UN or not. We have to try. This is going to be indefinitely harder ... infinitely harder, of course, than it would have been before because the influence of our allies, once strong in that region, is now gone and since Russia, absent before, is now present. Nevertheless, we have to try - and I think we ought to act with a sense of urgency just as though failure would mean a tiny beachhead called Israel is the West's sole remaining toe hold in the Middle East.

(MORE)

GW

SEVAREID: (CONT) On the other hand, when we look at middle Europe then I think that this strong resolute line toward Russia is not applicable at the moment. I'm sure that the Secretary of State and many others in Washington have indicated that they believe the same. I think too that Dick Hottelet's emphasis is wrong and dangerous. I think this has to be a cautious and open-minded line toward Russia in middle Europe. There's great immediate danger there. Not only danger of regional clashes but danger of sucking in the great powers.

(MORE)

GW

SEVAREID:(CTD) My instinct, Ed, and impression is that the Russians are anxious to relax and retreat if they can do it safely and with some ... with saving their face. Now, countries have three instruments to use in their relationships; they have force, they have propaganda and they have diplomatic negotiations. Force, in that area, is much too dangerous for the whole world. Propaganda alone will not work or it may backfire as in the case of Hungary. We have to negotiate, I think. I think we've got to keep the door open now. To slam this curtain down again, to return to the cold war, I think, would lead to the world's disaster. And I think Washington's very aware of that. We are trying to keep the door open now with a new disarmament proposal. That could lead to something. Ultimately, I think, it has to lead with settlement of the German question; that's the core of the whole business and that's the basis of the Russian security obsession. But we've seen, in 1956, that events still have a capacity to get out of hand.
And I think that's the process that could slide us into a big war, not any premeditated attack by either of the big powers. I think we have to start bargaining now. It may be later than we think.

But, Ed, to turn the coin over, to talk about what we should not do - I think - I think that's necessary at this moment in American public opinion. I think we should not assume that moral force and reliance on the UN will solve these troubles for us. Moral prestige, like time, is worthless unless you put it to practical work. The UN is a means of proceeding with American foreign policy. It's not a substitution for it. Nor is it a means of creating it. Over the years now, in this country, we have gyrated from talk about massive retaliation, all the way over to saying that even the implied threat of force by free peoples to defend their vital interests is immoral; almost a pacifistic state of mind. Ever since the canal seizure last summer, we've been probably throwing that ace- the threat of ... the implied threat of force - right out of our diplomatic deck. That'd be alright if the people across the card table, like Nasser, the Russians or the Chinese, would do the same. But they never do that. I think the Americans have to stop confusing force with evil. Actually, the use of force, or the threat of using it, by free peaceable countries to protect peace and freedom in this world, I think, is an act of the highest morality or it can be, in some cases. I don't think the British-French action in Egypt was immoral. I agree with Howard it was merely stupid, though that's probably worse.

bg

MURROW: And it also failed which is even worse still. Well, gentlemen, this is not altogether an optimistic picture that you have drawn. But let's try to see whether or not you feel that as a result of these events that you have recorded, the prospect for general war has increased or decreased in the course of the last year. Sevareid?

SEVAREID: Well, I have what sounds like an equivocal reaction to that, Ed, but I think it's - I'm sure with me, it's an honest feeling. I think we're probably closer to world war three than any time since - in this post-war period - but I also think we're closer to the chance of a real durable peace. Which way it goes, I don't know.

MURROW: Burdett!

BURDETT: Well, Ed, in the Middle East, I think that, in the last analysis, what happened at the critical moment this year was that both the great powers, the United States and Russia, backed away from a collision and did everything they could to halt the local conflict. There will be more troubles in the Middle East, but I don't think there'll be a war because of them, except by mistake or some terrible miscalculation.

MURROW: Dan Schorr!

SCHORR: Well, Ed, I've been convinced by everything everyone has said, including what I've said, that there're so many ifs I can't make up my mind. I pass.

MURROW: You're very persuasive with your guess. Bob Pierpoint!

PIERPOINT: Well, Ed, in Asia we still have a few small wars but I don't think that in the next year they're going to boil up into big ones. However, I would like to say I'd hate to see us throw away our right to use nuclear weapons, because the Chinese could still start across that Formosa Straits.

MURROW: Howard Smith!

bg

SMITH: Well, I'm optimistic, I don't think a war is likely. I think, in the final analysis, the Red Army will be controlled by Red Army generals and I don't think, as yet, they would be willing to attack through countries that're in open rebellion against their lines of communication.

MURROW: Then as I understand it, it's your feeling that the Army is achieving an increasing positon of dominancy, in the Soviet Union, in terms of determining policy. Is that right?

SMITH: I think the politicans have declined while the Red Army generals probably stood still.

MURROW: Would you agree with that, Schorr?

SCHORR: I absolutely would not. I think the Soviet Army is no factor in Soviet politics.

MURROW: Then you do not feel that when they had to call the Army in in Hungary that the Army, perhaps, exacted its price in terms of control or influence of policy?

SCHORR: Absolutely not. The Army's completely pervaded by the Communist party and there is no such thing as an independent Army in the Soviet Union.

MURROW: Schoenbrun, what do you think the prospects for general war are?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, I'll go along with Howard and Eric, although they've said different things. I agree with Eric that the dangers are very great. But as Howard, I am very optimistic about the chances for peace. I think the Soviets have been weakened in Eastern Europe. Their lines of communication are no longer secure. And they cannot afford a war. I think that the chances are we will have peace.

MURROW: Dick Hottelet!

bg

HOTTELET: Well, I don't know whether the .. whether war is more remote or has come closer. But I do know that in Central Europe the elements of danger, the elements of war, are there, as they have been since the end of the World War II. We have a divided Germany, with all the tensions and all the struggle that that implies. Berlin is an outpost and a flash point. We see the Russians hanging on to East Germany like grim death, with a vacuum growing behind them, and they have a stronger force in the Soviet zone today than they've had since the end of the war.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, we appear agreed that the United States must lead rather than merely mediate. We must be aware of our power rather than afraid of it. Neither dollars nor the United Nations are a substitute for policy. The UN is an effective instrument only when we and the Russians want the same thing. It could stop a war in Egypt. It couldn't even get observers into Hungary. We agree that the contest for power and influence in the Middle East is crucial. But that the critical flash point is in middle Europe. And that the danger of general war stems primarily from the possibility of panic, miscalculation or desperation, on the part of the Russian leaders. Or the possibility of a spontaneous uprising in one of the satellites.

It seems to me, gentlemen, that we are cautiously hopeful and I wish you all a pleasant New Year as you return to your posts. Good Night and Good Luck.

ANNOUNCER: The team of correspondents who participated in this broadcast, can be heard throughout the year, on regular CBS News programs. Around-the-clock they cover top developments in this country and throughout the world and bring CBS Radio listeners on-the-spot accounts of the News as it happens.

bg

A CBS News broadcast

4 to 5 pm, EST, December 29, over the

CBS Television Network

YEARS OF CRISIS

A year-end round-table report

and analysis of international affairs

by CBS News Correspondents

1957

ANNOUNCER: CBS News invites you to spend the next hour with Edward R. Murrow and eight members of broadcasting's most distinguished staff of news correspondents. This is the ninth edition of "Years of Crisis" for which CBS News has once again called in its correspondents from the important news centers of the world. Here now is Edward R. Murrow.

MURROW: Each year for nine years, CBS correspondents have come home at about this time to try to cast up a sort of national balance sheet. Naturally, we have not always been right. We sat around here a couple of years ago discussing whether the title of this program, Years of Crisis, was really appropriate. Well, this year it may be inadequate, because we certainly have no shortage of crises. However, we will now attempt to unleash a not too agonized reappraisal of where we stand as the new year is about to begin.

Welcome home, gentlemen. I suggest that first of all, you answer for me a very simple question briefly as possible, and that is, what in your area happened that was basic, that was pivotal, in the course of the last year. Let's start with Howard K. Smith, who was for ten years our chief European correspondent, and is now stationed in Washington. Howard.

SMITH: Well, in Europe in 1957, I'm afraid that neu-

tralism became a doctrine with a future.

MURROW: David Schoenbrun, based on Paris, spends a lot of time in North Africa.

SCHOENBRUN: I think the initiative in NATO passed out of America's hands into the hands of our allies.

MURROW: Alex Kendrick, from London.

KENDRICK: In Britain, Ed, we look like the second-class power that we have been saying the British look like.

MURROW: Winston Burdett, based on Rome, spends a lot of time in the Middle East.

BURDETT: In the Middle East, the Eisenhower Doctrine collided with the Khrushchev Doctrine.

MURROW: Ernie Leiser, from West Germany.

LEISER: In mid-Europe, Ed, this was the year that the Soviets put a couple of satellites up into orbit and pulled the rest of their satellites back into orbit.

MURROW: Pete Kalischer, based on Tokyo, just back from a trip through Southeast Asia.

KALISCHER: 1957, Ed, was the year that Asian astrologers cast their horoscopes by the light of two Russian moons.

MURROW: Dan Schorr, from Moscow.

SCHORR: In Russia, Ed, I think this was the year when a dangerous inferiority complex was replaced by a possibly more dangerous superiority complex.

MURROW: Eric Sevareid, chief of our Washington Bureau.

SEVAREID: Ed, I think this year Americans lost considerable faith both in their fighting apparatus and in their high command.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, this is not a very optimistic opening, I would say, but let's examine now a little—how did it happen, how did we get ourselves in this fix? Schoenbrun.

SCHOENBRUN: The world's balance of power changed very drastically this year. Russia outflanked us in the Middle East, out-produced us militarily, and our country, unfortunately, became vulnerable to atomic attack.

Now, as all of you gentlemen know, this situation is very different from that which existed when NATO was first created back in 1949 and it might be worthwhile looking backwards a little briefly to find out how we got here. Back then, we had an atomic monopoly and America was the invulnerable fortress of democracy, living pretty safely behind our wide ocean moats.

Everything began to change at about that time. We had a highly successful foreign policy: the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. The Russians couldn't attack us; they didn't dare attack our allies because of fear of instant atomic retaliation; and I think we probably just fell asleep. We woke up pretty rapidly, however, Ed. In the Fall of 1949, the Soviets exploded an atom bomb; in '53—a hydrogen bomb; and then this year for the first time our once safe ocean moats can now be spanned by missiles and our skies by Sputniks. That whole situation was so very different that American leadership of NATO, which was once willingly given to us in return for our protection, has now been challenged.

MURROW: How did we lose it?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, probably we lost it because we thought that a balanced budget was more important than a balance of power—and a direct result of that was, I think, one of the most significant facts of this post-war era. President Eisenhower went to Paris as the first American statesman *seeking* security for our country, instead of offering it to our allies. We went there—you were with me Ed, in Paris—to arm, to get missile bases.

We were told instead to parley with the Russians. East-West talks were not on the agenda of the NATO conference, not at least in the American plan. They were forced upon us. We did not lead; we were led. Why did this happen? Well, I think we changed or failed to change with a changing world. And I think the man who told us why it happened was President Eisenhower himself at that same conference. He said we've been guilty of false habits of thought. We thought that the free system was inherently stronger at all times, and in all fields, than the Communist system. We thought we didn't have to work or pay for freedom. Gentlemen, I would suggest then this is what has brought us to the brink of the gravest threat to our freedom in our history.

MURROW: Winston Burdett, how do you think we got into this fix?

BURDETT: Well, Ed, I think that if the past year has proven anything in my area, the Middle East, it is that something was fundamentally wrong somewhere in our mid-East policy. The Eisenhower Doctrine has not worked out. We went ahead on the premise that we could set up some kind of American protectorate over the Middle East by military means, that we could make anti-Communist allies of the Arab States and in this way exclude the Russians from the area.

We proposed to extend the cold war to the Arab world

and we ignored both the inherent weakness of the Arab States and the emotional backfire of Arab nationalism. We asked the Arabs to line up on our side against the Russians, and, in effect, we told them that they could get economic aid from us if they did. And this antagonized them. And, in practice, we convinced them that our only desire was to dominate them instead of letting the Russians dominate them.

I think we made one fatal mistake. We failed to keep calm in a crisis. When the Syrian left-wing regime took over, our Sixth Fleet sailed out on ostentatious maneuvers. A special envoy from Washington flew out on an emergency mission. And this proved to the Arabs that we were more alarmed by what happened in Syria than they were, and they took this as a sign of fear and weakness. They took it also as attempted interference in their affairs—and even friendly Arab Governments had to come out and disavow us publicly on the ground that what happened in Syria was Syria's business.

It's true, of course, that we face many psychological handicaps in the Arab world that the Russians don't have to face. Israel is the overriding issue of Arab nationalism and the Arabs look on us as Israel's champion. The word "imperialist" which both the Arabs and the Russians pin on us, still has a high emotional content

in that part of the world. But for this reason, I think, we can't go on underestimating the Arab capacity for violent emotional reactions. Our handling of the Syrian crisis, certainly, convinced the Syrians that their deal with Russia was a great victory for Arab nationalism and independence and a great defeat for noisy Western diplomacy.

MURROW: Pete Kalischer, as viewed from the Far East, how do we look?

KALISCHER: Well, when we lost our military pre-eminence, Ed, our bases there became more of a liability than an asset. We're not a member of the family in Asia; we're an alien Occidental nation and our leadership there has always been based primarily on power. We beat the Japanese, Asia's first team, during World War II; we kept an edge, a military edge, thereafter; and then we lost our atomic monopoly. And the first big crack came, in our military reputation, when we didn't win the Korean war decisively. This enormously enhanced Red China's reputation and it put us in the position of not knowing exactly what to do. We didn't lick 'em, we didn't join 'em, and we certainly pretended more or less that they weren't there.

Now this was supposed to isolate Red China from the rest of the non-Communist world, but, actually, all it did

was isolate us. It made the American eagle look like an ostrich. Asians, are perfectly willing to go along with an eccentric eagle, as long as it is an eagle and it can lick anything in the sky. But when the Sputniks went up, the Asians decided that our military leadership had vanished.

MURROW: What did it feel like—working in the Far East when you were not permitted to go to Communist China?

KALISCHER: Well, sir, pretty much like a fool. I mean we sat there and watched our colleagues from Australia and Britain and Canada and Japan go in and out while we kept our noses pressed to the window.

MURROW: All right, let's find out from Dan Schorr what the view is from Moscow.

SCHORR: The view, Ed, from the top of the Kremlin, where I spent so much time in the past year, has been somewhat dim and clouded though one thing has become clear. The Sputnik which has been mentioned before was a symbol, a very great symbol although not the complete sum of what happened in Russia's dealings with the world this year. The Sputnik and, of course, the missile that made it possible to launch these two Sputniks, changed the power balance between Russia and the United States, if not in reality, at least in their

own minds.

It had effects elsewhere as well. It had an effect on their control of the satellite countries. At the Kremlin Communist summit conference last month, the Sputnik was used as a symbol to cow the satellites and get them back into orbit, as Ernie Leiser mentioned. In effect, they hitched their wagon to this satellite up in the sky and used it to cow their earthbound satellites. It had other effects in other areas.

To the uncommitted nations they took this satellite and said "we are now the country to come to for aid, not the United States." And even internally it had very important effects, because in a country like Russia, which had two purges in the past year, and where Khrushchev's regime had a great many other troubles he was able to use the Sputnik as a great attention distractor. He was able to tell the people "don't look down here where we have trouble with crops, with our industrial reorganization and one thing or another—look up there in the sky and see our great achievements."

MURROW: Dan, did the Sputniks distract attention from Marshal Zhukov's removal?

SCHORR: Well, in the first place, there was considerably less attention given to Zhukov's removal in Russia than in the United States. But the second Sputnik, coming as it did the day after Zhukov's complete ouster, completely erased any idea of Zhukov from the minds of the Russians even if they were disposed to discuss anything quite as dangerous as that. In effect, what Khrushchev has begun practising is something that we might call "Sputnikmanship" and he's practised it very successfully. That was Russia this past year.

MURROW: Eric Sevareid, as viewed from Washington, how do we find ourselves in this position and posture?

SEVAREID: Ed, we all get obsessed with Government

and I'm not willing to blame Government for everything that goes wrong in a free democratic representative type of society. But we have to begin with Government pol-

icy. It seems to me that we've seen over the years here a kind of gradual, almost unconscious substitution of the word for the deed.

We have made rather binding verbal commitments all over this globe without really providing the flexible military policy that would make them good in a pinch. I think we've suffered from a paralysis, at the base—a paralysis of our military structure and organization and our strategic thinking by reason of the Dulles massive retaliation doctrine wedded to the Wilson-Humphrey economy-first policy. I think people have quite obviously been lulled almost asleep over the years with endless assurances of peace and prosperity and a normalcy which we shall certainly not see in our generation.

The strange thing is that the Government seems to have lulled itself with the same kind of wishful non-thinking. After all, it was just this Spring that the President was assuring us—and I'm sure he believed this quite sincerely—that NATO had never been stronger, and this Summer that we could have a perfectly adequate defense for the $38-billion ceiling. It was just this August that

Secretary Wilson actually reduced the monies for missile development. And all this in the teeth of what seems to most of us to have been very apparent intelligence information available to them as to everybody else.

I have a feeling there has been not enough response to objective facts, but too much to subjective illusions. For example, that public opinion and the supply of money in this country are fixed ceilings under which we determine really what Government does instead of the other way around. And it may be more than just a technological lag; it may be a considerable breakdown, for a time, in the great art of leading a great people.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, we certainly have not a problem but a whole covey or clutch of problems. Let's see if we can define at least one or two of them. Alex Kendrick, you've spent the last two or three months studying the whole missile and weapons programs, just how serious is our technological lag?

KENDRICK: It *is* serious, Ed. As Dan Schorr made it quite plain, the two Soviet Sputniks were not accidental. They were planned that way. They show that in science and technology and perhaps even in their educational system, which backs up science and technology, the Russians are our equal in some respects and perhaps even ahead of us.

Of course, in military terms everybody should know by now that the two Soviet Sputniks mean that the Russians can send a ballistic missile 5000 miles from their country to our country in less than a half hour. They can put a hydrogen warhead on this missile and it can cause widespread death and destruction. It's true that they can't do this accurately enough yet—and our experts tell us that the Soviet ICBM is not yet operational. But the potential is there. Strategy is measured in terms of potential. And strategically, possession of the ICBM by the Russians would cancel out our strategic advantage, that is, our advantage up to this point, our long distance air force, SAC.

It's true that the Russians have a long distance air force too, their SAC, but with our warning system and our defense system we would have some protection against an attack by their long distance air force. If they attacked us with missiles we wouldn't have that protection. It's also true that even without a defense against missiles—we can retaliate with SAC still. We can build up intercontinental missiles the way they are doing and the way we are doing and we may also be able to develop anti-missile missiles. But this doesn't remove that potential I was talking about, the potential that they have of making a direct strike against our cities.

MURROW: Isn't it true also, Alex, that they lead us in intermediate range missiles?

KENDRICK: Yes, they do—in two respects, because they are also building submarines which will be able to fire missiles and these submarines can come rather close to our shores. And they can bring American cities under attack from short-range distances rather than from long-range distances.

SCHOENBRUN: Well, Alex, they can also cancel out with their ICBM's our European bases . . .

KENDRICK: Exactly. They are ahead of us in intermediate range missiles as well, and this gives them the potential of attacking the cities of Western Europe, the cities of our allies, as well as our own cities.

SCHOENBRUN: That's what made our allies so nervous at the Paris summit conference and so reluctant to give us launching pads in Europe itself.

MURROW: We went to Paris hoping that we could get permission from our allies to plant these intermediate range missiles on their territory, but they seemed to be somewhat reluctant. Leiser, as viewed from Germany, what do you think our chances are of getting permission to place these missiles on the continent?

LEISER: I'm not so sure we will, Ed. We, of course, extracted in Paris an agreement in principle to put those bases on the continent, but actually in practice a good many of our allies only were willing to have those bases on somebody else's part of the continent. The West German newspapers, for example, have been busily printing maps to show that it really doesn't make much sense to have the bases on German soil.

They say that the only additional area brought into target range is a slice of tundra some place northeast of Leningrad. The idea seems to be "put the bases in Turkey or Greece—any place but on our soil." This is

quite a change from a couple of years ago when our allies were clamoring that we were depriving them of the modern weapons that they needed to protect their territories. Now for the first time we went to Paris and we asked *them* to accept the missiles or at least give us the real estate to put them on, in order to help protect American soil. And, actually, there's another very remarkable change of scene from my point of view: the man who seemed to focus the reluctance to accept the missiles was old Konrad Adenauer, who up to now has been our most obedient ally, I think, you might say.

SCHOENBRUN: Unquestionably.

LEISER: Anyhow, he certainly has been a rock of support for the Dulles doctrine of positions of strength. Well, at this meeting, the Europeans and particularly the Germans felt that he was the leader of opposition to Dulles. In fact, in Bonn after the Paris conference, the joke was that the German national anthem should be changed from "Deutschland uber alles" to "Deutschland uber Dulles."

MURROW: It's true that Adenauer led the procession demanding new parleys with the Russians but he was almost trampled by our other allies who were equally eager.

Howard Smith, one of the great advantages of being a chief correspondent is that you can wander about anywhere you like and you've been doing that for the last ten years. Why don't you sum up now the political repercussions of Sputnik?

SMITH: Well, I think the problem that Sputnik creates for us outside our own borders has to be divided in two: the uncommitted world—about two-thirds of the world; and the Western allied nations.

To take the uncommitted countries first, we've always suffered from an advantage in dealing with them be-

cause Russia has no history in Asia and Africa and the Middle East while the Western white man does. Until recently, most of these peoples were subjects of Western empires and so their resentment and suspicion are fresh and sharp. Also they don't distinguish between Europeans who live in Europe, and Europeans, who over the centuries have emigrated and call themselves Americans. We're all the same to them. So in any competition for their favor we're like a mile runner who's forced to start every race a quarter mile behind the Russian opponent.

Since Sputnik I think our disadvantage has become greater because the main material aspiration of these people is to industrialize their countries rapidly and here they see the, to them, hopeful image of a country, Russia, almost as underdeveloped as they were a short while ago, which is today able to beat the most advanced Western white nation at putting an earth satellite into orbit. This is just bound to make them more receptive to approaches from the Russians and less receptive to approaches from us.

MURROW: Wasn't one of our major miscalculations that we assumed that a backward people could not skip whole generations or centuries in technological development and progress?

SMITH: I think the floor is littered with fragments of that illusion.

SCHOENBRUN: Howard, wouldn't you agree that the Cairo conference this week is a particular example of Russia's political and economic appeal to the uncommitted nations, that they now can at least promise to export aid and technology to those nations?

SMITH: Absolutely. I think it's a perfect example of the way they're trying to exploit Sputnik.

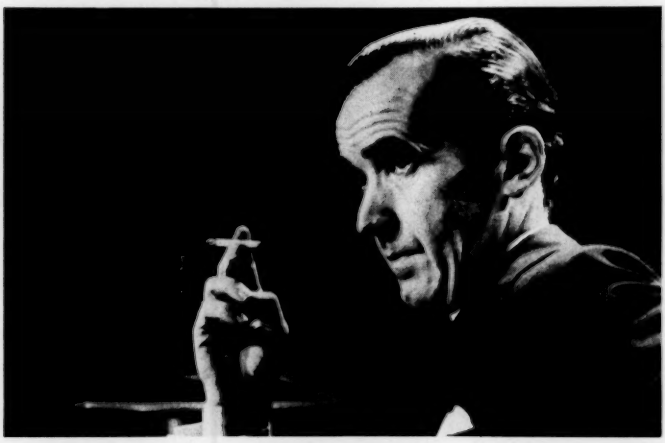
But now about the Western European allied countries. The problem's somewhat different. They're not so interested in the Sputnik as they are in the mighty missile that put a half-ton Sputnik in the air. As Alex Kendrick said—it implies that Russia is now ahead of us in a new field of weapons whereby the Russians can destroy Western Europe much more efficiently than ever before and America is less able to protect Europe than ever before. This is almost bound to induce them to start thinking in terms of possibly becoming neutral in this battle—and I think that desire is increased by the fact the Russians have, or will soon have, this intercontinental missile whereby they can hit America directly without even going over Western Europe. This is bound to bring about the thought in Western Europe that perhaps they might opt out of the next war and just leave it to the two giants. So, I think the whole thing creates a trend towards neutralism.

MURROW: Yes.

LEISER: Well, Ed, I think that right now it makes them want to negotiate, not necessarily to opt out, but to find some way to negotiate out of the dilemma that they feel they're in.

MURROW: Well, Sevareid, since we're talking about allies, and having allies is a relatively new experience for us, they represent a problem too, don't they?

SEVAREID: Yes, I'm afraid Howard has stolen a little of my proposed thunder here. We talk all the time and the press is full of talk about the allied crisis of confidence in us. You can turn this around too. There are a lot of people in Washington who are worried about Europe. Lots of Asians, who used to criticize us for concentrating too much on military power, now criticize us for not concentrating enough and letting the Russians get ahead of us. There are Europeans who seem to want a double standard alliance, one that will protect them, and also give them an out if necessary. The words in the alliance, if they read it, say, in effect, one for all and all for one.



MURROW: Well, gentlemen, let's look briefly at the immediate and crucial hazards that confront us, the things that represent an immediate danger. Kendrick.

KENDRICK: Ed, from the military point of view, the hazards are very simple. They are the hazards of sudden death and with no place to hide. Because even though it is fantastic to conceive of such a thing, a surprise attack by the Russians cannot be ruled out by our military planners. Every military man must have that as one of the possibilities on his drafting board. The possibility of adventurism, let us say, in the Kremlin, may not be a political factor but it certainly must be reckoned as a

military factor or a possible military factor.

Then there's the second type of sudden death, let us say accidental death. Somebody will push the wrong button and put us into war. And then there's the possibility that one of our allies might inadvertently or advertently start a scrape somewhere that would involve us in war. Those are the hazards that we face.

MURROW: Dan Schorr, what's the immediate danger as viewed from Moscow?

SCHORR: Well, I would tend to discount the immediate danger of any calculated surprise attack that Alex mentioned, but I go along with him on the possibility of adventurism in Russia, but only under certain conditions. Looking at it from the Soviet internal point of view, I think there is a possibility of adventurism arising if the squeeze is put too heavily on the present Khrushchev regime, if they're put into the kind of corner where they feel it necessary to take certain chances as a diversion. I think one small example of that was the trumped up crisis over Syria and Turkey, which happened to come around the time they were having trouble over Marshal Zhukov. I think that kind of danger does exist and perhaps we might have to do something about it.

MURROW: Sevareid, what's the immediate danger as you view it from Washington?

SEVAREID: Well, I think the great thing is that this Government may not have grasped and may not help the people to grasp the full implications of this profound crisis, which is going to go on for a long time. I think there is another specific thing, Ed, relating to economics. I don't know if there'll be an economic depression in this country at all but we could do things that would produce overseas some of the effects of a depression, and that concerns this new Congress more than the Administration.

We might even put up some tariffs. We may considerably cut the amount and scope of foreign aid spending and technical help and so on. This could have rather serious effects and this would split the President's foreign policy down the middle. There was one witness, Ed, at a House subcommittee last week on this subject who said if we do this "this is like asking one Siamese twin to play the Moonlight Sonata on a ukelele while the other does a jailhouse rock with Marilyn Monroe." You can't do it that way.

MURROW: Kalischer, what's the immediate hazard viewed from the Far East?

KALISCHER: The immediate hazard, of course, is the accidental war, the adventurism which might occur say in the Formosa Straits or in a divided Korea. But I think really the great hazard is the fact that we'll lose the uncommitted nations like Japan and India to Communism. If we do we could lose the whole shooting match with a whimper not a bang. India would tip the scales, I think, out of sheer numbers, 360 million people; Japan, because it's got the biggest industrial complex in the Far East; and when you've got that tied up with Siberia and China you have a very formidable complex indeed. And Japan is particularly vulnerable because it's in an export-or-die race for survival. If we raise tariffs, if we cut down Japan's free world market through a recession, Japan must look elsewhere for trade. And I say that very possibly we can create the biggest ringtailed economic and political crisis in Japan by creating that kind of a crisis.

MURROW: Leiser, what's the view in Germany?

LEISER: Well, Japan's not the only place, Ed, where a depression could bring catastrophe. The Germans are seriously worried about a danger of a depression and they think that the principal likely source of that danger

might be the United States. A depression here would infect all of the European economies. The democracy in West Germany has been growing surprisingly strongly with its roots in the fertile soil of prosperity. But if the economy went bust, I think that all bets about the future of democracy in West Germany would have to be off.

MURROW: Schoenbrun, what is your view on the immediate hazard?

SCHOENBRUN: I see two ahead, Ed. One we saw at the Paris conference: the extremely precarious state of leadership of the Western world. The health of the American President, of course, is a principal cause of concern. As for the German Chancellor, he is 82 years old next week, and the 38-year-old French Premier is not likely to grow old in office. If there were a change of regime in France and Germany it could wreck NATO, and such a crisis indeed is ahead in 1958. France is facing in the Algerian war a crisis that could bring about a right or a left-wing coup d'etat. Now, gentlemen, don't hold me to this. I don't say it's going to happen. For the first time, however, it is possible. And that's the second hazard, the war in Algeria, which is spreading its flames throughout North Africa and which might well provoke an anti-Christian, anti-Western bloc from the Dardanelles to Gibraltar.

MURROW: Burdett, as viewed from the Middle East, what's the immediate hazard to us?

BURDETT: There are immediate hazards, Ed, at almost every step that we take there. One Western diplomat in Jordan told me recently that the two worst calamities he could imagine happening would be the death of King Hussein and a revival of the Arab-Israeli dispute over the Gulf of Aqaba. Hussein alone holds Jordan together and his death would bring down the pro-Western Government of that country. Nobody knows when or

whether the Egyptians or the Saudi Arabians are going to try to close the Aqaba Gulf to Israel. But we do know that neither Nasser nor King Saud has forgotten that issue. If they revive it we will be caught again right in the middle of an Arab-Israeli dispute.

There's always the hazard of new outbreaks on the borders of Israel. If there is serious trouble, even trouble short of war, on the Israeli border with Jordan, it will not be long before Jordan slides into chaos. Hussein would find it politically impossible to keep the Syrian Army from rushing to his aid in the name of Arab unity. And in that event it seems certain that the Syrians would not get out again. Finally, there's the danger that if Jordan falls, Amman will then become the base of operations for the Egyptians and the Syrians against their next target, Iraq.

MURROW: Not a very pleasing prospect, is it? Howard Smith, what's the immediate hazard as you view it?

SMITH: With some reluctance, I must recall that before we got into the Sputnik cloud we were suffering from a black eye called Little Rock. The ugly photographs of white mobs beating up Negroes appeared on the front page of almost every newspaper on earth and I don't think the press abroad was very fair to us. I don't think they noted the fact that in fact we've made a great deal

of progress on this problem and I think we still are. They just noticed that the mob did this. And in a world which we have to court for our own survival and a world which is two-thirds colored, I don't think we can afford any more Little Rocks.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, we've drawn up something of a list of our liabilities and a rather formidable one it is, too, which certainly leaves no room for complacency. But after all our posture is not prone; we have very considerable assets, and I think it might be useful at this point to try to total up a few of the assets. Why don't you start, Schoenbrun?

SCHOENBRUN: I think that one of our liabilities is still our greatest asset and that is NATO. NATO is still the richest, strongest, voluntary coalition of free nations in the world and that's an enormous asset if we can hold it. NATO conducts some two-thirds of the world's trade. Its mines produce more coal than the rest of the world together. Its furnaces pour more steel. Unfortunately, the rest of the world, the Communist world, is using more and more of its steel to build schools. And, for example, although Russia has half as much steel as the United States it's turning out twice as many scientists. That's a very real danger to us. I think that our basic health is sound. I think our assets are very great. The problem is how do we make the best use of them.

MURROW: Kalischer?

KALISCHER: Well, I think the innate conservatism of Japan in Asia is one of our big assets, because they've got a high standard of living, which we helped them get, and they want to keep it. Surprisingly enough, our big asset in India is Prime Minister Nehru. Americans often feel that Nehru is splitting hairs when the Indians should be out splitting logs. But he is a working democrat who wants to make a modified form of socialism work. I

think we have an asset in South Vietnam, which is a little country, but, symbolically, twenty-two Vietnamese offered to man the first American space rocket once we got it up. And, finally, I think we've got an asset in the fact that China, Red China, is feeling the pinch of paying for the Soviet technical aid program.

MURROW: Winston Burdett, what are our assets as viewed in the Middle East?

BURDETT: Ed, I think we have one big immediate asset in the Middle East, the United Nations, and that means two things: the personal diplomacy of Dag Hammarskjold and the United Nations Emergency Force, which stands guard at the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba and in the Gaza Strip.

I think that very few people realized last month that for a few days at least, we were at the edge of something very deep during the latest border dispute between Israel and Jordan. Dag Hammarskjold flew out there himself and by what diplomats on-the-scene thought must have been some kind of wizardry, he cleared up the trouble. He's an invaluable asset.

Also, there's very little attention given to the job done by the UN Emergency Force. A year ago, I remember, the Israelis were saying that the UN would be powerless in Gaza. It would not be able, they predicted, to curb Egyptian raids across the border into Israel. And many diplomats and many correspondents, including me, were almost equally pessimistic. So, I think it's worth recording a year later that we were wrong and that the UN force has been worth every dollar that's been spent on it.

MURROW: Of course, it doesn't have enough dollars for its support at the moment because some nations have refused to pay their appropriations. Dan Schorr, as viewed from Moscow, what assets do we have?

SCHORR: I think, Ed, the greatest asset that we have

in Russia is the growing desire of the Soviet people for something that I would call normalcy except that it's not normal—at least for some kind of a decent or better life anyway. Forty years after the revolution, I think the flames of fanaticism have damped down and the people are in a state where they want something a little better and a little relaxation. I think they would like to be as we are accused of being—complacent. They'd like their chance at complacency too.

I think this represents a pressure on the regime. It's one of the reasons why Khrushchev feels somewhat overcommitted in his promises of aid to uncommitted countries, his promises of aid to the satellites. I think he's been forced to promise some aid to his own people as well. And that represents a pressure for reduction of the arms burden. It doesn't operate as directly as it would in this country.

The seat of power remains in the Kremlin, which is awfully far from the people, but indirectly the pressure on the Kremlin is increasing. And one of the reasons it's increasing is that the people aren't so numb or dumb any more. There's been a lot of education. And the education that it's taken to make Sputniks has also produced a lot of thinking. And as the people think, they aren't pushed around quite so easily any more. You feel it.

You feel it as you travel through Russia.

MURROW: Are you suggesting that there might be a revolution of the Sputnik-makers sometime?

SCHORR: Well, I don't want to play with the word revolution, I wouldn't want to suggest that Russia is going to go up in flames of revolution or counter-revolution very soon. I think in the terms which you mean it, revolution as a kind of mental and spiritual revolution—yes. I think that the Sputnik-makers don't like the Communist gobbledygook. I think they will rebel in their own way in time.

MURROW: Leiser, what are our assets as viewed from Germany?

LEISER: In Central Europe a very strong asset is a Germany—at least a West Germany that for the first time in this century is not seeking military or political adventure. The Russians may, as Dan has just said, be looking for a better life—the West Germans have got it and they want to keep it. They have a standard of living that is now beginning to approximate ours and they like it. They have an economic way of life that is now beginning to approximate ours and they like it. They are not in a mood to tinker recklessly with events.

MURROW: Kendrick, what are our assets as viewed from London?

KENDRICK: From "missile land?"

MURROW: Missile land, all right.

KENDRICK: I'm with Dave Schoenbrun in believing that a liability and even a hazard can also be an asset. Missile warfare is still in the future and potentially Soviet missile might could cancel out our SAC force, but right now, we still possess the power of deterrents. We have air bases at home and overseas; we have allies; we have a long distance air force; we have carrier fleets—and all these, I think, serve to remind the Russians, that

whatever war may do to us, it would be suicidal for them. Now, this is a grim and a most horrible asset, but it's still an asset even though it may only be temporary.

MURROW: Dan Schorr, is there much widespread fear of war in the Soviet Union, would you say?

SCHORR: There is a great deal of fear of war in the Soviet Union. It goes up and down. It reached a new peak just around the time of the Turkish-Syrian crisis. They are constantly being told that the Russian Government doesn't want war but constantly being told also that we do, and they always interpret that in terms of the intentions of their own Government.

MURROW: Eric Sevareid, why don't you sum up our assets as viewed from Washington.

SEVAREID: Well Ed, since time and space are coequal, as the scientists tell us, with the loss of the protecting oceans we have lost the asset of time. But that's about all. This country is by no means a pushover. We have everything else if we use it. We've got the greatest industrial plant in the world and the greatest industrial leaders. We have a wonderful pool of scientists and engineers if their energies are channeled. We have unlimited money though we act as though we're almost broke half the time, and I think we have a world record of generosity and good will toward other parts of the

world and of non-aggression that honest men cannot really doubt. We have a President that people will still most willingly follow—if he can summon the personal strength and the personal will to give them the lead. We have a great deal.

MURROW: Gentlemen, we have now at least tried to lay out in general terms our liabilities and our assets. Now, let's go to the simple problem: something must be done. What should we do? Kendrick.

KENDRICK: I think the first thing to do and I don't mean the only thing, but the first thing to do is to catch up with the Russians in missiles. This may not change the fact that the Russians still have or will have the ability to bring our cities under their missiles, but it might at least give us a stalemate in this field of intercontinental missiles and certainly it would do much to restore our confidence and our psychology of leadership. And even though we started five years behind the Russians in the big missiles, a lot of people here believe that we can catch up with them in two or two-and-a-half years, provided of course, they don't step up their pace too much.

Now, another thing we must do is remember that a missiles test is also a test of nerves and we should not magnify the natural misfires and normal failures that

you get in testing. Thirdly, I think we should lift the veil of atomic secrecy that still exists between this country and our allies, because only in this way can we further instead of hinder nuclear progress, and anyway we don't have secrets from the Russians.

But, most of all, I think that we have to change the climate in this country. I think we have to stop being anti-intellectual. We've got to recognize that an egghead may be a better investment than a blockhead. However, I wouldn't put all our eggheads in one basket (*laughter*) a basket of science. I think they should be spread around in the general field of education.

MURROW: Dan Schorr, what do you think we must do?

SCHORR: Well, I've been listening to Alex Kendrick, and I'll admit that I'm somewhat depressed. Not so much by what he has said, as by the emphasis that it seems to indicate. Of course, we have to try to catch up with Russia in the field of missiles—that sort of goes almost without saying, but even if we do, and I assume we can in proper time, I'm not quite sure where that leaves us and I think that it omits one opportunity that there is to find some kind of a better and more real solution than just catching up and then keeping pace in means of destruction.

You remember a year ago we discussed just after the Hungarian rebellion, the possibilities that existed then for some kind of a deal with Russia, to use a crude term. They seemed to be ready then for disengagement and offered us some kind of a deneutralized zone in Europe extending five hundred miles both sides of the Elbe. They were then off balance and I think the terms for such a deal were pretty good.

Now they've subdued Hungary again. Now they have their Sputniks up in the sky. I think the terms are less

good, but I still think there are possibilities for dealing with the Russians and for getting some kind of disengagement in Central Europe. The reason I think so is that the pressures are still strong in Russia. I think they need very badly disarmament agreement. I think this was indicated by the way only this past week Khrushchev announced a cut in the armed forces based on nothing more substantial than NATO's statement that we didn't want to use force—a statement that NATO had made many, many times before. I would like to see those opportunities explored. If not, I don't know what's going to happen.

But even after we've explored these opportunities and assuming—which I do not assume—that we could get some kind of disengagement, then we really go in for the long haul race—the big competitive coexistence. There, it seems to me, we have to catch up with Russia in those fields of science and education where at the moment they are ahead. I just want to make one brief remark based on observations recently in talking to Soviet professors and science students. Coming home, it seems to me that many Americans put too much emphasis on the price tag attached to catching up with Russia in science. It seems to me from dealing with them, looking at and listening to Soviet scientists, that their money—the compensation that they get, how well off they are personally—isn't the main point. The main point for them is they have the laboratories and the facilities and the opportunity to do the kind of work they love to do and that this work is valued in their society.

SCHOENBRUN: And they have a status in their society.

SCHORR: Yes, it is status—a sense of role, of function which everybody values. Partly this is, I think, because science is kind of a holy word in a Communist state, but

I think science can be a holy enough word here—even while preserving other holy things.

SCHOENBRUN: You'd say they were pro-egghead in other words?

SCHORR: Yes, they are pro-egghead.

SMITH: I've heard it said, that part of the incentive to being a scientist in Russia is the disincentive of being anything else in Russia. (*laughter*)

SCHORR: There is some truth in that, but I don't think it tells the whole story.

MURROW: Smith, what do you think we must do and urgently?

SMITH: Well, I am certainly in agreement with those who think that our diplomacy ought to be much more affirmative where it has been negative and should be more supple where it's been rigid. In fact, I don't think we're going to keep our alliances with us unless it becomes more affirmative and supple. But having said that I would like to agree with Alex Kendrick that our top priority has to be making those new weapons. In respect to getting a disarmament agreement I've covered almost every disarmament conference there has been and I think it's going to be extremely difficult without those weapons. This is a very complicated thought. Can I pursue it a little bit?

MURROW: Please do.

SMITH: The thing that most disarmament talks run up against—and stop at—is the fact that Russia has one built-in advantage over us. She can launch a surprise attack on us whereas we cannot launch a surprise attack on Russia. Russia can keep secret all the movements it takes to prepare a surprise attack, but we can't. They would read about movements in all our newspapers and hear it on the radio and possibly see a little of it on television, so it's very hard for us to do it. Now any disarma-

ment agreement requires a good degree of inspection of each country to make sure the agreement is being kept, and if Russia agreed to that she could no longer launch these surprise attacks. She could lose her greatest advantage.

SCHORR: If I could interrupt you for one minute here, I think as long as we concentrate on this question of inspection, the possibility of a disarmament agreement is going to be very slim indeed. The kind of inspection we want is a kind of inspection that Russians won't let Russians do in their own country, and with underground launching pads and missiles on submarines, it does seem to me that this question of inspection is getting a bit outdated.

MURROW: Well, then you are saying that there is no real chance.

SCHORR: What the Russians want is a lot of things, which I hope that we won't give them. But I do think the approach to the problem instead of an over-all disarmament agreement with inspection, or trying to avoid surprise attacks in a clinch, is to try and break out of the clinch—to try to disengage.

SEVAREID: It takes two to try to break out of a clinch.

KALISCHER: Unless you have inspection, Dan, how do you know that any agreement is going to be kept?

SCHORR: You can start with a partial agreement in an area of Europe where you can inspect, but an overall disarmament agreement with inspection in Russia is just unpalatable to that regime as long as it is Communist and I'm afraid it's going to remain Communist for still a little time.

MURROW: Leiser, what do you think we ought to do as viewed from Germany?

LEISER: Ed, our European allies emphatically think that we should start to negotiate and start now. Their

attitude seems to be, don't just stand there—say something. Well, if we're to say anything and find out what the Russians real answers are, I think that we're going to have to say it quietly behind closed doors, using the techniques of old-fashioned diplomacy. I think we've had enough of summit meetings, beating of the propaganda drums and the clinking of the martini glasses. I think perhaps an example offers itself in what happened when Russia's Malik and America's Jessup got together and settled the Berlin blockade—an agreement by the way that has stuck.

KENDRICK: What you mean is that the Russians wanted to settle the Berlin blockade. How do you know that they really want to engage in disengagement?

LEISER: I think we won't find out until we try.

KENDRICK: Well, they proposed it.

LEISER: We can only find out by negotiating.

SCHOENBRUN: Alex, you used to be in Vienna and the Russians disengaged from Austria.

KENDRICK: That's true.

MURROW: Go ahead, Ernie.

LEISER: Well, I was going to say, that the technique of negotiation must be the old-fashioned diplomatic kind. The substance of negotiation I think, must start modestly. We start small, we don't try and settle all the

issues that divide us—perhaps we take one—on disengagement, a small issue—a relatively small issue. We discuss the possibility of our withdrawing our troops or at least our atomic weapons to the Rhine and find out how far the Soviets are prepared to withdraw their weapons. I suggest that this is an area in which the Russians might be willing to permit inspection.

MURROW: Burdett, what do you think we must do immediately, what is the urgent thing we must accomplish in the Middle East—if we can?

BURDETT: Ed, I think that first priority in the Middle East must go to achieving or at any rate trying to achieve a settlement of the biggest single problem—the Arab-Israeli conflict. There will be profound instability in the Middle East as long as that conflict goes on, and as long as there is this instability there will be no rest in the cold war between the Russians and ourselves in the area.

MURROW: How do you think it could be settled?

BURDETT: Well, we cannot get that settlement certainly without doing some unpopular things. I think it will take time and that a year will not be enough.

Certainly we will get nowhere if we go on treating this as the untouchable problem. We've got to make a start and a try. The end purpose of any settlement, of course, must be to get full Arab recognition that Israel is here to stay. But the Israelis, I think, must face up to the fact that they bear a major responsibility for the 927,000 Arab refugees. They have to make an unconditional offer to take the refugees back. Now, I do not believe that such an offer would cost Israel a great deal. The refugees—like other Arabs—have come to realize—especially since the Israeli invasion of Egypt—that Israel is strong and cannot be wiped out. I think that only a small portion of them—even those who owned

property in Palestine—would want to return to Israel in order to become second-class Israeli citizens. Most of them would probably accept compensation which will have to be provided, and would be willing to seek a new life elsewhere.

KENDRICK: May I ask you something? Why don't the Arab States take back the Arab refugees since they're the ones who caused them to be refugees in the first place?

BURDETT: Whether they caused them to be refugees in the first place, Alex, is a matter of great historical dispute. I think myself, that the Arabs and the Israelis share a responsibility there. They do not take them back for a political reason: namely, to perpetuate their grievances against Israel and thereby to perpetuate their argument against them.

SCHOENBRUN: All right Winston, why don't these Arab States use some of their billions and billions of dollars of oil money to do something about taking care of Arab refugees? Why does Israel have to put up all the money?

BURDETT: Well, it's true that King Saud is a billionaire, but he's a broke billionaire. He's always running out of funds.

SCHOENBRUN: You should be so broke! *(laughter)*

BURDETT: But I think, secondly, as part of a general settlement, Israel must give up land—not a great deal of land, but enough to return to Arab rule the Arab villages and farms along the borders and also to end the absurdity of Arab communities being split down the middle by a demarcation line.

MURROW: Don't you think that any Israeli government that accepted that proposal would be out of office in 24 hours?

BURDETT: No, I believe the opposite, Ed. I believe that such territorial concessions are a political necessity. I believe that no Arab Government could risk a settlement that did not involve such concessions. I believe that an Israeli Government could. There would be a crisis in Israel; the Government might fall; but I don't believe that this would affect the ultimate stability of Government itself in Israel, whereas I believe it would lead to a series of breakdowns in the Arab States.

KENDRICK: Well, Winston, you're saying the same thing that Dan says, that it only takes one to unclinch, namely, Israel.

BURDETT: There is a difference . . . there is a great difference. The Arabs are asking various things of the Israelis, various relatively small practical concessions I think they would settle for. Israel is asking only one thing of the Arabs, and that is peace on her borders and full Arab recognition. This, she would have to get out of any settlement. She could not be asked to make these sacrifices in order to get an impermanent settlement and in order for this settlement to be accepted as permanent, there would have to be absolute guarantees of Arab-Israeli borders, in the first instance by the United States and certainly also by the United Nations.

Now, I don't wish to imply, I think it would be absurd and dishonest to imply that there are no political risks involved in seeking a settlement of this kind. I think there are risks, very great risks. For example, badly handled, this whole project could set off new dissensions among the Arab States, each of which is only too ready to jump on its neighbor with accusations of sellout to Israel. I think also that there would be stiff resistance and possibly serious political repercussions in Israel itself. I think, though, that Israel could stand up to those repercussions. The essential political fact here is that the United States is the only country in a position to bring pressure and to induce the Israelis to give up some of their fixed old emotional positions.

MURROW: Of course, the Russians are also in a position to encourage the Arabs in their ambition to wipe Israel off the map.

BURDETT: This is true, and all the more reason it seems to me that we should try to meet this problem before the Russians try to exploit it.

MURROW: Kalischer, what do you think we should do in the Far East?

KALISCHER: Well, we've got to do something that I think is a thousand times harder than a crash missiles program. We've got to revamp our thinking entirely

in regard to about half the world's population, maybe more, the semi-colonial and colonial and former colonial peoples. While we're staring hypnotized at Russia across Western Europe, we're being outflanked in Asia, in Africa, even in the South Pacific. Now, the present Afro-Asian conference is the sort of thing that points this up. The Indonesians have a dispute with the Dutch. They asked us to mediate. We refused. Now they're getting the sort of support that they want from the Communist countries.

SCHORR: Not yet. They just asked for it.

KALISCHER: Well, they've asked for it, and, they've gotten moral support and this is exactly what President Sukarno said to a visiting Congressman in Jakarta. President Sukarno said to our Congressman Saund, "I don't just want American military and economic aid. I want American political aid." And that is what he is getting from the Communist countries. We've also got to do something else. We've also got to admit that our China policy is bankrupt.

I don't think there is a general in the Pentagon who honestly believes that Chiang-Kai-shek has a China mandarin's chance of fighting his way back to the mainland or that he'd be able to remain on Formosa unless we kept him there. I don't think there is a diplo-

mat in the Far East that thinks that our policy of non-recognition and seven years of economic sanctions is going to bring down the Communist Government. I think we've got to admit that we've got to do what our major allies in Europe and Asia have admitted and do—and that is, recognize the Peking regime for what it is—the unfriendly, but existing Government of mainland China.

We should recognize the Chiang regime for what it is, the friendly and existing Government of Formosa. And then I think, possibly we might try something rather unorthodox like, offering farm products aid to Red China the next time there is flood or famine. If they accepted, it would mean that Russia could not or would not help. If they refused, it would mean that they would have to explain this to their own people. In either case, we'd get out from behind this wall we're building around China, which is really a wall we're building around ourselves.

MURROW: Schoenbrun, what do you think is urgent to be accomplished?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, I think we might begin by trying to correct those false habits of thought that the President talked about. If our free system is not inherently stronger than the Communist system, then it follows logically that we must work harder, pay more taxes and have more respect for learning. I think too, we should give up some of our own self-deluding myths: for example, the illusion that Russia is going to come unstuffed because of internal pressures. Dan Schorr has told us that Russia is likely to evolve, but no revolution in sight. If that's so, we've got to start living with the idea that Russia is going to be around for a very long time, that the competition is not going to end, but going to grow more intense.

I think that's why our allies have asked us to negotiate. Not necessarily a global settlement, Ed. Personally, I don't believe that disarmament can be brought about overnight. I am more inclined to agree with those of my colleagues who said that we ought to try to have a series of disentanglements at the pressure points, in the Middle East, in Middle Europe—in any specific area or on any specific issue, where we can seek the chances of agreements through normal diplomatic channels.

Finally, if I may say so very briefly, I think we've got to be true to our own faith. We cannot support colonial powers without weakening the moral posture of what we call the "Free World." And, when Mr. Dulles tells the American people as he did recently, that our ties of friendship with Spain are symbolic of the links in the free world, I think he's misusing the words "free world." Let us by all means have alliances with Spain and with Yugoslavia. Let's admit, however, that they are alliances of mutual self-interest—not of mutual ideology. Let's not misuse and abuse that precious word—Freedom. President Eisenhower said this is a time for greatness. I would suggest it is also a time for facing up to the full truth.

MURROW: Eric Sevareid, what do you think we must do?

SEVAREID: Well, Ed, to put it very briefly, I am assuming that world leadership in a very fundamental scientific revolution is at stake—a revolution that is going to change man's life enormously. Therefore, I believe, so far as this country is concerned, we have to try to go all out. I think there will have to be—whether we like it or not—some Government hand directly on the economy. I think we must get some better control of our dwindling natural resources, some better control

of our rather scattered and somewhat misused scientists and engineers. Surely, we've got to get at this shockingly delayed problem of an obsolescent educational system. We may even need a bigger army for more flexible military policy around the world. If all this means higher taxes, then so be it. I think most of us would rather be broke than dead—though sometimes the Government seems to have some doubts about it.

MURROW: Well gentlemen, would any of you like to sum up this discussion. (*laughter*)

SEVAREID: Would you?

MURROW: Well, I'll try, and if you have disagreement at any point by all means speak up.

It seems to me there are certain things upon which you gentlemen are in complete agreement. First of all, you all agree that our lack of leadership is showing; that some of our illusions have been shattered; and that many of our allies have become disillusioned. You agree that our allies are determined, one, to talk with the Russians and two, perhaps to do business with them; that they are not impressed with our belief, widely held, that the Russians are going to collapse from internal pressures. You also appear to believe that if we persist in our self-righteous, inflexible policy

— matching bomb with bomb, missile with missile, threat with threat, then within measurable course, we in this country may find ourselves merely a great continental island off the coast of Kamchatka with the rest of the world either united against us or wholly indifferent to our fate.

It seems that you also agree that we must somehow disenthrall ourselves and learn not only to think anew, but to act anew. And I have also the impression that none of you believes that death in defense of a balanced budget is a proper way for free men to die. You all seem to feel that the President posed the question properly in Paris when he said, "What will we pay in freedom for freedom?" but, that he has not yet made much progress in answering that question.

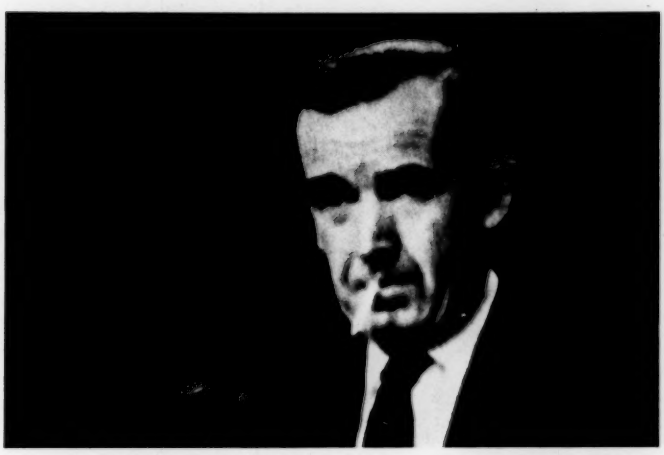
You've cast up what I would call a rather ominous balance sheet, yet somehow, I find your discourse rather optimistic. None of you suggests that humans, having devised a method of destroying humanity, will now proceed to use it. None of you mention the phrase "preventive war."

Several of you stressed the fact that the free world is richly endowed with men, metal, machines and money and that what is required is a call to sacrifice, which, according to Sevareid, would be promptly answered by the people in this country. Dan Schorr certainly made it abundantly clear that the Russians have their own problems frequently well-concealed, but they are certainly not nine feet tall.

Most of you, I have the feeling—although you didn't say it—have rather the sense that this is the best of all possible times to be alive, because never before have the stakes been so high. Never before have the actions and decisions of this country been so important. And, I think also most of you have the feeling that if we

spend too much time debating the past we may lose the future.

Thank you very much, gentlemen, and good health and good news. Good night and good luck.



ANNOUNCER: This has been the ninth edition of "Years of Crisis," an annual report by Edward R. Murrow and other CBS News correspondents from the important news centers of the world.

Yr of Crisis Special Program

1. WHAT YOU FELLOWS THINK REALLY HAPPENED THIS YEAR.

SMITH
SCHOENBRUN
KENDRICK
BURDETT
LEISER
KALISCHER
SCHORR
SEVAREID

2. HOW DID IT HAPPEN.

SCHOENBRUN
BURDETT
KALISCHER
SCHORR
SEVAREID

3. WE GOT A PROBLEM. LET'S SEE IF WE CAN DEFINE IT.

KENDRICK - HOW SERIOUS OUR TECHNOLOGICAL LAG.
LEISER - OUTLOOK MISSILE BASES IN EUROP

SMITH - POLITICAL EFFECT OF SPUTNIK

SEVAREID

4. HAZARDS...IMMEDIATE DANGERS.

KENDRICK
SCHORR
SEVAREID
KALISCHER
LEISER
SCHOENBRUN
BURDETT
SMITH - LITTLE ROCK

ALL RIGHT, GENTLEMEN, WE HAVE MADE A LIST OF OUR LIABILITIES. IT IS A RATHER FORMIDABLE LIST, WHICH LEAVES NO ROOM FOR COMPLACENCY. BUT SURELY THERE IS A BRIGHTER SIDE... AND LET'S HAVE A LOOK AT THAT RIGHT AFTER THIS PAUSE FOR STATION IDENTIFICATION.

---CRN---

5. WE VE BEEN TAKING AN INVENTORY. WE MADE A LIST OF OUR LIABILITIES. XXXXX A RATHER DEPRESSING LIST IT WAS, TOO. WHAT ASSETS DO WE HAVE.

5. SCHOENBRUN
KALISCHER
BURDETT
SCHORR
LEISER
KENDRICK
SEVAREID

6. WHAT MUST WE DO.

KENDRICK
SCHORR
SMITH
LEISER
BURDETT
KALISCHER
SCHOENBRUN
SEVAREID.

E.R.M. YEARS OF CRISIS Special Program OPEN

EACH YEAR FOR NINE YEARS, C.B.S. CORRESPONDENTS FROM AROUND THE WORLD HAVE COME HOME AT THIS TIME OF YEAR, TO TRY TO CAST UP SOME KIND OF BALANCE SHEET. WE HAVE NOT ALWAYS BEEN RIGHT. JUST A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO WE DISCUSSED AT GREAT LENGTH WHETHER THE TITLE OF THIS ANNUAL REPORT - YEARS OF CRISIS - WAS APPROPRIATE. THERE DIDN'T SEEM TO BE MUCH OF A CRISIS THEN. TODAY THE TITLE MAY BE INADEQUATE. HOWEVER, WE SHALL NOW ATTEMPT TO UNLEASH A NOT TOO AGONIZED REAPPRAISAL OF WHERE WE STAND AS THE NEW YEAR BEGINS.

LET ME TRY TO SUMMARIZE A FEW THINGS ON WHICH YOU GENTLEMEN APPEAR TO BE IN GENERAL AGREEMENT. OUR LACK OF LEADERSHIP IS SHOWING - SOME OF OUR ILLUSIONS HAVE BEEN SHATTERED - MANY OF OUR ALLIES HAVE BECOME DISILLUSIONED. THEY ARE DETERMINED TO TALK AND PERHAPS DO BUSINESS WITH THE RUSSIANS, WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT. IF WE PERSIST IN OUR SELF-RIGHTEOUS INFLEXIBILITY, MATCH BOMB WITH BOMB, MISSILE WITH MISSILE, THREAT WITH THREAT, WHILE REFUSING TO TALK - NO MATTER HOW SLIM THE CHANCES OF SUCCESS - THEN WITHIN MEASURABLE TIME WE MAY FIND OURSELVES A LARGE CONTINENTAL ISLAND OFF THE COAST OF SIBERIA, WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD EITHER UNITED AGAINST US OR INDIFFERENT TO OUR FATE.

WE MUST SOMEHOW DISENTHRALL OURSELVES AND LEARN TO THINK ANEW. OUR GOVERNMENT MUST PROVIDE A GREATER HOSPITALITY FOR INTELLIGENCE.

NONE OF YOU APPEARS TO BELIEVE THAT DEATH IN DEFENSE OF A BALANCED BUDGET IS A FITTING END FOR FREE MEN.

YOU ALL SEEM TO FEEL THAT THE PRESIDENT POSED THE QUESTION PROPERLY WHEN HE SAID: "HOW MUCH IN FREEDOM ARE WE PREPARED TO PAY FOR FREEDOM?" BUT THAT HE HAS MADE VERY LITTLE PROGRESS IN ANSWERING THAT QUESTION. NO NATION IN HISTORY HAS EVER BEEN GREAT UNLESS GREATNESS HAS BEEN DEMANDED OF IT BY ITS LEADERS; AND YOU ALL IMPLY THAT VERY, VERY LITTLE IS BEING DEMANDED OF US.

YOU HAVE CAST UP A RATHER OMINOUS BALANCE SHEET, BUT YET SOMEHOW I FIND YOUR DISCOURSE RATHER OPTIMISTIC. NONE OF YOU PREDICTS THAT NOW THAT HUMANS HAVE DEVISED A METHOD OF DESTROYING HUMANITY THEY WILL PROCEED TO USE IT. NONE OF YOU USED THE PHRASE "PREVENTIVE WAR". SEVERAL OF YOU STRESSED THE FACT THAT THE FREE WORLD IS RICHLY ENDOWED WITH THE MEN, MONEY, METAL AND MACHINES TO COMPETE WITH THE RUSSIANS IN ANY FIELD. DAN SCHORR MADE IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT THE RUSSIANS AREN'T NINE FEET TALL. SEVAREID IS CONVINCED THAT THE PEOPLE OF THIS

COUNTRY WILL PAY AS MUCH, SACRIFICE AS MUCH IN DEFENSE OF OUR FREEDOM, AS THE RUSSIANS WILL PAY TO DESTROY IT.

IF WE DEFINE A MIRACLE AS ANYTHING THAT CAUSES ONE TO BELIEVE, THEN MAYBE WHAT WE REQUIRE IS A MIRACLE - ALTHOUGH YOU ALL INDICATE THAT WE MAY HAVE TO SETTLE FOR LITTLE ONES IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

I THINK I SENSED - ALTHOUGH NONE OF YOU SAID IT - THAT YOU ALL REGARD THIS AS THE BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE TIMES TO BE ALIVE, BECAUSE THE STAKES WERE NEVER BEFORE SO HIGH. WHEN MAN POSSESSED ONLY A DULL HOE AND A MUSKET, IT DIDN'T MUCH MATTER TO SOCIETY WHAT HE DID WITH THEM. ONLY HIS IMMEDIATE FAMILY WAS AFFECTED. MAN NOW POSSESSES INSTRUMENTS CAPABLE OF TERMINATING THE HISTORY OF THIS MINOR PLANET, OR OF CREATING CONDITIONS APPROACHING THE SUBLIME. WE AMERICANS WILL HAVE MUCH TO DO WITH DETERMINING THAT FUTURE. IF WE CHOOSE TO DO NOTHING, THAT MAY

BE DECISIVE TOO.

THERE IS A FINAL POINT ON WHICH WE MIGHT AGREE, AND THAT IS THAT IF WE SPEND TOO MUCH TIME DEBATING THE PAST, WE MAY LOSE THE FUTURE.

E.R.M. YEARS OF CRISIS OPEN

('57

EACH YEAR FOR NINE YEARS, C.B.S. CORRESPONDENTS FROM AROUND THE WORLD HAVE COME HOME AT THIS TIME OF YEAR, TO TRY TO CAST UP SOME KIND OF BALANCE SHEET. WE HAVE NOT ALWAYS BEEN RIGHT. JUST A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO WE DISCUSSED AT GREAT LENGTH WHETHER THE TITLE OF THIS ANNUAL REPORT - "YEARS OF CRISIS" - WAS APPROPRIATE. THERE DIDN'T SEEM TO BE MUCH OF A CRISIS THEN. TODAY THE TITLE MAY BE "INADEQUATE." HOWEVER, WE SHALL NOW ATTEMPT TO "UNLEASH" A NOT TOO "AGONIZED REAPPRAISAL" OF WHERE WE STAND AS THE NEW YEAR BEGINS.

1. WHAT YOU FELLOWS THINK REALLY HAPPENED THIS YEAR. — Basic — Pivotal

SMITH
SCHOENBRUN
KENDRICK
BURDETT
LEISER
KALISCHER
SCHORR
SEVAREID

2. ~~HOW DID IT HAPPEN.~~

~~SCHOENBRUN~~
~~BURDETT~~
~~KALISCHER~~
~~SCHORR~~
~~SEVAREID~~

3. WE GOT A PROBLEM. LET'S SEE IF WE CAN DEFINE IT.

KENDRICK - HOW SERIOUS OUR TECHNOLOGICAL LAG.
LEISER - OUTLOOK MISSILE BASES IN EUROPE

SMITH - POLITICAL EFFECT OF SPUTNIK

SEVAREID — Allie Problem —

4. HAZARDS...IMMEDIATE DANGERS.

KENDRICK
SCHORR
SEVAREID
KALISCHER
LEISER
SCHOENBRUN
BURDETT
SMITH - LITTLE ROCK

ALL RIGHT, GENTLEMEN, WE HAVE MADE A LIST OF OUR LIABILITIES. IT IS A RATHER FORMIDABLE LIST, WHICH LEAVES NO ROOM FOR COMPLACENCY. ~~BUT SURELY THERE IS A BRIGHTER SIDE... AND LET'S HAVE A LOOK AT THAT RIGHT AFTER THIS PAUSE FOR STATION IDENTIFICATION.~~

~~---CRN---~~

5. WE VE BEEN TAKING AN INVENTORY. ~~WE MADE A LIST OF OUR LIABILITIES.~~ XXXXX A RATHER DEPRESSING LIST IT WAS, TOO. WHAT ASSETS DO WE HAVE.

Assets —

5. SCHOENBRUN
KALISCHER
BURDETT
SCHORR
LEISER
KENDRICK
SEVAREID

6. WHAT MUST WE DO.

KENDRICK
SCHORR
SMITH
LEISER
BURDETT
KALISCHER
SCHOENBRUN
SEVAREID.

E.R.M. YEARS OF CRISIS. CLOSE.

Dec. 29, 1957

LET ME TRY TO SUMMARIZE A FEW THINGS ON WHICH YOU GENTLEMEN APPEAR TO BE IN GENERAL AGREEMENT. OUR LACK OF LEADERSHIP IS SHOWING - SOME OF OUR ILLUSIONS HAVE BEEN SHATTERED - MANY OF OUR ALLIES HAVE BECOME DISILLUSIONED. THEY ARE DETERMINED TO TALK, AND PERHAPS DO BUSINESS WITH THE RUSSIANS, WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT. IF WE PERSIST IN OUR SELF-RIGHTEOUS INFLEXIBILITY, MATCH BOMB WITH BOMB, MISSILE WITH MISSILE, THREAT WITH THREAT, WHILE REFUSING TO TALK - NO MATTER HOW SLIM THE CHANCES OF SUCCESS - THEN WITHIN MEASURABLE TIME WE MAY FIND OURSELVES A LARGE CONTINENTAL ISLAND OFF THE COAST OF SIBERIA, WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD EITHER UNITED AGAINST US, OR INDIFFERENT TO OUR FATE.

WE MUST SOMEHOW "DISENTHRALL" OURSELVES, AND LEARN TO THINK ANEW. OUR GOVERNMENT MUST PROVIDE A GREATER HOSPITALITY FOR INTELLIGENCE.

NONE OF YOU APPEARS TO BELIEVE THAT DEATH IN DEFENSE OF A BALANCED BUDGET IS A FITTING END FOR FREE MEN.

YOU ALL SEEM TO FEEL THAT THE PRESIDENT POSED THE QUESTION PROPERLY WHEN HE SAID: "HOW MUCH IN FREEDOM ARE WE PREPARED TO PAY FOR FREEDOM?" BUT THAT HE HAS MADE VERY LITTLE PROGRESS IN ANSWERING THAT QUESTION. NO NATION IN HISTORY HAS EVER BEEN GREAT UNLESS GREATNESS HAS BEEN DEMANDED OF IT BY ITS LEADERS; AND YOU ALL IMPLY THAT VERY, VERY LITTLE IS BEING DEMANDED OF US.

YOU HAVE CAST UP A RATHER OMINOUS BALANCE SHEET, BUT YET SOMEHOW I FIND YOUR DISCOURSE RATHER OPTIMISTIC. NONE OF YOU PREDICTS THAT NOW THAT HUMANS HAVE DEVISED A METHOD OF DESTROYING HUMANITY THEY WILL PROCEED TO USE IT. NONE OF YOU USED THE PHRASE "PREVENTIVE WAR". SEVERAL OF YOU STRESSED THE FACT THAT THE FREE WORLD IS RICHLY ENDOWED WITH THE MEN, MONEY, METAL AND MACHINES TO COMPETE WITH THE RUSSIANS IN ANY FIELD. DAN SCHORR MADE IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT THE RUSSIANS AREN'T NINE FEET TALL. SEVAREID IS CONVINCED THAT THE PEOPLE OF THIS

COUNTRY WILL PAY AS MUCH, SACRIFICE AS MUCH IN DEFENSE OF OUR FREEDOM, AS THE RUSSIANS WILL PAY TO DESTROY IT.

IF WE DEFINE A MIRACLE AS ANYTHING THAT CAUSES ONE TO BELIEVE, THEN MAYBE WHAT WE REQUIRE IS A MIRACLE - ALTHOUGH YOU ALL INDICATE THAT WE MAY HAVE TO SETTLE FOR LITTLE ONES IN THE YEARS IMMEDIATELY AHEAD.

I THINK I SENSED - ALTHOUGH NONE OF YOU SAID IT - THAT YOU ALL REGARD THIS AS THE BEST OF ALL ~~POSSIBLE~~ TIMES TO BE ALIVE, BECAUSE THE STAKES WERE NEVER BEFORE SO HIGH. WHEN MAN POSSESSED ONLY A DULL HOE AND A MUSKET, IT DIDN'T MUCH MATTER TO SOCIETY WHAT HE DID WITH THEM. ONLY HIS IMMEDIATE FAMILY WAS AFFECTED. MAN NOW POSSESSES INSTRUMENTS CAPABLE OF TERMINATING THE HISTORY OF THIS MINOR PLANET, OR OF CREATING CONDITIONS APPROACHING THE SUBLIME. WE AMERICANS WILL HAVE MUCH TO DO WITH DETERMINING THAT FUTURE. IF WE CHOOSE TO DO NOTHING, THAT MAY

BE DECISIVE TOO.

THERE IS A FINAL POINT ON WHICH WE MIGHT AGREE, AND THAT IS THAT IF WE SPEND TOO MUCH TIME DEBATING THE PAST, WE MAY LOSE THE FUTURE.

Good Health —
+ good News. -

YEARS OF CRISIS: 1949-1959

As broadcast on the CBS Television Network on
Sunday, December 28, 1958, from 10:00-11:00 p.m. EST

With the following CBS News correspondents:

Edward R. Murrow

Winston Burdett

Charles Collingwood

Richard C. Hottelet

Peter Kalischer

Ernest Leiser

Paul Niven

David Schoenbrun

Eric Sevareid

Produced by

CBS NEWS

From Studio 41

YEARS OF CRISIS

ANNOUNCER: "Keep Talking," usually presented at this time and "What's My Line?" will not be seen tonight. In their place, Lever Brothers and Kellogg are privileged to bring you a one-hour presentation of CBS News' 10th annual edition of "Years of Crisis."

(C O M M E R C I A L)

Now, we invite you to join Edward R. Murrow and eight members of broadcasting's most distinguished staff of news correspondents. Mr. Murrow.

MURROW: Good evening. This is the tenth year we have ~~sat around~~ this table and discussed world affairs. During that period our country has re-armed, parleyed, shed blood in Korea, made solemn commitments around the world--spent vast treasure to support what is left of the free world. Ten years ago the flash-point of crisis was Berlin, and today it's Berlin again. Before we begin this discussion, I ~~would~~ should like to say that this group of reporters cannot really be equalled for men who are able to split infinitives and pad expense accounts. So, before we begin this serious discussion, I will ask you gentlemen to introduce yourselves--we've all met before.

SCHOENBRUN: I'm David Schoenbrun. I've been based in Paris these past 10 years covering French and Western Union affairs.

BURDETT: I'm Winston Burdett. I'm stationed in Rome, but I spend a good deal of time in the Middle East.

KALISCHER: I'm Peter Kalischer, based in Tokyo, covering the Far East.

NIVEN: I'm Paul Niven, stationed until recently in Moscow.

HOTTELET: I'm Richard C. Hottelet, on special assignment in Latin America.

LEISER: I'm Ernest Leiser; I cover Germany and the

East European satellites.

COLLINGWOOD: Charles Collingwood - London. But, my last expense account came from Africa.

SEVAREID: I'm Eric Sevareid and I work in Washington.

MURROW: We will hope to tell the truth about everything except expense accounts, and this argument and juggling of hemispheres will begin in one minute.

(C O M M E R C I A L)

Gentlemen, a very simple question to start with. The most important development in your area in the last ten years. Eric?

SEVAREID: Well, Ed, I think...I'd say this, that America began the practical break with its independent past. We made the down-payments on a permanent commitment to the world at large with only a rather vague idea of what the final bill was going to be.

MURROW: Leiser?

LEISER: I would say, Ed, that the most dramatic development of the past decade in Middle Europe has been the emergence of West Germany to wealth and to power. And the establishment of a new Balance of Power down the line that divides Germany and Europe. And, I think that the present Berlin crisis, Ed, points up the fact that nobody on either side can alter that balance very drastically without running the risk of the Big War.

MURROW: Burdett?

BURDETT: Well, in the Middle East, the main development has been the victory of Arab nationalism, which in these past ten years has succeeded in expelling the West from nearly all its political bastions in the area.

MURROW: Kalischer?

KALISCHER: Unquestionably in the Far East, the swift rise of Communist China to the status of world power and the fascination this holds for the backward nations of Asia.

MURROW: Collingwood?

COLLINGWOOD: In the last ten years, the British have had to come to terms with the fact that they can no longer by themselves decisively influence the fate of the world. And, this realization now determines their foreign policy, their defense policy and their national psychology.

MURROW: Niven?

NIVEN: The tremendous growth of Soviet power, still perhaps underestimated.

MURROW: Schoenbrun?

SCHOENBRUN: As viewed from Paris, Ed, this past decade has brought evolution and revolution. That is, the steady growth of European economic union and the equally steady decline of the Fourth Republic of France, whose demise this year brought Charles de Gaulle back to power.

MURROW: Hottelet?

HOTTELET: In the Western hemisphere, successive shocks have shattered traditions and illusions. Now, at last, we're all taking a new look at our vast problems and potential.

MURROW: Well, now, let's take a new look at the last year. What was the most important development in your area this last year? Leiser?

LEISER: Well, Ed, obviously the most important development in Central Europe - one that exploded over the continent the end of this year...was the Soviet demand that we get out of Berlin. For the first ten months of this year, nothing much had

happened to upset the political apple-cart. The division of Germany remained as deep as ever. Poland was pulled back tighter into the Soviet orbit. On our side of the line, the West German Army emerged as a real force to add to Western military strength and the Russians made it very clear that they didn't like this one bit. But, there was nothing to indicate that Khrushchev would throw down a basic new challenge to the balance of power in Europe. However, he did just that. In the middle of November, he abruptly spoke up to say that we had forfeited our right to be in Berlin and that we had to pull our troops out. And then, a couple of weeks later, the Soviets spelled out their plan for a West Berlin "free city" - unprotected by Allied troops and with the East German Communists in control of the lifelines to and from the city. And we were told that we had six months to accept the Soviet plan and prepare to leave Berlin. We reacted in about the only way I think that we could have. For the past 13 years - ever since the war - we said over and over again, that we're in Berlin by right, exactly the same right as the Russians. And, if we fail to stand up to our rights on so basic and fundamental an issue, then I think that we would lose face and I think that our Allies would lose faith in us throughout the world - both in our strength and in our dependability. So, we rejected the Russian demand. We said flatly, no.

MURROW: And, the 15 nations of NATO only a couple of weeks ago said the same thing, in substance, didn't they?

SCHOENBRUN: Yes, indeed.

MURROW: Kalischer, the most important development in your area this year.

KALISCHER: Unquestionably, Quemoy. Red China, in late August, thought it had a winning formula to take Quemoy without a

direct clash with the United States. This was a sea-artillery blockade that would point up the political as well as the military vulnerability of that island that lies just five miles off the China coast.

MURROW: Do you think they really intended to take it in a physical fashion?

KALISCHER: Well, they broadcast that they would and they don't like to do that unless they think they're going to get away with it. And, for a time, you know, it looked as though they were going to. And, then we raised the ante --- the United States Navy ships began convoying Nationalist supply ships up to three miles off the Quemoy beach. But that was as far as either side came to the brink of a major war. We didn't shoot at the Communists, they didn't shoot at us. By October, the Nationalists had broken the blockade and the Chinese Communists had accepted or settled for their every-other-day cease-fire. By that time, I think, we had won a minor military victory - we had not backed down in the face of force and through the valor of the Chinese Nationalists and our own supplies, we demonstrated that we couldn't be bluffed.

MURROW: But, we paid a price for that small military victory, didn't we?

KALISCHER: We certainly did. The price was that Chiang-Kai-shek had to state publicly that he never considered the offshore islands a stepping stone to regain the mainland and that he had renounced force as a major means of getting back there. I mean, everybody knew he couldn't really get back there, but this was the first time he had ever said so publicly. And, the biggest reversal came, I think, in Washington where Secretary of State Dulles announced that he thought it was highly problematical that if there were an

anti-Communist revolt in China, Chiang-Kai-shek would lead it. This - by a public statement - by one of the main supporters of our China policy - really fractured a major premise of that policy by admitting that Chiang really didn't have a chance for a comeback.

MURROW: I think we will discover that a number of major premises have been fractured in the course of the last year. Burdett, what has been fractured in the Middle East?

BURDETT: Well, in the Middle East certainly the main development was the revolution in Iraq. Only six months ago we were - all of us, I think - still thinking of Iraq as an island of stability in a stormy area. Iraq was tied to the West by the Baghdad Pact. It was enjoying the benefits of more than $200 million a year in oil revenues. And, it was carrying out the biggest program in roads, schools and dams since the Mongol invasions. It had a likeable young King and a Prime Minister, Nuri es-Said, who for sheer skill was the grand champion of all Middle Eastern politicians. And under him, the country was going through the motions of parliamentary democracy. Well, all of this - parliament, prime minister, king and dynasty - was swept away in a one-day revolution. Obviously we had been wrong about Iraq. Her stability had been an optical illusion.

MURROW: How do you mean - an optical illusion?

BURDETT: Well, we had forgotten that her old regime was widely unpopular; her democracy a sham; her elections rigged; her press gagged; and her newly-educated classes still excluded from leadership. Above all, the Baghdad Pact itself was detested. In the eyes of the Iraqi nationalists, it was a new tag for the old subservience to a foreign power - Britain - an alliance that cut Iraq off from the mainstream of Arab nationalism.

It was the coup in Iraq that sent American

troops into Lebanon and British troops to Jordan. Those operations did hold back the tide for a while, but they changed nothing and they produced no solutions.

MURROW: Are you suggesting that the tide is still there and waiting to flow?

BURDETT: I think the tide is still there and actually is--is still flowing, Ed. And, I think that the Arab revolt in Iraq proved again that Arab nationalism is the ruling force in the Arab world today - stronger than kings and politicians, and even military alliances.

MURROW: Schoenbrun, you've had big developments in France this year?

SCHOENBRUN: Yes, Ed, indeed we have. We had a revolt in France just as you had one in Iraq. It happened on the 13th of May and by the first of June, after that coup d'etat, Charles de Gaulle was elected to office. I would suggest that this second coming of Charles de Gaulle is more than just a French development, for de Gaulle is bigger than France in much the same way that Churchill was bigger than Britain in 1940 and had an impact upon the entire world. In human affairs, we often find that the whole effort of a people with inspired leadership is greater than the sum of the separate parts. De Gaulle certainly proved that in the last war when, with virtually no money or men of his own, he was able to impose his will upon such men as Churchill and Roosevelt.

MURROW: But, David, what was done towards solving his major problem - Algeria?

SCHOENBRUN: Well, he's done a number of things, Ed. He's replaced General Salan, who used to run the colonial clique down there and brought him back to Paris. He's put a young 44-year-old

Liberal, Paul Delouvrier into Algiers, dedicated to a new policy. He's done many other extraordinary things in Africa, Ed. He made history in 1948. Charles de Gaulle offered freedom to the 18 former colonies of France and only one of them--Guinea--chose independence. The other 17 voted freely to give Charles de Gaulle a chance to build a new community. That leaves, as you properly say, Algeria as his major problem. Now, what has he done there? He's offered amnesty to the rebels. He's invited them to come to France to talk to him about peace. He's called them, "Brave Men." By so doing, Charles de Gaulle has proved that he's a brave man himself. No other French politician would dare do anything like that. I think he's made considerable progress, but he has solved nothing yet - that's for 1959. I'd say this much, Ed, that 1958 began in despair. It has ended with the glimmerings of hope but only the glimmerings. Still, that's a most important development - not only for France, but I would suggest for all of us.

MURROW: Well, it seems to me that you are directing your attention, if not your hope, in the direction of three old men: Adenauer, de Gaulle and Chiang Kai-shek. What happens when they depart this scene?

LEISER: Well, Ed, I don't think that anything basically will change the situation in Germany when Adenauer dies. The country is stable and I think that his successors will follow the same line that he's followed - alliance with the West. I wouldn't have said that five years ago, but Germany has come a long way in the last five years. I think we can be relatively sure of the future - at least the immediate future in Western Germany.

MURROW: Kalischer, what happens when Chiang Kai-shek departs?

KALISCHER: Well, Chiang is not about to die. I don't believe he's even considered it.

SCHOENBRUN: That's the prediction of the year, Pete.

KALISCHER: But, he's already announced that he's not going to run for President again in 1960...~~(inter.)~~

MURROW: But, he can change his mind, of course.

~~KALI~~SCHER: He has before. This is a...a real ploy with him. But, whether or not he does...whether he does or not, the real power in Nationalist China on Formosa will remain with his son, Chan Ching Kuo, who runs the political section of the government. In fact, Chan Ching Kuo runs a lot of Nationalist China today.

MURROW: David, what if something should happen to de Gaulle?

SCHOENBRUN: Ed, the fate of France for the foreseeable future is in the hands of that one man and that's not healthy for any country even if the man is healthy and de Gaulle is not in the prime of youth. If he goes before he's able to liquidate the Algerian problem, then French democracy might die.

MURROW: Collingwood, the most important event of the last year as viewed from London.

COLLINGWOOD: Well, the British have reacted to all of these great, shaking events that have shaken everyone else. They've been involved in them, along with some things of their own. They had their first real racial tension in the British Isles this year. They've had Cyprus. But, in domestic British terms, the most important event was economic - they saved the pound. A year ago,

the pound sterling which finances half the world's trade seemed on the rocks. And since then, by a combination of strict controls, public and private restraint, high exports - especially to us--and good luck--the British have re-established confidence in their currency, and have added to their precious reserves of gold and dollars. They signalized that by this weekend making the pound sterling convertible with the dollar. Economic things are very important to the British, which is why they're right now so concerned with the common market. The...the six nations of Europe: France, Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries, banding together in the common market to give each other advantages which they don't give the rest of Europe frightens the British who need trade and frightens the other eleven countries. I think that something like a trade war may be in prospect.

MURROW: Dave, you think there's going to be a trade war between Britain and France?

SCHOENBRUN: Yes, I was just about to come in and say something to Charles about that, Ed. The outlines of a trade war I think have already begun. They're making motions at each other. I think they really have too great a stake actually in...in union of the West to have an open war, but there's going to be a lot of trouble between the Commonwealth and the common market. Charles has said that the common market people don't want to extend their privileges to the British. I think perhaps it would be fair to say that the British do not want to extend their imperial preferences to the common markets, so there is trouble ahead.

COLLINGWOOD: Well, now Dave, the British have offered to extend a good many of their privileges. The French - the most protectionist country in Europe - haven't wanted to. But, aside from

the rights and wrongs of this argument, the common market goes into effect on the first of January of the new year, and the eleven nations who feel themselves rightly or wrongly discriminated against by the six nations of the common market are probably going to take retaliatory action and that means - a trade war. Whether it's an open trade war - how intense, how long it'll be, there are going to be very tense economic relations between these countries.

SCHOENBRUN: Well, Charles, we find ourselves in complete agreement.

COLLINGWOOD: Good.

MURROW: That's a very astonishing development. Hottelet, what about the most significant developments in Latin America in the last year?

HOTTELET: Well, certainly, the most dramatic development was Vice-President Richard Nixon's good-will tour through South America on which he narrowly escaped being beaten to death. This shocking incident raised some wild fears of galloping anti-Americanism in the continent, fears which were very happily not justified. But, it did show that the forces of nationalism that have swept across the world since the war are abroad in South America too and that they could be captured and turned against us. Still, on balance, I'd say that 1958 was a year of hopeful change and in some cases it was rather drastic. Clean elections were held--in some places for the first time and the people went to the polls to vote for moderate political leaders and even for a program of economic austerity. And, in one country, Colombia, an ex-dictator was slapped down. In Cuba, we now see a dictator--Batista--fighting for his life and he may go down the drain before too long if Raoul Castro and Fidel Castro keep up their offensive. I would say that basically in

1958 a pattern has emerged of constitutionality in which the constitutional authority has been supported by the Army--strangely enough--and also by the people and the people have taken a more responsible role in this constitutional authority. So that 1958, while it's not the millenium by any means, is still a hopeful beginning.

MURROW: Well, you're more hopeful than I have heard you for many a long year around this table, Richard. Any talk in Latin America about a common market?

HOTTELET: Yes, indeed, there's very much talk about it, because this continent which had scattered--which had centrifugal interests--is now beginning to look inward on itself and President Juscelino Kubitschek of Brazil and his operation Pan America of tying this continent together I think are a new sign of a new resolve.

MURROW: Niven, the most important development in the Soviet Union in the last year?

NIVEN: Ed, I think it was, again in 1958, the continued growth of Soviet power. Many of these other things we've been talking about have been reactions to reflections of that growth and they did keep on growing. However, the Russians didn't chalk up any special successes in 1958 that you can put your finger on. They didn't follow up the Sputniks with anything equally spectacular. If they had any new rockets, they didn't parade them. Diplomatically, they spent the first part of the year yelling, first for an unprepared summit meeting, and then for an unpre...untestable, unguaranteed ban on nuclear tests. They made a lot of noise about Lebanon and Jordan and later about Quemoy. We held the line in both places, for the time being at least. However, I don't think the Russians are worried by this lack of significant successes in one

year. They plod away toward their goal. They opened the world's largest hydroelectric dam. They started a new seven-year plan for industrial expansion. They expanded education even further. They bring to this national task of building communism for the Soviet Union and the world a concentration of effort and resources, which is perhaps peculiar to communism and which is almost certainly unattainable by any free society.

SCHOENBRUN: Paul, I don't know whether this is significant or not, but aren't the Russians about the only people in the world who in 1958 did not do the hula-hoop?

NIVEN: I think it may happen clandestinely. Rock and Roll has.

MURROW: Now, the well-known cynic of foggy bottom, Eric Sevareid.

SEVAREID: Edward, as you well know, I am Chairman of the Independent Pessimist Party, but I'm not a cynic. I would have to say several things, Ed. We got into space. We began to shake up our soft educational system, we brought in a 49th state, we bulled our way through the worst recession in 10 years partly because of the momentum of our defense spending. The point is that you can argue that all these things were essentially reactions to Soviet pressures.

MURROW: Too true.

SEVAREID: We took very few initiatives of our own. I must admit we did...when we did react in Quemoy and Lebanon we reacted rather bravely and sharply. But, it was reaction. We didn't take initiatives really, even on great domestic matters--nothing very dramatic. As a result, a lot of unsolved problems have piled up. I think that resulted in a sense of public frustration which I think was the real reason for this phenomenal election this fall, which swept in

a lot of very eager young activist Congressmen, though I suspect, Ed, their eagerness is a little more impressive than their prospects for success.

MURROW: So, you end as you began on a note of pessimism. Gentlemen, let's go and look now at the points of imminent danger around the world. Leiser, for you in Germany--of course it's Berlin, isn't it?

LEISER: It is, indeed, Ed, and I think that one of the imminent dangers that faces us in Berlin is a definite possibility of World War III. We and the Soviets are almost literally sitting on a time-bomb there, watching it tick away toward the June 1st deadline that the Russians have set for us to negotiate or to get out of town. I don't mean to imply that they will try to expel our Berlin garrison by force: they don't feel that they really have to.

MURROW: How will they do it, then?

LEISER: Well, I think that what may happen is that they will turn their...they've already said that they want to turn their authority over to the East German Communists and the East German Communists have said that they don't want us in Berlin, except as tourists. We, of course, will not attempt to...well, I shouldn't say <u>of course</u>. We, I think, will not attempt to fight our way through any East German blockade into Berlin. I think we will do what we did in 1948, attempt to fly over it with a new air-lift. But this time, both the Russians and the East Germans have implied strongly that they'll regard a new air-lift as a violation of East German territory. And, they've implied equally strongly that they'll shoot our planes down. And, if this happens, I think it's going to be very hard to avoid a war.

SCHOENBRUN: Ernie, I don't follow your reasoning, I'm sorry to say. What do you mean by a definite possiblity of war? Possibilities of war always exist of course, but how definite? What are they going to fight about, where are they going to fight? There's not going to be any real world war in Berlin. Could you spell your reasoning out for us?

LEISER: I don't think there'll be any World War in Berlin. I do think that there is a very serious danger of a World War over Berlin and I think that the first battles may be fought in the air corridors between West Germany and Berlin.

SCHOENBRUN: Be specific, Ernie. Now, you're talking about an air war. All right, I can conceive of that. How does that become World War III? I just don't believe that that will happen.

LEISER: Ah, David, I think that when we fly planes into Berlin and they're shot down, we will send in armed escorts to see that those planes do get in. Then the East Germans will send up planes presumably to shoot those down. And, the Russians have already said that they'll come to the aid of their Warsaw Pact partners. And, I say that when we have a direct confrontation of Soviet military power and American military power, then we do have a serious danger of all-out war.

HOTTELET: Well, I agree fully that the danger is direct and I recall 20 years ago when an equally direct danger was met in France with the question of "Why die for Danzig?" And, I'd like to ask Dave Schoenbrun, are the French people now beginning to ask, "Why die for Berlin?"

SCHOENBRUN: Well, I'd be glad to answer that, Dick, and ...and also to continue the quarrel with Ernie. It seems to be my fate to fight with people from Germany over the last 10 years on this

show. Ah, the French are certainly not going to say, "Why die for Berlin?" because they have a leader like Charles de Gaulle. He's not a coward, he never backs down from anything. But, I don't think there's anything really to back down from. We're going to maintain our positions in Berlin if the Russians shoot at our planes or the East Germans shoot back. I think that certainly will happen. I don't see how it's going to spread out to World War III. I've been saying so for ten years on this show. Please forgive me if I'm boring you, Dick and Ernest. There's not going to be World War III, I don't think.

LEISER: You're not boring me, David. I only pray that you're right.

MURROW: Ah, Kalischer, what are the imminent dangers in the Far East?

KALISCHER: Well, I think the same one that there was last year. Why die for Quemoy, which was one of the questions that was raised in the United States. I think the Communists are going to have another go at it. If not there, somewhere else on the periphery of China. They're in a muscle-flexing mood. I think there's going to be a rumpus in Singapore when they hold their elections in March, with a possible communist victory in the cards. There may be trouble in Thailand and Burma which came under mild military dictatorships this year. Whatever happens, it ain't gonna be a quiet year in the Far East.

MURROW: Burdett, what about the imminent dangers in the Middle East?

BURDETT: Well, the revolution in Iraq has created a new kind of situation in the Middle East with new dangers. I think it can be summed up by saying that now that the West has been evicted

from most of its key political positions, the interests of Khrushchev and the interests of Nasser are no longer identical. Egypt wants to see the new Iraq closely aligned someday with Nasser's Arab Union. The Russians want Iraq to keep her present independence, so that they can use her more freely as a base of operations against Iran and Turkey and against Western interests in the Persian Gulf. And so today, we see the Russians actively sabotaging Nasser's dream of Arab unity with the Syrian communists preaching subversion and the Iraqi communists fighting Nasserism. Now, in all of this there is an immediate danger. The new nationalist government of Iraq wants to maintain independence of Egypt, wants to assert a nationalism independent of Nasser and that's a new and a healthy development. But, in striking down the Nasserists--as it has done--the Iraqi Government has had to rely on communist support to carry the day. The communists now provide the government's main popular support outside the army; and so as a consequence, Iraq faces the danger of heavy communist infiltration on the most important levels of government.

MURROW: Schoenbrun, what do you see as the imminent danger as viewed from Paris?

SCHOENBRUN: We don't have any new dangers in Paris, Ed. But most of the old dangers are always present. We've already talked about the health of Charles de Gaulle, that's one. Financial bankruptcy and the Algerian War are constant dangers in France.

MURROW: Niven?

NIVEN: The Russians, while confronting the rest of the world with plenty of troubles, also have some of their own at home. They are getting more consumer goods but this may not help. It seems that the more people get the more they want. Then, the

country becomes more bourgeois every year; there aren't any hula-hoops yet, but in 1958, a book on etiquette was published in the Soviet Union, sold out instantly and the police had to break up an orchestra booking agency specializing in rock and roll bands. And Marilyn Monroe hasn't made her debut there yet, but some other Hollywood stars are going to be seen in Moscow in the next couple of weeks. Well, with all this kind of development, it's pretty hard to keep peoples' attention focused on building socialism. Then, there's always the danger of trouble in the satellites. And, to the East, the Russians see a nation with three times as many people working harder than they are in building socialism. So, despite these troubles, the Westerner I think comes away seeing evolution, signs of change in the Soviet Union that may make it easier to live with. But, for the moment, he comes away worried about the crisis which the Russians always initiate, and which we have to respond to, and impressed with the tremendous strength of this purposeful civilization.

MURROW: Eric, what ominous portents do you see from Washington?

SEVAREID: Well, one thing of a negative kind, Ed, but important. I think one clear and present danger here is that this administration is too old and too tired to cope with anything much beside the housekeeping problems of government. Certainly in terms of fresh minds down there and fresh ideas this is a kind of a petrified forest. And, I think it's dangerous when at the time these enormous domestic and world problems keep piling up requiring great American effort--momentum just to keep up with them. Dangerous that at that time the Chief Executive's chief passion is simply to cut down costs. I don't think this will do.

MURROW: Well, I will try the impossible and attempt to sum up this conversation so far in just a moment.

(C O M M E R C I A L)

Well, Gentlemen, you made it clear that the free world alliance is difficult to coordinate and that consultation involves both delay and compromise. Hottelet is optimistic about recent developments in Latin America. Niven and Kalischer don't really believe that communism is going to disappear in either Russia or China. Sevareid doesn't expect either new policies or fresh ideas from the Eisenhower administration. Collingwood sees the Anglo-American alliance as healthy. And Schoenbrun, I should think, sees a glimmering of hope for the French under de Gaulle.

We'll be back in a moment.

ANNOUNCER: Now we resume the second half of "Years of Crisis." And here again is Mr. Murrow.

MURROW: Well, for the next half-hour, gentlemen, we shall be discussing some of the things that may happen in the course of the next decade. But first, this word.

(C O M M E R C I A L)

MURROW: Gentlemen, most of you have spent the last year looking at your own country from the outside. How do we look? What is our posture? Leiser?

LEISER: Well, Ed, I think our position and our prestige in Europe are considerably higher than they were last year at this time. Our allies always hope that we'll stand firm without being belligerent and we satisfied those requirements in Berlin, at least so far. And then there's something else to remember. Last year at about this time the beep from Sputnik was the only sound in outer space and our earth-bound voice was one of outrage and fear. Now we're up in space, too, and in a pretty impressive way. In Berlin, the very day that a Soviet General was making specially belligerent threats to us, we shot our talking satellite up into the air. And the Berliners paid a lot more attention to that satellite than they paid to the Russian General's threats.

MURROW: Burdett, how do we look from the Middle East?

BURDETT: Well, in the Arab part of the Middle East, the United States still faces the profound instinctive mistrust of the Arab nationalists and we're still very far from overcoming it. We're still regarded as the country that refused to invest in an Egypt that was taking arms from the Russians, as the country that decided not to help build the Aswan Dam when we discovered that the Russians were not

interested in building it. I think we'll have to do something radically new to persuade the Arabs that we are not interested in them merely because we're afraid of the Russians.

MURROW: Kalischer?

KALISCHER: Well, Ed, in Communist China we're Public Enemy No. 1. In South Korea and South Viet Nam, the anti-communist bastions we've erected, we look pretty good, particularly after Quemoy. In the neutralist countries, India and Burma, we look much better than we did last year, possibly because Washington has ceased to regard neutralism as a dirty word. In Japan, our military bases are looked on as the accommodation you must make to your best customer.

MURROW: Hottelet?

HOTTELET: Well, I think we look a good bit better in the Western hemisphere, too. We've done some concrete things. We're encouraging regional development and the common market in South America and that's noted and very much appreciated. But we still somehow missed that meeting of minds that engenders real cordiality. Friendship is a two-way street that seems to be a pretty rough road. The South Americans expect us to bail them out of all their troubles, and we smile at their dreams. Up in the North, Canada feels penetrated and dominated by American capital. I think somehow it's a problem of communications more than anything else and we miss in a field in which we normally excel.

MURROW: Collingwood, how do we look as viewed from London?

COLLINGWOOD: Well, the British having accepted the fact of American dominance in the Western coalition are not immune to the thought that perhaps they could manage these things better if they

still had the leadership. Nevertheless, they think that we're doing pretty well lately. Perhaps because we're doing a little more the sort of thing that they think that they would have done. An interesting development has been the way in which President Eisenhower has ceased to be the image of American leadership in Britain. When the British talk about American foreign policy they tend to talk about it in terms of Dulles rather than of Eisenhower. When Vice President Nixon was there, the things he said, the things he did, made more impact than anything that's come from the White House. And the British tend to be a little skeptical about the tone and the style of the American image in the world. For instance, they were very impressed by the feat of getting the Atlas into orbit, but when the Atlas began to talk, the British thought it rather an odd thing to say from a military missile.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, we began by talking briefly about the significant developments of the last decade. Let's go back to that. Schoenbrun, what would you regard as the most important development in Europe in the last ten years?

SCHOENBRUN: Ed, the most important developments are not always the most spectacular. In my area, the most spectacular development of course has been the rise and fall of the French Republic, but although important, I don't think it was the <u>most</u> important. I think the most important has been the birth and the growth of European economic union, the hard core of which is the reconciliation of the French and German peoples. United for the first time in a millenium, economically, militarily. Now this unity of France and Germany has grown up behind the shield of NATO.

MURROW: David, are they united to stay do you think, or is this just a personal relationship between Adenauer and de Gaulle?

SCHOENBRUN: Oh, no, I think they're united to stay. I don't think it has anything to do with de Gaulle and Adenauer at all. There are real factors involved in this, and I think the growth of Europe is a permanent thing. I think also, just as important as the growth of Europe, is the Atlantic Alliance which has permitted Europe to grow. Ed, I would suggest that had there been a NATO alliance in 1913 or in 1938, the World Wars would never have broken out.

MURROW: I think we can all agree with that. Kalischer?

KALISCHER: Ten years ago, Ed, the Communists took control of a prostrate China. At that time we had a choice either to recognize the new government or string along with Chiang Kai-shek. We did not recognize the Communists, and in fact we did not recognize the social upheaval that was gripping all Asia, of which China was the most radical and perhaps the most unfriendly example. At the outset they arrested our consul in Mukden, they seized American property, they uprooted Western institutions, they jailed nuns and priests. At the outset, this was the condition and it set our entire policy. And then, when the Communists...when Communist China entered the Korean War - that slammed the door between us. Since then our policy has been to isolate Red China economically, militarily and diplomatically. This policy has failed, although we have kept Red China out of the United Nations and, I might add, American correspondents out of Red China. But most of the rest of Asia has diplomatic and commercial relations with Red China. To them, the Nationalists in Formosa are a dead end. These new, newly-independent, unsteady nations see today a China of 650 million people - a world power. They see them overcoming their problems and you'll have to take the word of a dozen British, French, German, Swiss correspondents that they are overcoming them. They're overcoming them with...they're meeting these problems with a vitality, a ruthlessness, an ambition that is outspeeding any social

experiment that we are seeing in our lifetime. They're watching this ...these new nations like India. They're afraid of this way of life, they're fascinated by it, and they just might buy it.

MURROW: Burdett, the last ten years as viewed from the Middle East, please.

BURDETT: Well, the great development there, Ed, the rise of Arab nationalism, has presented a very curious paradox to Western eyes in these ten years. The Arab nations are in themselves weak. And yet the greatest powers on earth have been at the mercy of this force, the Arab nationalist movement. Because the Arab states are weak, the West again and again has underestimated the basic force of Arab nationalism and again and again has been led into frustration and anger. Weak as the Arabs are, the West has been compelled by a simple political condition to surrender one after another of its positions. And we have seen the British lose in turn their hold on Egypt, and Jordan, and Suez, and finally, Iraq. Arab nationalism has succeeded as fast as it has largely because of the kind of age in which we live. This is not an age in which gunboat diplomacy can solve anything. One of the greatest gunboat ventures of all time, the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt, ended in humiliation.

MURROW: Collingwood, the last ten years as viewed from London.

COLLINGWOOD: The British have probably changed more in the last ten years, Ed, than in any ten years in their history. They've seen their empire go, their old proud place in the world superceded. They've had to rebuild from the terrible destruction of the war, to maintain their commitments all over the world, to mount a massive defense effort which has kept them balanced on the knife-edge of chronic economic crisis. They've had to face up to the modern world and they've

done it and in so doing, they've begun to build a new Britain. Today Britain is more prosperous than it's been for a long time. Its very considerable social revolution is going on apace. In international affairs, the voice of Britain is not as loud as it was, but it's none the less heard; it's heard through the special kind of alliance with the United States forged since Suez, which Macmillan calls "interdependence," and which is working. Sometimes the British chafe under the necessity of following American lead, but they're not too proud to accept it. In sum then, in this ten years, Britain has come to grips with the fact that it must accept a changed place in a changed world.

MURROW: Hottelet, the most important things that have happened in Latin America in the last ten years.

HOTTELET: After ten years of boom and bust, of really profligate dictatorships and wasteful welfare state, the responsible leaders and the poeple with them have decided to try free responsibility. And, they've got some support now from an unsuspected quarter. In one country I was in recently, where things are pretty bad, the military should, by rights, now be preparing to save the nation once again by overthrowing the government. But, the senior military commander told me that a strong man would not be the answer, that the only road to a - he said, to a decent future - was democracy and economic prosperity and political stability. I think that after generations of dictatorships, the tide of democracy has never been as high as it is in Latin America today, but of course, the most serious test is being faced right now - in the political strain of economic readjustment.

MURROW: Eric, you're an artist at compression. What about the last ten years in this country?

SEVAREID: Ed, these ten years for our country have been a ... this has been a ten-year tough course in the elements of world leadership and we still don't have our diploma. We did very well at first, with Greece, with the Berlin blockade, with the Marshall Plan, then things got tough. Korea happened and we lost China to the Communist side. We lost our monopoly of the great weapon. And this changed the state of mind with a lot of people here who are new at this world game. We hunted for villains for quite a while - all through the McCarthy period; then we hunted for a hero to vanquish all the villains. We thought we found him in a wartime general, we made President. There was some confusion -- those who didn't want to break with the past thought he was their hero and those who were willing to break thought he was theirs. In the meantime, our population has grown by an incredible 30 million people. That's meant great domestic problems, Ed, of every conceivable kind. It's meant that we've had to resort again to governmental collective ways and means of dealing with these things and that in turn, I think, has meant the rather rapid disintegration of the old American conservative political branch--those based on the past, because really most of the links with the past were being broken.

MURROW: Eric, what do ~~Well, gentlemen, so far we've been sort of juggling individual hemispheres or areas of assignment here. Let's go up into space now and take a global view and let's hear quickly~~ What you regard as the most important development over-all, taken from a global point of view, in the last ten years? ~~Eric?~~

SEVAREID: Ed, I think the great growth in population and the great growth of knowledge which somehow must neutralize and keep up with the population growth.

LEISER: Well, Ed, I would say--despite what I've said

about the Berlin crisis--that it's been the abrupt shift in the direction of the Soviet drive to expand power away from Europe and toward the more vulnerable targets of opportunity in Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

MURROW: Well, if you gentlemen will allow me to sum this up for you, I think we could probably all agree that the rise of Russian power has been one of the most significant developments in the last ten years. Certainly America's departure from isolationism is the one thing that has tended to keep the peace. But, now let us go to the next ten years. You have a crystal ball, Eric?

SEVAREID: No, Ed, not at all. But, I would think that the one-world theory - all communistic or all democratic for the whole world - is not going to pertain. I think both sides are too firmly entrenched - both may spread a little bit. I think the scientific revolution which goes very fast is going to affect individual lives in a great many countries, Ed, even more than political philosophies or systems. I think here at home we're going to see a lot of strange social changes. A decrease in the labor ...the manual laboring class, maybe more of business monopolies or semi-monopolies, fewer individual farms, maybe a 4½-day work week - that means a cultural problem with a lot of leisure time for the less educated rather than the more educated. That means a great problem for education to prevent us from acquiring a kind of a cultural nightmare on the public scene.

LEISER: Maybe we'll get to the moon, Ed.

SEVAREID: I suppose if we do we'll find a Hilton hotel under Russian management.

MURROW: Maybe. Leiser, what do you see in the next 10 years?

LEISER: Ed, the Soviet ultimatum on Berlin expires in just five months from now and I don't think that anyone can safely forecast what the outcome of that ultimatum will be. But, if it doesn't touch off the big explosion in Berlin, I think that the next ten years will probably see no major shift in the balance of power across Europe, and I think that Germany will probably remain as divided at the end of ten years as it is now. They'll be a lot of huffing and puffing on both sides, but I don't think the wall that divides the country will come down, because I don't think really that either side is willing to make any concessions that would make it possible for the other side to accept the unification of the country. And, I'd just like to suggest, Ed, that there are worse things than the division of Germany - at least so long as three-quarters of its people and its economy are on our side of the line. It's not a tidy solution - it's not a very tidy world. But, it's a lot better than having a united Germany on Russia's side.

MURROW: Burdett, what do you see happening in the next ten years?

BURDETT: Well, in the Middle East, Ed, I would say that the perspective for the next ten years is something like this: The basic political condition is still Arab nationalism; that's a movement that is still in flood, and one of the driving forces behind it is the ambition of the Arab states to equip themselves as modern nations. They cannot possibly do this alone. Even the richest of the oil states must have outside aid or guidance to fulfill the goals of the Arab nationalist revolution. And the question is, will the new nationalist regimes be able to do this, will they be able to go fast enough or will the revolutionary impetus that brought them to power finally drive them from power with the Arabs turning in frustration to

extreme political measures under extreme leadership? Well, of course, these are questions for the future, but right now, they are greatly sharpened by the new game that the Russians are playing in the Middle East. And, for the West, it means a new and sharper challenge in the coming years. Obviously, to meet that challenge, the United States will have to come up with a policy of aid far bolder and more flexible than anything that we've had so far. I think that in this next ten years, we can lose entirely our power to influence events in the Middle East, if we simply go on stalling from crisis to crisis.

MURROW: Kalischer, would you address yourself to the next ten years, please?

KALISCHER: Well, I'm a long way from my tea-leaf reader in Tokyo, but I would say for the next ten years the big thing is the frightening expansion in industrialization of Communist China and our inability so far to find a formula to cope with it. I'll give you an example. Last year, Japan looked on Red China as a juicy potential customer. This year, China is a competitor in the market it's... (inter.)

MURROW: How do you mean that?

KALISCHER: Well, its textiles and its radios are underselling the Japanese products all over Southeast Asia, and ... and like Russia, Red China is now in the foreign aid business - in a small way and of course at great sacrifice to their consumers at home, but it's impressive ... it's impressive in a decisive arena like India, for instance. Now, if India cannot make an economic go of it under its form of democratic socialism, the Communists are going to remake it in China's image. And, I say ... I don't know whether India can be saved. But, if a massive - massive injection of foreign aid can save it, I say we ought to try even if we have to hock our bridgework.

MURROW: Collingwood, what is the vision for the next ten years as viewed from London?

COLLINGWOOD: Well, in the next ten years, Ed, the British will go ahead with their process of social restratification, they'll go ahead with the process of adjustment to the changing world. I think they'll be successful. But, if I may turn from England a moment, I just came back from Africa and it's my very strong impression that in the next ten years Africa is going to be tremendously important. I think Africa may be to the next ten years what the Middle East has been to the last, an area whose political evolution so engages the interests of the great powers that the issue of peace or war may hang upon it. Most of Africa is going to get its independence and autonomy in ten years. It'll be a time of much instability, upheaval, shifting influence. We're all going to learn a lot of African geography in the next ten years.

MURROW: Niven?

NIVEN: What happens in the Soviet Union in the next ten years can be translated now and for the foreseeable future as what will Nikita Khrushchev do, because he's firmly in the saddle. He is not, by the way, a bungling drunkard as we sometimes tell each other a little complacently over our martinis. Khrushchev could breathe into Soviet life a lot more fresh air and strengthen it thereby. On the other hand, he could degnerate into the kind of mad old tyrant that Stalin became. Russians will tell you that they won't go back to Stalinism. They say, "We wouldn't stand for it." Then when you ask them, how would they stop it, they say they don't know. But whatever happens inside the Soviet Union, I don't think that this challenge to us is going to diminish.

MURROW: Schoenbrun?

SCHOENBRUN: Ed, the next ten years in France are easier to predict than the next year. Ten years from now, France will no longer have a colonial problem for France will no longer have any colonies. I think Algeria will be free and independent and this will force the French to devote their extraordinary talents to seeking strength in European Union instead of vain dreams of empire. As for European Union, I think it will progress from its economic base towards a political United States of Europe. Now, this will be a long and bumpy road with many detours and deviations but I think it's the road of the future - if there is no war. If I'm right, and I think there will be no war, then we may all look forward to a fuller and a better life. And, if I'm wrong, I don't suppose any of you gentlemen will be around to remind me of my error.

MURROW: Hottelet?

HOTTELET: Well, I think the next ten years in the Western Hemisphere may well be summed up in the word - Brasilia, the new capital of Brazil which does not yet exist but which one day will have a population of 500,000. Although it doesn't exist yet, it's still in its infancy, there is a road being cut up to the north 1300 miles long, hundreds of miles of it through virgin rain forest; the spearhead bulldozers are being supplied by air. And, when they meet, it'll be a momentous occasion like the driving of the Golden Spike of the Union Pacific Railroad. The government will move up there from the fleshpots of Rio de Janeiro and I think its success will be a demonstration to the under-developed and colored peoples of the world that you can have spectacular success without an ant-heap society. If it fails, we may well go into another round of dictatorship in Latin America - worse than anything we've seen before.

MURROW: So, to sum it up, you found big dreams in

Latin America, did you Dick?

HOTTELET: Big dreams and dreams that are badly needed to get over the workaday problems that they face.

MURROW: Well, I will try to sum up this discussion immediately after another word.....

(C O M M E R C I A L)

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, this is a task that I would gladly share with any of you, and if I reach a wrong conclusion, I'm sure that there will be utterances made. But, as I understand you, none of you expects an immediate or dramatic easement of the existing tension. You believe that we in this country have lost some of our illusions, but that we do not yet recognize the magnitude of the task that confronts us. You have what I would call a modest hope for some improvement in European union. You regard both Russia and China as subject to internal stresses but certainly in no danger of collapse. You are concerned about the competition with communism in the under-developed areas, and you say that we should recognize that the demand for freedom and independence will not long be denied. And you are particularly concerned that aid to India should be beefed up, and that new methods and techniques must be developed if we are to compete with Russia in the economic war that is now under way.

You've all recognized - it seems to me in one way or another - that the United States has gone through a sort of "revolution by consent" in its relations with the rest of the world during the past ten years, and that the next decade may require even more drastic changes in both policy and posture.

In short, while you all recognize the contribution that this country has made to the Free World in men, in money and in metals during the past ten years, none of you, I think,

has ventured to suggest that the first ten years of our responsibility - and maturity - as a world power were the easiest ten years.

Thank you, gentlemen. Good night and good luck.

(C O M M E R C I A L)

MURROW: As I understand you, none of you expect an immediate or dramatic easement of the existing tension. You believe that we in this country have lost some of our illusions, but that we do not yet recognize the magnitude of the task that confronts us. You have a modest hope for some improvement in European union - regard both Russia and China as subject to internal stresses but in no danger of collapse. You are concerned about the competition with communism in the under-developed areas, and you say that we should recognize that the demand for freedom and independence will not long be denied. And you are particularly concerned that aid to India should be beefed up, and that new methods and techniques must be developed if we are to compete with Russia in the economic war that is now underway.

You have all recognized, in one way or another, that the United States has gone through a sort of "revolution by consent" in its relations with the rest of the world during the past ten years, and that the next decade may require even more drastic changes in both policy and posture.

(MORE)

MURROW:
(CONTD)

Most of you are as concerned about the population explosion as about the probability of nuclear explosions.

In short, while you all recognize the contribution that this country had made to the free world in men, money and metals during the last ten years, none of you has ventured to suggest that the first ten years of our responsibility and maturity as a world power were the easiest.

Spec Pgm

f Y of C

Aside from minor changes in punctuation, etc., the only alteration I made is on Page 26. This is in the wording of the question in which each correspondent is to be asked what he regarded as the most important development...over-all...in the last ten years. For time reasons, it was impossible to put the question to anyone except Sevareid and Leiser. mm By abbreviating the question, it is made to appear like a quick question to Eric, who is already talking, with Ernie chiming in.

eb

Thanks "Muchly".

MR. ED MURROW
48

Y of C

Press Information
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.

December 15, 1958

CBS NEWS CORRESPONDENTS TO ASSEMBLE IN NEW YORK DEC. 28
FOR 10TH ANNUAL WORLD AFFAIRS FORUM, "YEARS OF CRISIS: 1949-1959"

Edward R. Murrow To Moderate Round-Table Discussion By Veteran Newsmen On Gains And Losses For Free World During Past Decade; Kellogg Company, Lever Brothers Sponsor Hour-Long Broadcast

---

CBS News Correspondents will be flown to New York from their posts in the various world capitals to take part in "Years Of Crisis: 1949-1959," CBS News' tenth annual year-end analysis of world conditions Sunday, Dec. 28, on the CBS Television Network (10:00-11:00 PM, EST).

(The special broadcast will pre-empt "Keep Talking" and "What's My Line?" on the network for this date only.)

On the award-winning program, the veteran newsmen will attempt electronic journalism's most extensive examination of events and trends in the course of this country's relationships with the rest of the world. With Edward R. Murrow as chairman of the wide-ranging discussion for the tenth consecutive year, the CBS News reporters will assess not only the major news stories of the past twelve months and their significance, but will also appraise the pivotal events in the world's history during the past decade.

(More)

"Years Of Crisis: 1949-1959" will be sponsored on the CBS Television Network by the Kellogg Company, through Leo Burnett Co., Inc., and Lever Brothers Company through the J. Walter Thompson Company.

Correspondents joining Murrow for the world-events symposium include: Eric Sevareid, CBS News Chief Washington Correspondent; Charles Collingwood, London; David Schoenbrun, Paris; Winston Burdett, Rome and the Middle East; Ernest Leiser, Bonn, Germany, and Middle Europe; Paul Niven, until recently CBS News Moscow Correspondent; Peter Kalischer, Tokyo and the Far East; and Richard C. Hottelet, currently on special assignment in Latin America.

According to John F. Day, Director of News for CBS News, the assembled newsmen will take a long, hard professional look at the primary news events of the last ten years with the aim of distinguishing those events of truly lasting significance from those which -- considered vitally important when they occurred -- have turned out to be of transient significance. The newsmen will follow one main thread through the myriad events of the decade -- the changing course of the relationship of the United States to the rest of the world -- and will try to evaluate whether we have progressed or backslid, whether the final statement is to be one of profit, or of loss.

In addition, the widely-traveled reporters will give their critical attention to the major news stories of the year just closing. They will review cause and effect of such events as the crisis in the Middle East that had this nation tangibly committed to an extent greater than at any time since Korea; our controversial involvement with Communist China's attacks on the islands of Matsu and Quemoy; De Gaulle's rise to power in France, "a modern bloodless revolution"; and our country's less controversial but even more committing stand in the present

(More)

Berlin crisis. The newsmen will report to American audiences how the man in the street in foreign countries regards the above events and the U.S. position in each.

Of special significance this year is this country's relationship to its neighbors to the south. Accordingly, veteran CBS New Correspondent Richard C. Hottelet is spending the month of December touring the various Latin American capitals to gauge the strength of the ties that bind this hemisphere together. Hottelet performed a similar mission earlier this year in preparation for the CBS News Report "The Ruble War," broadcast on the CBS Television Network last July 21. Hottelet was a member of the second "Years Of Crisis" program which reviewed the events of 1950 and has appeared on six other year-end analyses since.

In addition to Murrow, Paris Correspondent David Schoenbrun and Chief Washington Correspondent Eric Sevareid have appeard on all nine "Years Of Crisis" broadcasts since the first on January 1, 1950. Winston Burdett, who also appeared on the first broadcast, has participated in three others during the decade.

Illustrative of the closeness with which these veteran reporters keep in touch with events in their assigned areas are these two quotes from last year's broadcast, "Years Of Crisis: 1957":

Schoenbrun (Paris): "As for the 38-year-old Premier of France, he is not likely to grow old in office. In fact, France is facing its most severe crisis. There may be a coup d'etat in 1958...."

(More)

Leiser (Bonn): "A more immediate danger ahead is the increasing Communist pressure on Berlin...the questions now are What do the Russians have in mind? How far will they allow the German Communists to go?...and, How much farther will we allow Berlin's situation to worsen before we make it an issue?"

"Years Of Crisis: 1949-1959" is a CBS News production under the general supervision of John F. Day, assisted by David Zellmer, Executive Producer of News for Television, and Robert Skedgell, Assistant Director of News for Radio. Don Hewitt, for the seventh consecutive year, will direct the broadcast for the CBS Television Network. The report will also be presented on the CBS Radio Network.

* * *

NEWS FROM CBS RADIO
Press Information Department,
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.
Phone: PLaza 1-2345

Y7C

December 16, 1958

"YEARS OF CRISIS: 1949-1959" TO MARK TENTH ANNUAL REPORT

EDWARD R. MURROW MODERATES DISCUSSION BY CBS NEWS CORRESPONDENTS

"Years Of Crisis: 1949-1959," marking the tenth consecutive year of CBS News annual year-end analysis of world conditions, will be presented on CBS Radio Monday, Dec. 29 at 8:00-9:00 PM, EST. Members of CBS News domestic and foreign staff of correspondents will join Edward R. Murrow in New York for their annual report.

The CBS News program will appraise the pivotal events in the world's history during the past decade, as well as assess the major news stories of the past twelve months.

Edward R. Murrow will serve as chairman of what has become broadcasting's most extensive examination of events and trends in this country's relationships with the rest of the world.

The CBS News Correspondents participating in the annual report will include:

Winston Burdett, assigned to Rome and the Middle East;

Charles Collingwood, assigned to London (Mr. Collingwood recently completed coverage of the All Africa Peoples Conference in Ghana);

Richard C. Hottelet, currently on special assignment in South America;

Peter Kalischer, assigned to Tokyo and the Far East;

Ernest Leiser, assigned to Bonn, Germany, and Middle Europe;

(More)

Paul Niven, until recently CBS News Correspondent
in Moscow;

David Schoenbrun, assigned to Paris;

Eric Sevareid, CBS News Chief Washington Correspondent.

In addition to Mr. Murrow, David Schoenbrun and Eric Sevareid have participated in all nine of the "Years Of Crisis" programs since the first broadcast on January 1, 1950. Winston Burdett, who also reported on the first program, has taken part in three others during the decade. Mr. Hottelet was a member of the second broadcast report and since then has been on six other year-end analyses.

"Years Of Crisis: 1949-1959" will be produced under the general supervision of John F. Day, CBS Director of News. He will be assisted by Robert A. Skedgell, Assistant Director of News, Radio.

* * *

FEATURE SERVICE FROM CBS RADIO

Press Information Department,
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.
Phone: PLaza 1-2345

Spec Pgms

December 29, 1958

Following is the text of Edward R. Murrow's summation following reports and analyses by eight members of CBS News foreign and domestic staff of correspondents, as presented on CBS News "Years of Crisis: 1949-1959":

As I understand you, none of you expect an immediate or dramatic easement of the existing tension. You believe that we in this country have lost some of our illusions, but that we do not yet recognize the magnitude of the task that confronts us. You have a modest hope for some improvement in European union -- regard both Russia and China as subject to internal stresses but in no danger of collapse. You are concerned about the competition with communism in the underdeveloped areas, and you say that we should recognize that the demand for freedom and independence will not long be denied. And you are particularly concerned that aid to India should be beefed up, and that new methods and techniques must be developed if we are to compete with Russia in the economic war that is now under way.

You have all recognized, in one way or another, that the United States has gone through a sort of "revolution by consent" in its relations with the rest of the world during the past ten years, and that the next decade may require even more drastic changes in both policy and posture.

(More)

Most of you are as concerned about the population explosion as about the probability of nuclear explosions.

In short, while you all recognize the contribution that this country had made to the free world in men, money and metals during the last ten years, none of you has ventured to suggest that the first ten years of our responsibility and maturity as a world power were the easiest.

* * *

("Years of Crisis: 1949-1959" is broadcast on the CBS Radio Network Monday, Dec. 29 at 8:00-9:00 PM, EST.)

CBS NEWS

Office Communicatio

to: MESSRS. BURNETT, COLLINGWOOD, HOTTELET, KALISCHER, LEISER, MURROW, NIVEN, SCHOENBRUN, SEVAREID

from: Mr. Horton

cc: Messrs. Meade
Mickelson
Day

Mr. Bliss

January 5, 1959

Negotiations are under way with Dell Publications for a pocket book based on YEARS OF CRISIS: 1949-1959.

I am attaching a transcript. Would you please go through your own part, making any changes you see fit in the interests of accuracy and clarity. Do not hesitate to add extra copy where you feel amplification is needed.

May I have your edited version by week's end? Thanks.

WH

SPECIAL BROADCAST PROGRAMS

AND

SPEECHES

SEE FILE #7-C for selection made by Edward Bliss, Jr. as noteworthy in preparation of In Search of Light, edited by Professor Bliss. However, these programs were not included in the book, in some instances.

SEE In Search of Light, Broadcasts of Edward R. Murrow, 1938-1961, Edward Bliss, Jr., Editor. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967. Included are 2 speeches: June 28, 1954, Freedom House Award; and October 15, 1958, Radio and Television News Directors, Chicago speech.

"WHITHER BRITAIN?"

This folder contains work sheets for the program produced in London by CBS in cooperation with BBC. Included are scripts for the following broadcasts:

H. G. Wells	1/9/34
Winston Churchill	1/16/34
Very Reverend Walter R. Matthews, Dean of Exeter	1/23/34
Ernest Bevan	1/30/34
George Bernard Shaw	2/6/34
Margaret Haig, Viscountess Rhonda (script missing)	3/6/34
Lloyd George	3/20/34

Wells Asks 'Board of Control' For Anglo-American Recovery

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

Copyright, 1934, New York Tribune Inc.

LONDON, Jan. 9.—In a plea for greater British sympathy and support for President Roosevelt's recovery program, H. G. Wells suggested in a radio address here tonight, heard also in America, that Great Britain and the United States co-operate to the extent of putting their commercial, monetary and economic programs under one "board of control." This, he added, might develop into a world-wide system.

Speaking on the subject of "Whither Britain?" the author said that his first answer would be: "Toward understanding and participation and identification with the American experiment, and, if possible, understanding with the Russian struggle."

He deplored the fact that "although the failure of President Roosevelt in his heroic effort to rally American economic life would mean disaster for all the world, there isn't the slightest sign of any real attempt on the part of our responsible leaders to co-operate with him or to understand his aims and methods. . . . Bold and great as his schemes are I do not believe that he can carry them out if he has to carry them out in the United States alone."

Concerning his proposal for a joint "board of control," Mr. Wells said: "Consider only what it would mean for the whole world if the dollar and the pound could be adjusted and held permanently at a definite relation; that is to say, if they could be fused into one money; and if, further, the economic planning organization of America could be brought into a still ampler board of control for the economic rehabilitation of all English-speaking communities; and if all the speculation, conflicts of interests and endless difficulties that arise out of the monetary see-saw between the dollar and pound could be cut right out of the human problem.

"Suppose it were possible to create a trade and money board for these two vast systems, a board set up to insure a common money, organize our credit controls into one system and agree upon common minimum conditions of labor and a common industrial rationalization. It need not be very different in its nature from the National Recovery Board set up by President Roosevelt, only that it would be broader because it would be dealing not with the affairs of one great system but two—or even three.

"It would be possible to make such a board open to the adhesion of other economic communities. The gravitational attraction of such a board might prove irresistible.

Mr. Wells condemned "that little sham world parliament at Geneva" (the League of Nations) for not aiding in the fight against the world economic breakdown, which, he said, was being waged "most plainly and conspicuously in two great economic communities that have no voice at Geneva—the United States and Soviet Russia."

FLORIDA IN 20½ HOURS FROM N. Y. —4 famous daily trains—morning, afternoon, evening departures. Atlantic Coast Line, 8 West 40th St. LAck. 4-7080.—Advt.

MASTER COPY
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
ANNOUNCER Randolph

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

"WHITHER BRITAIN" - H.G. WELLS

Tuesday, January 9th, ~~1933~~ 1934
3:29:00 - ~~4:00~~ p.m.
4:01:14 - CBS.
4:01:34 - WABC.

Reads 25 sec. Short of 1 min. Read slowly

CUE: COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
---------30 seconds---------

Ladies and gentlemen! At this time it gives us great pleasure to present the first in a new series of programs to be heard each week at this time - under the title "Whither Britain." This series is offered in cooperation with the British Broadcasting ~~Company~~ Corporation - and brings you England's most ~~famed~~ famous speakers - of ~~which~~ whom the first is H. G. Wells, noted author, economist and internationalist! The distinguished author of 'The Outline of History' - H. G. Wells has long been known to American readers for his skilled analyses of current problems - and his startling forecasts of the future. It is fitting that this great man should start this new series - as his thought-provoking studies of the present and future scene have aroused wide comment everywhere. H. G. Wells will speak to you from the studios of the ~~B.B.C.~~ British Broadcasting Corporation in the English capital - ~~as~~ and we transfer you now to LONDON, ENGLAND.

CLOSING:

You have been listening to H. G. Wells - noted author and economist - speaking from London in this first of a new series of programs titled: "Whither Britain."

(continued)

Each week at this same time - other of England's world-famous figures ~~famous speakers~~ will be heard. Next week the Honorable Winston Churchill will be the guest of honor. This series is offered in cooperation with the British Broadcasting ~~Company.~~ Corporation.

Your announcer is----------

This is the COLUMBIA .... Broadcasting System

(Fade theme 20 seconds)

WABC NEW YORK

--gc--

For the remainder of this period, we present the salon orchestra from our New York studios. You will hear first playing

The Flatterer of Cécile Chaminade

....

--o--

Miss Law

From the Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue, New York 1/9/34

ADDRESS BY H. G. WELLS

This talk I am having with you this evening is not a censored talk. It is quite a personal conversation about a matter that concerns us profoundly and the destiny of the country to which we belong. The BBC as a public organization is supposed at times to censor what goes on the air, but this is certainly not how things are on this occasion. The BBC is responsible for giving up this half hour this evening, but nobody on earth, except myself, is responsible and nobody's approval has been asked to the things that I have to say. I ought to warn you that some of the ideas I am putting before you may strike you as unorthodox. I shall be glad if you will hear me out.

But I do not want to occupy your time on false pretenses. I am not in the narrow sense of the word, a patriot, and I am no sort of a nationalist at all. I am utterly opposed to the people who say that Britain is for the British and let all the rest of the world go hang. If you are one of those, then you will not like anything that I am going to say. I do not think that you will even be apt to understand what I am going to say. You will then do far better to switch off your receiver right now and leave me, as far as you are concerned, talking to the empty air.

But, mind you, if I do not call myself a patriot, that does not alter the fact that I have an intense pride in being an Englishman. I glory in English literature, in English language, in the mighty fabric of modern science which is so largely English in its beginning, in our worldwide influence, in our splendid tradition of fair play and liberty. It is just because I have this intense pride in being an Englishman that I will not consent to see the English mind cooped up within that narrow bound of nationalism.

The whole world knows us and we are a world people and we belong to the world. Again I implore you, if that is not your text, that you cut me off and have done with it.

Of course, those men who go about the world unimpeded, must respect the pride and the freedom of others. It isn't the truest tradition of the world for them to swagger about in the world as one goes about among a world of slaves. The rights of other people are contemporaneous with those of ourselves and they are entitled to the same consideration that we would wish for ourselves.

Since that is my belief, there is before us the question as to whether Britain must begin by asserting the only reasonable and tolerable destiny I can see before our country, its associated states and dependencies, and that is to become consciously an integral part of one great world unity, to stimulate and to dissolve into the commonweal of mankind. I am quite prepared to find that

you do not agree with me on this, that probably you are less prepared to agree with me on this than you might have been two years ago. I think people of my way of thinking have to realize that there has been an adverse turn in public opinion all over the world. A sort of spasm of nationalism has contracted men's minds. There has been a worldwide recoil into distrust, hatred and pessimism all over the world, and people have been receding from internationalism and into doing barbaric and disagreeable things to aliens and strangers. They have all shrunk back within their own boundaries and barriers, mentally and physically.

The nations are now carrying on an intense self-destructive and mutually destructive economic warfare behind vast tariff barriers. They are also carrying on a cruel and disastrous financial warfare, a new sort of maneuvering with money and credit, of which the happier world of 1914 knew little or nothing.

Finally, they are arming, arming, arming; drifting steadily toward nightmare possibilities of bloodshed and distraction unheard of before in human experience. They do not want to do it, but they feel theyhave to do it as if they were hypnotized, although the development of disorder and the approach of more catastrophes are recognized on every side as a great perplexity and a sort of world-nervousness about resisting this strange influence.

The answer to "Whither Britain?" amounts to this:

Drifting with the rest of mankind toward catastrophe.

There is no remedy for the economic trouble because they say that doctors disagree and that there is no escaping war because they say that war is bound to come. It is a fatalism, prompted by the feeble hope that Britain has escaped the worst of the disaster. But is it inevitable that the present poverty, under-feeding, under-education and degeneration of great multitudes must continue indefinitely and that there must be an ultimate smash into another war?

I think these are highly probable things, but they are not inevitable things. Last year I published a book called "The Shape of Things to Come", in which I tried to estimate the forces that make for human disaster. At the same time, I gave credit to whatever counter forces there might be to stave off or cure the tide of disaster. My attempt to analyze the situation worked out into a story, first, of the great world collapse and, then, of a slow recovery in which Britain shared. But the forces that made for collapse and the forces that made for recovery are fighting all the time. It isn't possible to make any exact estimate of their strength, and so I do not see how anyone can tell just how far collapse has to go before recovery begins.

I am convinced that the present trouble and the present danger still have a long way to go, and that there is still going to be a worldwide need for fortitude, courage, and sacrifices and effort. I think it is all nonsense to contend that recovery has definitely begun. Do not be misled by little and partial flutters

of business revival or stock exchange hopefulness. Nothing effective has yet been done in the wide setting-up of a barrier against war. Nothing fundamental has been done in the way of relieving the pressure of worldwide debt. Nevertheless, I do not see why the real turning point should not come in a short time, and I put that thought into every work of mine. Anyhow, I do not believe civilization is doomed to complete collapse, whatever strains and stresses we may have to face. The final establishment of a progressive and secured world situation, that is my guess in answer to the question, "Whither the world?".

And now, what may be the share of Britain in that recovery? That is to say, what may be your share and mine in the fight ~~the~~ for world peace and order that lies ahead of us? Let us bear in mind that however cosmopolitan we may be in spirit and intention, our political behavior depends on the political institutions in which we live and believe. We can not get away from that. In spirit we may be citizens of the world, but in thought we are merely citizens of our own state. There is no such thing as world citizenship and world policy, but we can influence the policy of our own country.

It is always the duty of the citizen to do his utmost so that the good of the whole world can be served. As British subjects, it seems to me that our paramount political idea should be that we do not sink into the morass of nationalism and that we who have consolidated our empire should give attention to the greater task of consolidating the peace and order of the world. Let us work to make British citizenship into world citizenship.

I suppose if listeners could answer back, I should listen to a number of voices saying, "And how?". I think it is possible to give an answer to that. Let me be very clear about what I am driving at here. I think that a very, very common misconception revolves about the possibility of world unity. Too many imagine that when a man talks of world unity, he is thinking first and foremost of some sort of a political unification. Let us suppose that he is after a United States of the World, an organization of mankind with a president and a capital and that sort of thing complete. That isn't at all the idea I have in mind.

Like you and most people, I have thought a great deal along the line of the human problem since the war. I was at it even before that time, and everything I thought and learned has deepened my conviction that the way to human unity does not lie through political federations and unifications. I do not believe in a political world state. I mean that you never get anywhere by such unions as United Wales and Scotland and England, or brought together the former Austrian Empire. Those are what I mean by political unions. They were not brought about without intense conflicts and stress. To make political unions is to face the maximum resistance of all historical traditions, racial suspicions, deep-rooted prejudice and habits of thought. But need we try that way?

I want to suggest to you that human unity can quite possibly be gotten along quite other lines, more and real binding and far less disturbing to accepted ideas. It is because I believe that there is this other way that I am not much of an advocate of the League of Nations. I am not at all distressed by its present failure. The fundamental weakness of the League of Nations lies in the fact that it was and is primarily and essentially a political organization. President Wilson had a lot of noble ambitions and high traditions, but he had not the sort of intelligence that would analyze and grasp such a problem. Therefore, he provided for a sort of superstate, a world-sized Congress or Parliament. That was the council and assembly of his. But he disregarded all of the old-fashioned political differences. It was to prevent declarations of war, and that was how he saw the problem. But the underlying realities beneath the political patchwork, he did not appreciate. That League of his at Geneva provides no effectual means, no means worth talking about, for dealing with the increasingly common economic life of mankind, with tariff barriers, and with commercial conflicts, with the adjustments of debts between nations, and between nations and foreign individuals, with the possibility of a world money, with international banking, with the control of world transports, with the manifest needs of world regulation, of air traffic, with emigration, with consolidation of the world railroad resources, and all the other new activities to which the inevitable solidarity of human interest is becoming more obvious every day, and which is quite apart from the old-fashioned political patchwork in which we live and which is most urgently needed for world organization.

Let us consider the matter of money. It is a very urgent trouble--the money trouble--and President Wilson's League at Geneva provides no means of dealing with it. Money, as we all know too well, is a measure of obligation and value, but unlike all other measures, it varies from country to country and from day to day. A certain number of meters in Germany or France mean so many yards in England or America. So many pounds in Britain, in pounds weight in Britain, means so many kilograms in Spain. Miles means just the same distance always in any other measure of length you like. If an English cotton merchant undertook to deliver so much cloth to a French costumer, and if he sent the goods in yards when the yards had gone up or down, then he should be called a rascal plainly and conclusively.

Directly we come to money matters, things are different. If a man in America owes me money in dollars, I never know until pay day comes how many pounds I should get from him. There are reasons why this state of affairs exists and why this state of affairs in the monetary system should have come about in the past, but there is no reason in the world why it should continue. It is a common nuisance and it is a matter that should be left in the distance. In 1919, because of some certain happy accident that happened in the discovery of gold, it was kept satisfactory. However, we must come to adjust money to the needs of world products. Money adjustment alone will not solve the present economic dangers. It would still leave us with the riddle of unemployment due to the increasingly efficient production and with various lesser riddles untouched. I cite it as a great problem of a modern economic reconstruction which lies largely

outside of that world of antiquated political ideas in which the League was begotten. In the end, this trouble of business confusion which centers now upon money is more serious even than political difficulties and differences, and the danger of war. It has a warfare of its own.

The economic communities of the world are fighting desperately with inflation, tariffs and shipping loads and restrictions upon trading and the multitude of such devices The has been shifting the burden of distress steadily from one to the other. We are beginning to understand that in the long run this economic bickering may be even worse for our race than the wars were which we have been threatened with. This is less violent, but it leads more inevitably to starvation and complete social disorder.

Let me point out to you that there are consciously planned fights being made against this immense economic breakdown. Men do not intend to take this without a struggle. That fight is not being waged by the Parliament in Geneva. It is being waged most plainly and conspicuously by those who have no voice in Geneva,--the United States and Soviet Russia. In both, bold revolutionary efforts are being made to put economic life on a new footing before it is too late. We, too, we British, are being dragged against our will and against our habits out of our traditional apathy and self-confidence into a parallel effort. Together these three great economic systems--American reconstruction, Soviet Russian reconstruction, and Britain awakening slowly to the need of reconstruction--are of such a magnitude that the outcome of human history depends very largely on what they do or do not achieve.

I want to say something very plainly about Soviet Russia. We are so easily misled by superficial appearances that one of our greatest difficulties in life is to recognize effectual identities even when they stare us in the face. The two greatest systems--to the west and the east of us respectively--are trying in their different ways to construct plainly and control economic societies on an immense scale. They start from widely different starting points and widely different fundamental ideas. They use different phrases but their common end is a planned and controlled economic society. Never mind how the new phase in Russia began, the vital thing is what they are trying to do there now. We British, also, in our more confused and reluctant way are facing now the same social dislocation and we shall find the forces with which we are dealing will carry us on to the same end of a planned economy. In the end we shall find ourselves forced toward a quite parallel effort to plan and direct our own monetary, financial and industrial life. And what we need to realize is that, big as these three systems are, overwhelmingly big as they are in comparison even with such mighty systems as the Spanish speaking world, Japan and Central Europe, none of them is sufficiently big to solve the economic riddle of mankind alone.

At present there is a disastrous difference between what we British and President Roosevelt and the Soviet system and the other

economic systems are doing. We are all making trouble for each other and making the other countries' plans. At one moment we abandon the gold standard and kill a vast amount of French trade and industry, at another the dollar falls and European exports stagger. Then Japan, with a depreciated currency, launches an attack far greater than warfare against European commerce.

Although the failure of President Roosevelt in his heroic effort to rally American economic life would mean disaster for the whole world, there is not a slightest sign of any real attempt on the part of our present responsible leaders to cooperate with him or understand his aim and methods. Bold and great as his schemes are, I do not believe he can carry them out if he has to carry them out in the United States alone.

The first part of my answer, therefore, to the question, "Whither would I have Britain go", is toward at least an understanding and participation and identification with the American experiment, and, if possible, though I think it is more difficult, an understanding of the Russian struggle. Consider only one thing. Consider what it would mean for the whole world if the dollar and the pound could be adjusted and held permanent with a definite relation. That is to say, if they could be fused into one money, with so many dollars to the pound just as there are so many shillings to the pound, and if, further, the economic planning organization of America could be brought into a still ampler board of control for the economic rehabilitation of all the English-speaking communities. Before this tribunal smart conflicts of interests and endless difficulties that arise out of the monetary seesaw between dollar and pound could be cut right out of the human problem. Suppose it was possible to create trade and money boards for these two vast systems, a board set up to insure common money, to organize our credit and control it in one system, to agree upon common minimum conditions of labor and a common industrial rationalization? It need not be very different in its nature from the National Recovery Board set up by President Roosevelt, only it would be broader because it would be dealing not with the affairs of one great system but of two or three. It would be possible to make such an overriding board open to adhesion of other economic communities. The gravitation and attraction of such an economic board of control might prove irresistible. Once the American and British systems are brought together into that much cooperation, it would not be many years before the trade and money board, I imagine, became a trade and money board for all the world. Those are the wider common interests of trade.

Money, I hold, might still be dealt with almost outside the old political methods. They have grown up independently outside the old game of sovereign states, the old game of annexation and boundries and all that sort of thing. Those sovereign states, and all the politics of separate nations, of wars and policies and treaties which have been lost in Geneva are as old as the hills, and figure in new occurrences less and less. But these two main things I am talking about here--the increasing interdependence of all human beings through world trade and the need for a common money--are new things in human experience. Why shouldn't we work them through the old political institutions--the new needs, new machinery for worldwide needs, worldwide machinery?

Am I being impossibly extravagant in this suggestion that we should do all in our power to merge the control of economic reconstruction, financial and monetary affairs, first in the two great English-speaking systems, and then of one or two of the other great economic systems in the world, under one great planning board? Is that Utopia? That is for you to judge. I consider I am talking the plainest common sense I can now. I can not help reminding you that once or twice in the past I have been a successful prophet. And if we British are not going to fall in and play a leading part in such a worldwide constructive effort, then I ask you, "Where do you suppose this frightful economic jangle, that game of begging my neighbor in which we find all the states of the world engaged, will end?". Are we British just to look on in the chance of getting some mean advantage out of the difficulties and conflicts of other peoples? Are we just digging ourselves into a state of fright and self-protection, while the other great peoples take the risks and try to beat things? Are we just going to do that? I would rather see England perish out of the memory of mankind.

Now let me turn around and look at something quite different from money and trade. Let me call your attention to certain other possibilities that aviation has thrust under our noses. Successful and profitable aviation must be international. It can not be run on national lines. This should be particularly evident to the British people. There is no way out of Britain by air except over foreign territory. It calls for no generosity on our part to admit the need of an international control of flying, a board of air control. We can not keep ourselves in the air without it. International control, world control, is demanded, if anything like an adequate use in this great gift of invention--flying--is to be brought to the services of man. Quite as imperative now is the need for a money and trade board. And is the world airways board to regulate air traffic and to police the air? There is no other possible way, if the air is to be anything better for mankind than the medium of murder and disaster. A common board of control for all the air-minded nations, a common air police and all that would follow from our having a common air police

What is Britain doing about that? Now had I the time I would go on to point out the necessity of a third great world board--a health board. Health also is now a common interest, crying aloud for common action. No power in the world has the worldwide contracts with disease that the British Empire has, and with racial migration. Need I enlarge further on this great opportunity and responsibility of the British? But I think I have said enough to expose my line of thought. I am asking for a realistic treatment of the future.

(End.)

TO MUSIC

PRODUCTION REPORT

DAY Tues. DATE 1/11/34

PROGRAM Whither Britain SCHEDULED AIR TIME 3:29 - 4:00

ARTIST	SELECTIONS	DRESS REHEARSAL	AIR	
From studio 3	Announcement	3	29	53
	London contacted		30	12
	" Introduction			35
	Speaker (Winston Churchill)	4	01	35
	London Announcer		01	43
Studio 3	Announcement		02	05
	CBS			07
	WRC			24

Max Wylie

REMARKS: Check here (✓) if all O.K. Use reverse of original for detailed report or special comment.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

MASTER COPY

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
ANNOUNCER Randol

"WHITHER BRITAIN?"
RIGHT HONORABLE WINSTON CHURCHILL
ANNOUNCEMENT AT #3:29 P.M. -4

3:29:53 — 4:02:29

Tuesday, January 16th, 1934.

CUE: (COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM)
(.....30 seconds.....)

ANNOUNCER: Ladies and gentlemen! At this time it gives us great pleasure to present the second in a new series of programs to be heard each week at this time under the title "Whither Britain?" This series is offered in cooperation with the British Broadcasting ~~Company,~~ Corporation and brings you the voices of England's most famous ~~men.~~ figures. The speaker this afternoon is the Right Honorable Winston Churchill, distinguished soldier, statesman, and author. Mr. Churchill served England's flag in Cuba, South Africa, and India; and during the World War, he commanded a regiment in France. He has been a member of Parliament for the past thirty years, serving successively as President of the Board of Trade, Home Secretary, First Lord of the Admiralty, Minister of Munitions, War Minister, Air Secretary, Colonial Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

ANNOUNCER CONTINUED: The Hon. Winston Churchill will speak to you from the studios of the British Broadcasting ~~Company~~ Corporation in the English Capital. We now transfer you to LONDON ENGLAND! (CUE)

****

ANNOUNCER: You have been listening to the Right Honorable Winston Churchill, distinguished soldier, statesman, and author, in the second of a series of weekly addresses titled "Whither Britain?" The speaker from London next week at this same hour will be _____. This series is offered in cooperation with the British Broadcasting ~~Company~~ Corp. Your announcer is _____.

This is the COLUMBIA.....BROADCASTING SYSTEM.

(FADE THEME 20 SECONDS)

WABC NEW YORK

the very Reverend Walter Robert Matthews, dean of Exeter, and for 8 years chaplain to King George ↑

And now, for the remainder of this period, we present the salon orchestra from our New York studios in excerpts from the suite Melodique of Rudolf Friml.

Miss Law

From Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue, New York, 1/16/34

For Immediate Release

WINSTON CHURCHILL STRESSES NECESSITY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE IN CBS BROADCAST (Tuesday, January 16)

The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill stressed the necessity of national defense in a talk on "Whither Britain?", broadcast from London, England over WABC and the Columbia Broadcasting System, Tuesday, January 16, from 3:30 to 4:00 P.M., EST. The British statesman defended the system of parliamentary government, surveyed Britain's economic progress in the past few years, and pleaded for cooperation with the League of Nations.

Churchill's talk was one in a special series of international broadcasts presenting prominent English speakers on the same subject. The complete text of his remarks follows:

HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL: I am very glad to have the chance of speaking to you all about the affairs and future of our country. We have to ask ourselves tonight, two questions: Where do we stand? What ought we to do? My time is so short, I can only deal with a few big things and can only tell you what I think about them without arguing them out as I should like to do. What I say, will not, perhaps, be pleasing to Prime Minister Macdonald nor the opposition party. I really ought to count how many of those there were -- at any rate, I am sure no one will send me a bouquet tomorrow morning. Still, as you sit around your fireside, wondering how it is all going to turn out and what you can do to help old England, I hope you will listen to my advice and if you do not agree with what I say, I trust you will think it over.

First of all, it seems to me that we have much to be thankful for. We have been brought safely through the fires of Armageddon, and now in this great world depression, we are not only holding our place but we are doing better than almost any other country. Our finances have been put back into much better order and though we are not paying off our debts, at any rate we are paying our way, which is much more than the Americans or the Germans or the French have done.

(More)

What a comfort it is to think that there are over 700,000 more men at work now than there were last year. I rejoicedat that at Christmas time. I ask you to give a cheer for the health and the giant strength of our wonderful Nation, amid all the economic trials and problems of this modern world. Surely, recognition is also due to the Government which has presided over this great improvement and aided it in some respects by important factions.

But more than that, more than this economic aspect, more than this material side, we have preserved so far the rights and freedom of our men and women and the existence of our Parliament during the time when in every other country such things have been trampled down by tyranny and dictatorship. We have preserved the decencies and the tolerances, the stability and the dignity of our Island life which our forefathers gained for us by their wisdom and hardy courage. We have preserved them while almost everywhere beyond our shores there is a very different scene. Look where you will, over this confused, tumultous world, and you will find no land where thought and action is so free, where property is so respected, where the courts of law and the Government are so free from corruption, where there is less class hatred or where more money is spent or more pains taken to deal with suffering and misfortune. Britain has so far proved herself able to come through the storms of war and peace and tonight, now, here, we still have the power to choose our destiny and to clear a broad, sure high road for our children to

(More)

tread.

What then are we to do? The world around us has changed greatly and is changing fast. Much has happened which does not help our country. Gone, far gone, are the palmy days of Queen Victoria, when we manufactured the goods and our ships carried them for nearly all the world, in days before the airplane and submarine had been invented, in days when Britannia ruled the waves and we were safe in our Island home. There is no doubt now that we are faced with many dangers.

First, there is the danger of war. You see what is happening between Russia, China and Japan and the tremendous strides, accomplished by trade and by the sword that the japanese people are making and are going to continue to make. We have our interests there, large interests. Some of you will say, "Well, that's all along way off." But what is happening in Europe is not a long way off. This is quite close. It is only a few hours away. Anyone can see what is going on there. I say surely we ought to put our defences in such a state that we can, if we choose, live our own life in our own way and develop our own country and its great possessions. We have never been so defenseless as we are now.

When the Great War broke out, in August 1914, I was at the Admiralty. In those days you could send a whole army out of the country if you wished. Our great Admiral said, "The fleet is ready and we can guarantee the Island against invasion or starvation." That was a considerable undertaking but it

(More)

was made good by the Royal Navy. No one can say that now. The hideous curse of war from the air has fallen upon the world and I say to you, don't you think we ought to make ourselves as strong against attack from the air as our Navy used to make us from invasion across the sea. We used to say that we would have a navy stronger than that of any two powers. What we ought to do now is to have an airport. That is my point of view. I do not believe we should be in danger. Till we have that, we are no longer the same kind of independent country that we used to be, that any of you were born into. With all our wealth and civilization exposed to the ferocious interests that tear the continent of Europe, we have nothing but our diplomacy and our good intention. I am all for diplomacy and good intention but, first of all, we ought to make the Island safe.

Our finances are sound. We have the best record in the world. No one can make such fine machinery as we. We breed a type of young man nursed in freedom, who will do all required of him. Even if having a one-power standard in the air should make more work for builders, engineers and skilled men unemployed, I think we could put up with that.

But that is not all we ought to do. We ought to have a clear, honest foreign policy which anybody can explain and everybody can understand. Mr. Wells whom you heard last week, sneered at the League of Nations. He is one of those visionaries who are always talking about a world state and a planned

destiny and a new order of society and then when any practical steps are taken to urge those very remote ideas, he is one of those who is first to come forward to pick them to pieces, to point out their shortcomings and to mock at them. I don't agree with those who say that the League of Nations is no use and could never prevent another European war. It may be indeed the only chance of preventing one or if it cannot prevent it, of making sure that the guilty disturber of the peace got the worst of it. If the League of Nations is not close enough involved in the intrigue about disarmament, it might still remain an august tribunal to which not only the powers of small people may use, if not for protection, at any rate for a declaration of where right and justice lie.

It would indeed be a melancholy ending to the hopes of those who strive for peace and for justice, which is higher than peace, if that great instrument of the public opinion of the world and of the public law of Europe were to flounder in increasing disorder of the age. We must take our place there and do our duty with the other countries large and small, not only those countries which fought in the late War but the neutral countries like Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland, we must bear our share in building up a confederation of nations so strong and sincere that in Europe, at least, no aggressor will dare to challenge.

(More)

No doubt, my friends, there are dangers in every course but it is a wise saying, that there is safety in numbers and I believe that we must not desert the League of Nations but rather make it plain that we intend to play our part there and do our duty there, be it what or be it who.

Now I come back home to our own country and to its troubles and hopes. It is not true, as Mr. Wells suggested, that the world is getting poorer, or that our standard of living here is getting worse. Life in the cottage home is not getting better as quickly as it ought, or perhaps that it might, but it is better than it was and it is better than it was even before the War and if we pull together there is no reason why there should not be a continuous improvement. The cause of this world depression is not famine or scarcity; it is in our power to supply our wants more abundantly than under the old arrangements. The problem now is to save. Find out the answer to that and I believe it is certainly not by the Russian brand of exploitation, exploiting hatreds and sharing misery.

Look at the Minister of Agriculture, that able man, crying out against the extra pigs and milk and eggs as the result of his experiment last year in England. Fancy that! While at the same time his colleague, the Minister of Health, in a building a few hundred yards away is making scientific calculations to find out exactly what is the very least food - vitamines and proteins and all that learned jargon - that will keep an unemployed man and his family alive, per week and per diem. There seems to be some mixed thinking there - one minister cutting down the rations and the other waving back the food supplies pouring in from the countryside.

You don't want a revolution to put that straight. All you want is a little more commonsense and a better organization. Then look at those slums they talk about so eloquently and so elegantly. You don't want a New World order but Mr. Wells calls for a new world order to clear them out. What you want is a pickaxe and someone to take off his coat to the job. I don't say President Roosevelt is right in all his experiments, but one does admire the spirit in which he grapples with difficulties, especially in contrast with the timidity and the mental indecision which we see, well, where shall I say - which we see in some other places. I will let it go at that.

But do you think our Parliament is strong enough to cope with the problems of the present day? You know quite well that many forces threaten our Parliamentary system. Some threaten it from politics and some from other sources. There is no doubt people do not think so much of the House of Commons as they used to. The Second Chamber is in a state of decay. I would far rather be governed by those Parliamentary institutions which have so long presided over the growth of our race and nation than by any sect or faction, or Socialist or Fascist organization or by finance and industry or by the officials of public departments or even by the newspapers. We ought to guard carefully and prudently in this age when Parliaments are everywhere being destroyed that mother of parliaments by which we have all been brought up, and not so badly brought up after all.

(More)

We hear a great deal about the reform of the House of Lords. Surely it is not only the House of Lords but all parts of parliaments that ought to be reformed to enable the parliamentary citizen of England to resist the danger of dictatorship or violent overthrow by a sect or faction of extremists on either side of politics. No one generation has the right even if they have the power, to overtuen the whole constitution and tradition of our Island. No single generation is the owner of all that has been built up here during so many centuries. We are only the trustees and life tenants, owing much to the Parliament and hoping to derive from it in the future as we have done so far.

These enormous political landslides which occur, now one wave and now another, after some stump election campaign, are harmful to our trade and livelihood. The people ought to be able to turn out a Government of which they are tired without endangering the whole life and constitution of the country. There ought to be some very much stronger security against violent change in the fundamental laws of our state and society. When such changes have to be made, they should be measured and careful. Everything ought not to be thrown into the melting pot just because a particular government is unpopular. It is too great a risk for any state to run and it might even land us in a great disaster. Therefore, I hold that the House of Lords should be reformed and made into an effective Second Chamber. It should be different in character from the House of Commons, and its task should be to keep the main structure of our National life beyond the danger of sudden and violent change. We need more

(More)

structure in our system. John Bull should have strong bones. The House of Commons also should be strengthened and brought more effectively in touch with the active might of the people.

Now that everybody has votes, you know for yourselves many millions never take the trouble to use them and millions more have to be whipped up to go to the polls by some trap slogan or other. All views should be represented in the House of Commons and both sides should be heard on every question. If we go on lurching about every few years, now to one side of the road and now to the other, it will not be long before we find ourselves and the National lion in the ditch.

The franchise ought to be strengthened and what is called, weighted. There is no need to take away votes from anybody. We should give extra votes to the millions of men and women, heads of households and fathers of families who are bearing the real burden and responsibility of our fortunes upon their shoulders, pushing and dragging our National barrel up the hill.

I hope it will reform the House of Lords and put it in its proper place in relation to the House of Commons and I hope also it will reform the franchise of the House of Commons itself and make it a more true and permanent expression of the real forces that are alive in the Nation. We do not want a violent plunge into communism, followed by a violent plunge into socialism or into fascism; that would be the end of our free, ancient constitution and we should come down to the level of those happy

(More)

countries where the ordinary people are simply the slaves of the Government and of the gang who are in the Government.

Please think this over very carefully. Consider it at your leisure because I am sure after many years of thought and experience that it may make a lot of difference to you and to your children.

I have only time to mention one other thing, but it is a big thing. Someone said to me the other day, "What does it matter to me and my mates, Mr. Churchill, whether we live in a great empire or a small country like Belgium? It may be different for the swell, but it is very much the same for the likes of us." That sounds all right but just look and see where we stand. There are forty-five million others in this crowded Island. On the whole, we are better off than any other similar community in the world. There are, therefore, about fifteen million souls who are here because we are the heart and center of a worldwide empire, because of our trade and connections throughout the globe, because of our long, gathered resources and ascendancy. If these are cut away from us, our population would be ground down not only in its standard of living but in its actual number towhat the soil of Britain would produce. It is all very well for Mr. Devalera to go back to the bogs of Ireland with his handful of people to a land full of food, but if we were to try to live by ourselves alone, there would be the most frightful crash and obliteration of life that has ever darkened human records. We should share the fate, on a far larger scale and in a much worse degree, of the city of Vienna which a few years ago was the capital of Central Europe and is now only a grizzly skeleton.

(More)

We should be like those whales which sometimes swim into our Scottish Harbor; when the tides go out and it leaves them stranded, the little urchin boys go and cut their names on their bellies. Now that you have this immense population here, maintained at this level of economic society, it is too late to go back to primitive conditions, too late to hanker after little England. We must be strong, we must be successful, a scientific, commercial empire or we shall starve. There is no halfway house for Britain between greatness and ruin. That is why I feel so anxious and so angry when I hear all those highbrow sentimentalists and feeble-minded talkers in their airy philosophical detachment about letting our Empire go or throwing away the Colonies, losing touch with Canada, Australia, New Zealand or South Africa - those young nations who stretch out their hands to us across the ocean. Little do these clever chatterboxes know, little do they dream of the miseries to which they would condemn the faithful, patriotic wage-earners of Britain. All this talk about our boating down the inheritance by which we live and to which we render faithful service into some vague International mixture, some sludgey amalgam, all those crazy appeals to disarm ourselves utterly amid an ambitious world, all those suicidal urges to cast away what our Nation has kept by virtue, all these shameful and blatant declarations that we are unwilling to defend our rights and possessions and that it is wrong even to think of doing so, all these lead only to the starvation and misery of

(More)

the working classes, and to the end of that splendor of Britain which has in every generation been ready to die. Moreover, let me say there is no reason to suppose that the task is beyond our strength. Other nations,much weaker nations than ours, are not cowed by the difficulties of the time. They do not bow down before the terrors of the modern world and run off to hide in some hole. On the contrary, as Mr. Wells has told you, and here I agree with him, they are animated everywhere by the strongest spirit of nationalism. Everywhere we see them asserting their will to live and their right to rule. When from the relaxing hand of Britain, the reins of Empire fall, others will advance to assume our neglected duties to exploit our discarded treasures and to fill our place in the world. It will not be to any benevolent Utopia that your inheritance will pass but only to a rival nationalism who once they know you are weaker and solitary, will brush you from their path without even a word of apology or thanks.

The interest of the British Empire and of our Island is peace. We seek no territory, we desire no one's misfortune, we have no revenge for anyone, no old scores to repay. Our foreign policy should keep us free from war but we must pick on, once again, a strong, resolute community able to protect ourselves and guard our rights not only by moral but if need be, by physical force. We must shape our institutions so as to

(More)

preserve the state from unconsidered lapses. We must make sure that our Island civilization and the wage standards of our people are not beaten down by outside pressure and that the policy we have so long observed does not perish through foreign violence or our own decay.

(The End)

for Wylie's log

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

MASTER COPY
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

"WHITHER BRITAIN"

WALTER ROBERT MATTHEWS

ANNOUNCER Randoe

Tuesday, January 23, 1934.
~~3:30~~ to 4:00 P.M.
3:29:55 - 4:01:52

CUE:(COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
(_____30 seconds_____

OPENING:

During the next thirty minutes/the Public Events and Special Features Department of the Columbia Network/takes pleasure in presenting the third in the series/of international broadcasts entitled "Whither Britain?"/In this series/we have brought you two distinguished speakers; H.G. Wells, who treated the subject with the perspective of ~~an~~ a historian; and the Hon. Winston Churchill, who discussed the trends/apparent in contemporary politics/and international affairs. Today/we bring you the very Reverend Walter Robert Matthews, Dean of Exeter./Born in 1881, Dr. Matthews began his church career/upon graduating from King's College. For eight years/Chaplain ~~of~~ to King George; prominent as an author and a lecturer on the philosophy of religion, he is recognized as one of England's leading theologians./This afternoon, Dr. Matthews will discuss the spiritual trends in modern England/when he speaks to you from the studios of the British Broadcasting ~~Company~~ Corporation in London, England. (CUE)

we present
the Salon orchestra from our New York studios
playing the Chanson Triste of Tschaikowsky.

From Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue, New York, 1/23/34

Miss Law

For Immediate Release

BRITISH PRELATE ASSERTS FUTURE LINKED WITH FAITH IN BROADCAST FROM LONDON

The Very Rev. Walter Robert Matthews, Dean of Exeter and former chaplain to King George, discussed "Whither Britain?" in a broadcast from London over the facilities of the WABC-Columbia network yesterday (Tuesday). The complete text of his address as taken down by stenotype in New York follows:

Whither Britain? When I set out to try to answer this question, I am brought at once up against a depressing reflection. It is that very few prophecies of what will happen have ever been even approximately correct, and I can see no reason to suppose that I, or indeed any other speaker in this series, is likely to be more fortunate in his predictions. The fact is that history is affected by quite unpredictable events. For example, the rise of a great man, the coming of a devastating epidemic, the discovery by science of a new source of power--any of these might modify profoundly the whole course of history.

It has often been pointed out by Matthew Arnold and Mr. Christopher Dawson, among others, that civilization goes through a series of phases in a regular rhythm, that is to say, there seem to be periods of consolidation when society and culture are in a condition of stable equilibrium, when things are settled and thoughts and lives are secure. Perhaps those

people are most fortunate who are born into periods like this, but these stable phases always end in a breakdown and are followed by a confused but creative period which is in fact the transition to a new form of civilization and a new type of culture.

We all find it strangely difficult to understand what is happening all around us, and we never see clearly the meaning of events until they are past. But I think it is evident that we areliving in a time when European civilization, including that of North America, is moving toward a new crystallization, a new period of stability, and probably the same is true of the civilization of the East.

The question, "Whither Britain?" is specially relevant now. If we could understand our situation, we could exercise some rational guidance and perhaps in consequence avoid unnecessary suffering or even catastrophe.

I suggest that in every period which like our own is one of confused movement and change there are certain fundamental problems which are there demanding a solution. Some kind of solution they must inevitably find, but it may be a solution by undirected adjustment, a solution with, so to speak, unnecessary destruction of values, or else it may be a solution found by rational action. The transition from the medieval period to the modern period through the Reformation is an example of what I mean by unguided development. It would be worth our while to see clearly what are the problems which demand solution today even if we could suggest no remedies for them, and history shows, I think, that very often the real questions which needed an answer were almost entirely overlooked by the statesmen and politicians of the time. It may well be that the forces which

in the long run will decide the future of our nation are scarcely mentioned in current politics.

It will be quite impossible now to discuss the vexed question, What constitutes a nation? We will take it for granted that we all know vaguely at any rate what we mean by the British nation, but it is very important to notice that a nation has several aspects, or, if you will allow me to put it in this way,- it exists on several different levels.

What are these aspects, these different levels? Well, first, a nation is a part of a wider civilization which may be called its environment. Secondly, it has a biological aspect, or at least a biological basis, for it is composed of human animals. Thirdly, it has an economic aspect because it has to provide for its own livelihood. But, lastly and most important of all, it is a community of persons with ideals and traditions of what constitutes a good human life.

In this last aspect we find the value of nationality. It is only as a community of persons that a nation can be thought of as having value.

If we look at Britain in each of these aspects, we shall find, I think, that there is a problem pressing for solution, and in my opinion a worthy future for Britain depends on whether we can solve not only one of the problems but all problems.

The question, then, concerning the environment, the civilization of which we form a part, is in some respects the most urgent, and unfortunately it is the question in which we can do least toward finding an answer.

In what kind of world will the Britain of the future live? Will it be a peaceful or a warlike world? Can

we look forward to a condition of affairs in which war will be so remote a possibility that it will scarcely affect national policy and life? Or, on the other hand, must we anticipate a world in which war is constantly threatening?

Obviously the answer to this question must affect all the other problems. If a peaceful world is before us, we can deal with biological, economic and cultural problems with almost exclusive attention to the well being of our citizens. If, on the other hand, we must expect a warlike world, we can scarcely blame our statesmen if they think first of all of the continued existence of the nation, not, that is, of well being but of bare being. They will necessarily be anxious that industry should be capable of a quick transformation into war factories, the population should be sufficient to keep up the armies, that the government should be so organized that it can act rapidly and decisively. Never was the saying "Blessed are the peace-makers" more obviously true than now.

What is the answer to this riddle? There are some respected persons who look for the decay of patriotism and national spirit and the setting up of a world state. They see in this the only guaranty of settled peace, and they seem to expect that Britain will be absorbed into this universal empire.

The idea is not attractive to me at least, and I fear we should lose some valuable human qualities and traditions if it were realized. But I can see no sign that it is likely to be realized in any near future. National spirit is obviously more vigorous than ever, and we seem to be suffering from an exaggeration of national spirit rather than its decline. Any serious attempt to set up a world state now would, I think, be the

surest way to evolve war. We may be certain that for an indefinite time to come the world will be composed of independent nations.

Therefore nothing, in my opinion, could be more deplorable than attacks by men of good will on the League of Nations. In the present circumstances a League is the only possible way of getting concerted action against war. Of course, criticism is amply justified. Above all we must deplore the aloofness of the two great nations of Russia and the United States. The position is serious but I cannot believe that it is desperate.

The deep and widespread will for peace of the common people in all the nations of the world cannot, I believe, be frustrated. With some hesitation I prophesy that the League will pass through great difficulties but will emerge at the end as an effective instrument for adjusting differences between nations and securing common action.

When we turn to the biological basis of the national life, we enter a sphere which is so controversial that it is hardly mentioned by politicians; yet it is obviously true that human animals, like all others, are subject to biological laws. It is easy to exaggerate on this subject. Let us admit that the conditions of life have a considerable effect. Every human being is cast and is moulded to some extent by his environment but only within limits.

The life of a nation depends in a great degree on the number of its members relative to its resources and on the quality of its human stock.

This question of biological fitness and heredity will be forced to the front. Perhaps we have a sign of it in Germany

now. The German Revolution has been partly a move for racial purity, for the preservation of the Teutonic stock. It has taken forms which I suppose most Englishmen regard as deplorable and ludicrous, but these things come from a blundering realization of the importance of keeping the race from deterioration.

Britain especially has need to think courageously on this matter because more than any other nation it suffered in the way by the destruction of its most vigorous citizens. The system of voluntary enlistment meant on the whole that the best perished first. Our future depends on solving the problem of racial degeneration.

I am not advocating any drastic scheme of breeding such as Plato might have desired, but it seems certain that we ought to prevent the multiplication of the feeble-minded and also that healthy and intelligent parents should be encouraged to have children while the unhealthy should be discouraged. At present little or nothing is done even by the pressure of public opinion to secure these desirable ends.

There is also of course the problem of numbers. We have probably reached the limit here of those who can be supported in the home land. It is said that the population will begin to decline in a generation if the fall in the birth rate continues. There is no reason to rejoice over this so long as large areas of the Empire remain underpopulated.

To many of us, I suppose, the economic problem seems the most urgent. One who does not claim to be an economist must utter opinions on this problem with great hesitation, particularly when he is trying to suggest that our difficulty in every sphere will be overcome not by stunts and catchwords but by

rational thoughts and good will. Economics is doubtless a great and valuable science, but it speaks in so many voices on current issues that I am inclined to think that economists will only agree on what is the matter with us after we are dead, so that we are compelled to do some thinking for ourselves, knowing full well that whatever our conclusions may be, they will be condemned by some economists.

Let me tell you as a plain man some of the things which strike me on this subject. I notice, first of all, that we are told we must raise prices, goods are too cheap, if they only cost more we could abolish unemployment. This is surely extraordinary. Commodities are too plentiful, they can be produced too easily; and yet there are many who need them.

I do not believe in the long run you can keep prices artificially high. They will return to their natural level, and we shall have to resign ourselves to the fate o getting things cheaply which, by the way, would have seemed to our fathers almost the supreme ideal of economic organization. I have heard that it used to be said that improved machinery and rationalization, though they displace labor for a time, in the end lead to an increased demand for labor, but this does not seem to be wholly true today. I believe that part of our unemployment is a symptom of our transition to a time when the need for labor will be greatly reduced and the material needs of man will be provided for with much less expenditure of effort than was formerly required.

All this means that we are on the brink of an age in which men, if they are reasonable, will be able to enjoy leisure in a greater measure than ever before, but our economic structure

and even our moral codes are based on the old condition in which the fundamental law was if a man will not work neither shall he eat. Science, by placing enormous productive possibilities in our hands, has caused a temporary dislocation of our economic system. It is most important that the transition which is inevitable should be consciously planned and not achieved after painful disaster by trial and error.

What may we reasonably hope? I refuse to believe that the intelligence and good will of the nation will be unequal to the task if aided by the progress of natural science.

In my opinion the solution will be first of all on national lines. We cannot afford to wait for a world plan, and I am inclined to believe that in Great Britain at any rate we shall keep as far away as possible from state Socialism because of our inherent distrust of bureaucracy.

A reform of credit and currency with some form of national dividend perhaps seems to me most probable, but we cannot help recognizing that the details of any such scheme are very vague, and that any development of the kind I have indicated is fraught with themost appalling dangers. It is only too easy to destroy the whole credit system in seeking to reform it, and I can imagine nothing more terrifying than a group of excited politicians coming into power after a hotly contested election with the avowed intention of doing something about credit.

It seems to me there is one important thing which we must bear in mind. Britain is unfortunately in a specially difficult position because it is one of the countries least able to become self-sufficing. We dare not do anything which would injure our international commerce. Our interest now as always

is in the freest possible trade.

A nation is far more than an economic unit. It is above all a community of persons existing for purposes which are beyond economic valuation. Every nation has a distinctive character which is embodied in its traditional ways of life and thought and expressed in its institutions, laws and government. Of a nation no less than a man it can be said, What shall it profit if it gain the whole world, economic world, and lose its soul? The extinction of any great nation through its absorption into a world state would mean the loss of a special type of human excellence. The government of a nation is not a board of directors and it has in its keeping something more precious than material wealth.

The peculiar genius of the British people has expressed itself in parliamentary government, the assembly of representatives, and decision by discussion. Will these institutions survive, We must observe that parliaments and democracy are everywhere under a cloud. And surely history has brought forth one of its ironical results in the years following the war which was to make the world safe for democracy.

In our country there are two causes which may lead us to wonder whether the British democratic constitution can last. First, the problems which confront us are so complex that it may seem doubtful whether they can be solved or even adequately discussed by a popular assembly. A dictator has at least the merit that he can decide what shall be done, that he can cloture the interminable debate and can see that at least something is done. But more perilous is the second cause, namely, the decay of respect for parliament. I do not know how this has happened,

but the fact is beyond question. Perhaps the reason is that we know what elections too often are, an exploitation of mass suggestion by slogans.

Though we may expect the demand for dictatorship to grow stronger, I do not think that the nation will go back on its history by acceding to the demand, but it is obvious that if democracy is to survive it will have to be rationalized and its machinery improved.

There is one bulwark against dictatorship whether of the communist or fascist variety, which is almost peculiar to Britain. I mean the popular monarchy. Our last dictator, Oliver Cromwell, executed the king, and I do not see how any proposal for a dictatorship could be made which would not be a direct attack upon the Crown. In the past, the Crown has been a defense of popular liberties against feudal magnates. It may be used again against modern political supermen.

The soul of a people is made in the school and the church. In spite of all you may say in criticism of our education, I believe that it is the best in the world. Perhaps it falls behind some others in the imparting of knowledge, but it is superior to them in its capacity to train citizens with independent minds. We need more of it. If democracy is to be preserved, we must train a population in the critical faculty, we must have electors who can think for themselves and cannot be stampeded by mass suggestion, and if we want to conserve the ideals for which British civilization has stood, we must give all the children a fair chance of understanding and of gaining some insight into the conditions of the new age which science is opening before us. I shall feel happier about the future of Brain when we raise the

school age.

Man's ideals of life are expressed in his religion and in turn they are nourished by it. I should not be candid if I did not conclude by expressing my conviction that all that is best in British civilization has been created by the Christian faith, and that our future depends more than on anything else on the continued power of the Christian view of life and the Christian motive in our people.

In any view, even the most optimistic, we must expect difficult times; this seems to me evident. All kinds of adjustments must be made. The question whether this transition willbe made smoothly or violently will depend upon the amount of good will and unselfish public spirit in the nation. Christianity, with its law of love and its reverence for human personality is the way to social peace and the condition of social progress. I do not mean, of course, that these qualities are confined to Christians, still less that all Christians have them in any marked degree. But, so far as I know, no agency but religion can propagate them effectively in the mass of men.

A distinguished German professor recently stayed with me. At the end of his visit, he said, "England is still the most religious nation in the world." As he xplained it, he said that he meant that religious motives govern conduct to a greater extent here than elsewhere. I believe that he was right, and because I believe it I have confidence in the future of Britain.

If we could bring the churches closer together, if we Christians could cease to quarrel about secondary matters and bring a united influence to bear upon our national problems, we could look forward without fear to the future.

There must be many Christians of many denominations listening to me. I would respectfully urge that our greatest contribution to the well being of the nation would be to forget our divisions and to remember that it is the duty of each one of us to labor without ceasing in spite of opposition and criticism to bring all who accept Christ as their leader together into brotherly union.

(The end)

CLOSING:

You have been listening to another/in the series of international broadcasts/entitled, "Whither Britain?", being presented by the Public Events and Special Features Department/of the Columbia Network/in cooperation with the British Broadcasting ~~Company~~ Corporation. This afternoon you have heard/ the very Reverend Walter Robert Matthews, Dean of Exeter, who has discussed the (~~spiritual~~ general) trends of modern England. — Next week at this time we shall bring you the voice of Ernest Bevin, English trade-union leader and publicist/who will present the viewpoint of labor on the topic "Whither Britain?". Your announcer is _____.

This is the COLUMBIA.....BROADCASTING SYSTEM.

(FADE THEME/20 SECONDS)

WABC NEW YORK

howard/gf

PRODUCTION REPORT

TO MUSIC

DAY Wednesday DATE Jan 30

PROGRAM Whitehall Orchestra SCHEDULED AIR TIME 330 to 5

ARTIST	SELECTIONS	DRESS REHEARSAL	AIR
	Start		329 00
	Announcements		3000
	London starts		3035
	Ernest Bevin		4005 55
	OKT		6120

REMARKS: Check here ( ) if all O.K. Use reverse of original for detailed report or special comment.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

"WHITHER BRITAIN" - ERNEST BEVIN

TUESDAY, JANUARY 30, 1934
~~XXXXXX~~
3:29 TO 4:00 P. M.

MASTER COPY
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
ANNOUNCER Randol

CUE: COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
30 SECONDS

~~DURING THE NEXT THIRTY MINUTES~~ THE PUBLIC EVENTS AND SPECIAL FEATURES DEPARTMENT OF THE COLUMBIA NETWORK TAKES PLEASURE IN PRESENTING ANOTHER IN THE SERIES OF INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTS ENTITLED "WHITHER BRITAIN?". IN THIS SERIES OF ADDRESSES WE ARE INTRODUCING SOME OF BRITAIN'S MOST PROMINENT PUBLIC MEN, WHO ARE PRESENTING THEIR VIEWS ON TRENDS APPARENT IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLAND. H.G. WELLS, WINSTON CHURCHILL, AND THE VERY REV. WALTER ROBERT ~~MORRIS~~ MATTHEWS, DEAN OF EXETER, ARE AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE TREATED THIS TOPIC FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THEIR RESPECTIVE PROFESSIONS. TODAY, WE BRING YOU ERNEST BEVIN, TRADE UNION LEADER AND PUBLICIST, WHO PRESENTS THE VIEWPOINT OF LABOR. MR. BEVIN, ~~WHO WAS BORN IN ARGOYLL~~ IS GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS UNION, AND A MEMBER OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE TRADE-UNION CONGRESS. HE HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN PROMOTING A NEW INDUSTRIAL ALLIANCE OF ALL EMPLOYEES ENGAGED IN POWER PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION, AS WELL AS SERVING AS A NON-MINISTERIAL MEMBER OF THE ECONOMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL, AND AS A CHAIRMAN OF THE DAILY HERALD LTD. MR. BEVIN SPEAKS TO YOU FROM THE STUDIOS OF THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION IN LONDON, ENGLAND.

- - - - -

CLOSING:

THE PUBLIC EVENTS AND SPECIAL FEATURES DEPARTMENT OF THE COLUMBIA NETWORK, IN COOPERATION WITH THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION HAS ~~TAKEN PLEASURE IN~~ PRESENTED ~~PRESENTING~~ ANOTHER IN THE SERIES OF INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTS ENTITLED "WHITHER BRITAIN?". THIS AFTERNOON YOU HAVE HEARD ERNEST BEVIN, TRADE-UNION LEADER AND PUBLICIST PRESENTING THE VIEWPOINT OF LABOR ON THE TRENDS APPARENT IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLAND. CBS & LOCAL

~~Hell Anyway~~

You will hear the Selection
Thereby England by Sir Edw. Elgar

From Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue, 1/30/34.

For Immediate Release

BRITISH LABOR LEADER DISCUSSES "WHITHER BRITAIN?"....(Tuesday,)
(January 30)

Ernest Bevin, English trade union leader and publicist, spoke from London over the WABC-Columbia network in another of the series of discussions on "Whither Britain?" yesterday afternoon (Tuesday, January 30) from 3:30 to 4:00 P. M., EST. Bevin offered the viewpoint of labor on the question, while previous speakers in the series dealt with its historical, political and religious aspects.

The text of this address, as transcribed by stenotypists in the CBS New York studios, follows:

(More)

ERNEST BEVIN: No one can deal with such a vast subject as "Whither Britain" adequately in a half hour's talk. It is necessary, however, in order to make reasonable assumptions as to the costs the nations is carrying to have a fairly clear idea of the road we have been pursuing since the great evil of 1914-18, and to have in one's mind the road one would like the nation to pursue. It has been said that seeds of every great war are sown in the settlement of the previous war and the road selected by this nation in common with others at the close of the great war is largely responsible for the present chaotic state and the rise of economic nationalism. The outlook of the British people at the end of the war may be described as nerve-strung, yet hopeful at having spent all the blood and treasure, the leaders of the great nations would bend their energies in the direction of preventing such a catastrophe ever occurring again. Perhaps the greatest handicap from which we suffered was the fact that such a large proportion, the best brains of the country had been destroyed and so the war-soaked minds hampered by pre-war concepts and war hatreds settled not peace but drew up a treaty.

They did not visualize a new world where equality between the peoples and adequate opportunity was the essential aim. From the day in 1918 when I listened to Mr. Lloyd George at Bristol, I have been under no delusion as to the reaction of the passing upon our financial and domestic life he then advocated.

I happened to be a parliamentary candidate at that time, and was asked if I would support the policy of making Germany pay.

(More)

I declined despite all the feeling of antagonism such refusal created against me. As a Democrat seeking the sufferage of democracy, I conceived it my duty irrespective of whether I won or l lost to tell the people the truth and to declare that if they followed the road then being suggested they would find the country settled with millions of unemployed and faced with starvation within a very few years.

My opponents knew this better than I. They knew the exchange systems were wrong and the basis of international trade. They had held high office, but they traded on the nerve-strung feelings and hopes of the moment, this in the obtaining of the parliamentary majority before the righteous duty of state and the truth. That was the road the nation decided to take then, Reparations, war debts and the creation of top-heavy states like Austria which contributed so much to the instability of Europe and has led us to tariffs, restrictions of international exchange, economic nationalism, the semi-ruination of our great mercantile marine and the worst vices of speculation and usury. It has produced a perfect Eldorado to the most sordid and criminal speculators the world has ever seen, a type of citizen who has no regard for the people, the nation or honor and who cares not who he ruins or the effect of his acts on national or international life. Many of them have borne great names. They have been regarded as leaders in the financial and social world. They have influenced and dominated governments and it has led to a currency war in which the currency which should be only used internationally

(More)

as a means of settling international balances, has become an adjunct of foreign policy and a weapon in an international economic struggle. It has created an erroneous idea in the minds of people in many countries thatonly by keeping other nationa down can one be successful..

I join with Mr. Churchill in regretting that politicians and the press have resorted to the appeal and deceiving of democracy by half truths and untruths, but I should have had a greater admiration for him if when he was returned to Parliament as a result of such methods, he had resigned as a protest against them instead of taking office. I should also have been encouraged if he had put forward some remedy for political dishonesty, especially in view of his expression of faith in democracy. But instead he only suggested that the advancement of the people to political liberty and freedom of government should be retarded by proposals for strengthening his own class in power through the House of Lords who, after all, are primarily responsible for a good deal of the trouble from which we are suffering at the moment and to the sum total of which Mr. Churchill had been no mean contributor.

The position, as I see it, is that all the countries of the world are trying to get off this ruinous road. The difficulty is they cannot turn back and at the moment in their bewilderment they seem to be trying to avoid the inevitable end - war.

(More)

In this confused trouble, Middle Europe has adopted Fascism. Fascism, if persisted in, will lead to war and disaster for it does not offer any solution to the economic problem of the people. Starvation and unemployment increase under it. Its principal weapons are tyranny, corruption, depression of the standard of life, regimentalization of the people, destruction of freedom and an attempt to stabilize the classes. Such a policy must inevitably lead to atrophy.

What road is Britain trying to take? Amidst all the chaos and difficulty, our leaders, the Foreign Ministers particularly, appear to be walking a tightrope. The reason for this is we represent a great empire which controls enormous quantities of raw materials. We have large foreign investments. We're a financial nation and we are dependent upon world trade. Yet at the same time we are attempting to develop economic nationalism at home. It is trying to reconcile the irreconcilable.

The measures now being taken have been influenced by two conditions - one, to find means to substitute the gold standard which is no longer effective to regulate its dangers; two, adopting all kinds of marketing and other measures with a view to trying to evaluate the real solution, which is the social ownership of the important national industries. Can the nation, therefore, with democratic institutions successfully emerge from this chaos, I am convinced if democracy is given the facts upon which to base its judgment without panic, not only shall we find solutions, but we shall lead the world back to free institutions.

Therefore, one of the most important things at the moment must be a grim determination to preserve democratic

(More)

institutions, whether national, municipal or voluntary. For these institutions give stability and provide machinery through which the state can work , which is of tremendous value. It is the only means that exist which allow reason, thought and opportunity to develop into its rightful heritage and when it does make changes, makes them by consent, thereby establishing them upon a firm foundation.

I have no confidence in the superman. The limitations of supposedly great men are obvious. I have spent my life among working people. I am one of them. I have seen them faced with the most difficult problems. Place the truths before them, the facts, whether they are good or bad, and they display understanding, ability and courage that confounds the wisdom of the so-called great. I consider that the national leaders should now frankly state the aims and objects of their foreign policy to our own people. Why are statesmen afraid to tell us? There is no need for secrecy. The people do not want war, the people, except a few. There is room on this planet for us all.

A nation is also entitled to a frank statement on the currency problem . The power to land us into international difficulties and obligations in the name of Britain is wielded secretly behind the scenes. The nation should insist that anything done in her name with her money power with other peoples, should be made public. We must end the reign of the King Johns of finance, this autocracy, and bring finance under better public control. There is no mystery about this money problem to those who know. It is made a mystery deliberately .

(More)

For psychological and practical reasons, I would invite the nation to give a lead to the world and cut clear of the controversy of scaling the dollar, the frank and yen, and to divide the currencies of the world into two separate categories, one international, and the other for internal use. The international should be a world currency and used for the purpose of settling all international obligations. We have the instrument to create it and organize it in the Bank of International Settlements. Internal currency should be a national currency. It should be used for the exchange of internal goods and be managed in such a way as to allow the country to develop to the full and purchasing capacity to be increased as productive capacity increases.

The next consideration is one of raw materials. I am convinced that the attempt to monopolize raw materials and their development by the concession method is one of the greatest causes of conflict between nations. A bold effort should be made to secure a convention signed by the nations, agreeing to bring basic raw materials under national ownership in each state and the establishment of an international body to regulate the exploitation of such raw materials, with an agreement that any nation desiring industrial development shall have access to the available sources of raw materials on due payment. Also, that output shall be so organized as to meet the legitimate food requirements and maintain a stable price level.

Then there is the question of production and consumption. In addition to taking all possible steps at home, I would

(More)

like to see Britain give a hold leadthrough the International Labor Office on the raising of the standard of living throughout the world. Our national leaders representing different givernments who have been our spokesmen at Geneva have been confused and ambiguous. They have displayed a lack of appreciation of the great services to humanity of which this Department of the League is capable.

The wages of labor is a big factor in production. The raising of the standard of living internationally would make a tremendous contribution toward getting us out of the world morass. We are now in negotiation with Japan and India in connection with the cotton trade. Yet if the purchasing power of the masses of India was increased by the small sum of twopence per head per week, the problem of the Indian market would almost vanish. The spindles of Lancashire would be working full time but we, like other industrial nations, seem to be looking for some mystical market for our goods. The only market that really exists is the masses who produce goods. The accumulation of wealth by individuals does not increase consumption. Therefore, when you visualize the International Labor Conference at Geneva as debating ways and means to enable the people to consume the goods they have produced - this, together with an international currency and the proper organization, development and right use of basic raw materials, would tend tomaintain equilibrium throughout the world.

I now turn to home. Your attitude to problems abroad must be influenced by your attitude to internal problems. Disraeli once said, "There are two nations, that of the rich, and that of the poor." There is a tendency now to create three tations, the upper class, the working classes who are actually in work and submerged class

who at this moment have been definitely sentenced to live on either the Ministry of health scale which is fixed at four and eight pence per man per week or the British Medical Association scale which has been fixed at five and ten pence eight per man, whichever may be accepted. Both of them are terribly bad, neither of which would be acceptable as a standard for the professional classes by whom they have been drawn up.

On the other hand, you have the reorganization of industry, trustification, monopoly with financial domination, all denying and limiting opportunities and a general attempt to crystallize these. In the framing of a domestic policy we should be influenced by the principles of equality. I recognize there is bound to be diversification of talents and ability, but the scientist who has contributed to civilization and the worker who has produced the goods are, in my judgment, entitled to a greater position of honor and award then the financier who uses the brains and ability and production of others and I want this equality expressed in every piece of legislation throughout our national life.

We are now being congratulated on a balanced budget and the possibility of a surplus, but if we approach the question of balance correctly we must not do so in terms of money only, but in terms of life, health and opportunity. I do not feel any great enthusiasm when I am told there is a surplus and I have to set against it such figures as appeared in the press on January 19th, that the number of recruits who failed

(more)

to reach the army standard in the case of line regiments for the whole country, is 52 per cent, and in the industrial law where the cut in unemployment and social services generally has had a most devastating effect the percentage of failures is 68 per cent.

Therefore, one has to set against the balanced money the cost that will have to perform as the result of such suffering such as insanity, crime, prisons, veterans, etc. This surplus if used aright, ought to be used for prevention of starvation and provision of work. The Archbishop of Canterbury called our attention to the terrible mortgage handed on to us from the 19th century in connection with slums. What a terrible physical and moral mortgage the country is now handing on as the price of a balanced money budget and surplus. This is primarily due to an unfortunate middle-class attitude of mind which is reflected by those in power. It may have been necessary recently under the present chaotic conditions to vote 375,000,000 for what is known as an equalization fund. It was doen without the turning of a hand. It may be lost. No one knows, but it is difficult to understand the leaders of the nation who can do that and at the same time and in the same parliament when their attention is called to children starving, the plight of distressed areas, the undermining of the people, continued unemployment, the destruction of the most valuable asset of the nation, the scraft and skill of our people, to state that the nation cannot afford to grant the necessary money for thework and proper sustenance of the people. I

(More)

repeat it is purely due to a misconception and cannot be justified by fact.

Look at the problem of our great many who are left with derelict communities. They must be freed from the restrictions now imposed. They must be given an opportunity to save themselves, to develop industry in the land around, and opportunities for their people. They must not be handicapped by the restrictions which are really imposed by private and moneyed interests. They mustnot be called upon to pay ransom to the usurer as the price of developing opportunities for their people or to satisfy the demands of the usurer in our national life who takes from us the largest percentage of our taxation and is the greatest handicap to our development. This is what we cannot afford.

Then when we approach the problem of education from the point of view of equality of opportunity and a right of children of the masses to the best possible chances that life can give, what do we find? We find that as a nation we have contributed a rebate by the relief of taxation to the income taxpaying classes to enable them to keep their children at school. The school, we believe, for the working class children should be raised and if the wage of the parents is not of a standard to enable them to adequately clothe and house them, then they are entitled to be supported by the State. There is no difference in principel between granting relief of taxation to the income tax payer to assist him in keeping his children at school, and giving some measure of support to those whose income has not

(More)

reached the income tax level. We cannot now find full employment for all these children and many of those who do find employment are taken into industry at the age of fourteen and discharged at eighteen and their lives are wasted. On the grounds of equality and justice, this nation should face up to this problem.

Similarly with pensions, the nation has measured its liability to skilled craftsmen, miners, and industrial workers generally at ten shillings per week, to which they contribute. This pension is totally inadequate. The nation has provided pensions for judges, civil service, policemen, teachers, municipal servants, in the professional classes. I make no complaint about this, but on the grounds of equality and justice, similar provision should be made for the miner, the agricultural worker, textile workers, great engineering trades and all the others who, after all, run the biggest risk of unemployment during their working life, who are the real victims of industrial depression and feel every blast of international events. They have the greatest struggle, inadequately paid, no security, yet their skill is the real source of the nation's wealth. Gained with the development ofmachinery and rationalization, should it be left only to the trade unions to fight this struggle on behalf of the workers generally to adjust hours of labor?

When industry is being reorganized and great changes are effected, the whole problem of the workers' position should be taken into consideration and dealt with adequately. Adjustments made in the hours of labor, plans for removal, housing, many things under the new conditions should be dealt with in a

properly orderly and rational way and the workers should not be left as at the present time with their source of livelihood gone, without hope and as social derelicts.

I want to say of Britain that it is constantly considering the development of its own national resources. Why should our land be flooded when we have idle labor? Why should thousands of our villages and many towns be without an adequate water supply? Why should we go to the ends of the earth for power to drive our industry by oil when we could develop our great coal fields and a great national gas field? Why should we have slums or unfit houses when we possess the best clay, slate, tiles and labor and all the essentials to house our people properly? Why should our great urban population have to ride in filthy trains, unhealthy, spreading disease, when we could have a good national transport service?

We boast before other countries about development. Surely a nation alive to the requirements and aspirations that education and other developments have created in the hearts and minds of our people should be able to solve the problems at home.

I will conclude by saying that I want to see Britain get off the present road and carve out a new way on the lines I have indicated which may be summarized as follows: A clear and bold lead for world peace, a definite lead to the world to establish an international currency, a willingness not only to seek equality abroad, but ready to give it, a bold lead to concession hunters who are the sources of so much mischief and to bring under public control through international

organization the essential raw material resources of the world, making them available for human needs and development, a bold step to curb the power and influence in high finance and to relegate speculation to the limbo of the past. I want to see Britain join with every nation that it can and particularly throughout the Empire, to raise the standard of living not only of the white race but of the great masses of colored races throughout the world.

I want to see the nation strive to shorten the hours of labor, to give full facilities for education, to pension the workers, to balance the measure and afford an opportunity for the development of a wider culture in the arts and crafts and for the development of travel and knowledge.

I know that all this involves the bringing in of great measures of social ownership and of freeing of land from the control of a favored few. The survival of the fittest in the future will resolve itself not in the nation which can wield best the glittering sword or boast of its most effective poison gas. It will be the nation which is successful in grappling with the terrible problem of poverty and disease and can boast of a healthy, virile people, economically and politically equal.

(End)

TO MUSIC

PRODUCTION REPORT

DAY Tuesday DATE Feb 6 '34

PROGRAM GEORGE BERNARD SHAW SCHEDULED AIR TIME 3:29 to 4:05 PM

ARTIST	SELECTIONS	DRESS REHEARSAL	AIR	
	Air 6 sec. late, due to Inct. Parade runover		3:29	06
	Introduction from WABC		30	10
	BBC on		30	15
	Introduction from BBC		30	30
	Speech - G.B.S.		4:01	50
	WABC on		01	55
	Closing from WABC			
	CBS		02	15
	WABC		02	35
	Intelligibility 95%			

REMARKS: Check here (✓) if all O.K. Use reverse of original for detailed report or special comment.

MASTER COPY
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
ANNOUNCER Rand

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

Tuesday, February 6th, 1934
~~5:30~~ - ~~4:00~~ p.m.
3:29:06 ~~4:05~~ 4:02:35

CUE: COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
-------30 seconds----------

During the next thirty-five minutes the Public Events and Special Features Department of the Columbia Network takes pleasure in presenting another in the series of international broadcasts entitled "Whither Britain?". In this series of addresses we have introduced such prominent Englishmen as H. G. Wells, Winston Churchill, the very Rev. Walter Robert Matthews, Dean of Exeter, and Ernest Bevin, trade union leader and publicist, who have forecast future trends and developments in Great Britain from the viewpoint of their respective professions. Today it is our privilege to bring you George Bernard Shaw, the Irish playwright-philosopher. There is no more distinguished name in the annals of modern literature than his. ~~than that of the famed George Bernard Shaw.~~ As critic, craftsman, and theorist he has presented an enduring picture of the world of today, and speculated on the days of the future. He has popularized the typical play on the English-speaking ~~speaking~~ stage, and brought intelligence to entertainment. By his witty criticisms he has accomplished social and political reforms, and has achieved the prominence of an international force in world events. Mr. Shaw will speak to you from the studios of the British Broadcasting Corporation in London, England.

From Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue, New York, 2/6/34

For immediate release

SHAW DISCUSSES NEXT WAR, DISARMAMENT AND WAR DEBTS IN TRANS-ATLANTIC RADIO TALK

The next war, if it comes, will be "the most disgraceful and inglorious war" on record, and "will peter out in general ridicule," George Bernard Shaw declared today in a philosophical discussion of international enmities, disarmament and war debts over a trans-Atlantic radio hook-up. He spoke in the offices of the Columbia Broadcasting System in London, and his words were transmitted through the British Broadcasting Corporation's facilities by short wave to the United States. He was heard here over the Columbia network

The eminent British playwright and socialist was in good oratorical form and better than average transmission brought his words across the ocean quite clearly. He opened with a statement that Britain is like a ship without a pilot and is likely to "drift into war as into anything else, provided somebody else starts the war." He devoted a great part of his talk, which was one of a series being presented by noted Britishers under the title, "Whither Britain?" to the chances for another world war. He called the International Disarmament Conference an effort to reach an agreement that "if England promises never to kill a German with a sixteen-inch shell, but always to do it with a ten-inch one, Germany will make the same promises on killing an Englishman."

Becoming philosophical about the next war, Shaw declared that great fleets of bombing planes flying over capital cities will cause them to raise the white flag immediately rather than suffer destruction The result, he said, will be that "from Berlin to Moscow, from Stockholm to Rome, the white flags will go up in every city."

He continued with some remarks about the gold standard and the war debts and said a few unkind things about bankers and their attitude toward business. The full text of Shaw's talk follows:

MR. SHAW: Whither Britain, What a question! Even if I knew,(and you all know very well that I do not know; nobody knows) How could I tell you in half an hour? Now put a reasonable question. Say a little bit of the big question. For instance, Is Britain heading straight for war? That is what you want to know, isn't it? Well, at present Britain is not heading straight for anywhere. She is a ship without a pilot driving before the winds of circumstance, and as such she is as likely to drift into war as into anything else provided somebody else starts the war. All the statesmen in Europe agree that another war would be a deplorable catastrophe and every country in the world is willing to disarm if all the others will disarm first, very much as I might safely offer to subscribe one hundred million pounds for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children if twelve other philanthropists will do the same. And so the League of Nations has set up a disarmament conference which after two years of fooling has virtually ended nowhere.

Sir John Simon, a clear-headed lawyer says that the disarmament conference is really an armament conference, vainly trying to regulate armaments, and the Chairman of the Conference, Mr. Arthur Henderson has threatened to resign because not one of the powers has or ever had the very slightest intention either of disarming or of refraining from perfecting the newest and most frightful methods of slaughter with all the diligence that terror can inspire.

(More)

Only they would all like to do it as cheaply as possible, for the world's taxation is very heavy, so they spent months discussing whether if England promises never to kill a German with a sixteen-inch shell, but always to do it with a ten-inch one, Germany will make the same promises on killing Englishmen. If I am to be killed by a shell, I prefer it to be as big as possible, as it would give the occasion importance and make a bigger noise. Besides, I am still of the opinion I expressed in 1914, that the slaughter of a German lad by an English lad is as great a loss to England as to Germany, and that the slaughter of an English lad by a German lad is just as much a loss to Germany as to England. The notion that what is devilment for one army is heroism for another, doesn't wash. Shall I say the most amiable of you want to prevent war altogether? Well, so do I, but we must not allow ourselves to be put off by humbug about disarmament. Disarmament will not prevent war. Men fought just as fiercely as they do now before a single one of our modern weapons was invented.

I have no doubt that in the African Tribes when it was first proposed to use poisoned arrows instead of plain ones, there was just the same cry of sorrow about it as we had in England when the Germans attacked us with poison gas. "Only fiends," we said, "would use such a weapon," but at the end of a fortnight when Lord Kitchener told us not to fuss as we were going to use it ourselves, we settled down to it just as the African tribes settled down to the poisoned arrows, and we may as well settle down to the fact that in the next war all the most diabolical means of spreading death and destruction will be ready for us.

(More)

We are at present working hard at them, and so are all the other powers, so let us face it. We have got to, whether we like it or not.

Are we then to be exterminated by fleets of bombing airplanes which will smash our water mains, cut our electric cables, turn our gas supply into a monace, and bathe us and our babies in liquid mustard gas from which no mask can save us, Well, if we are, it will serve us right for it will be our own doing. But let us keep our heads. It may not work out in that way, for what is it that happens when a single soldier finds himself face to face with a dozen of the enemy? He puts up his hands and demands quarter. What is it that happens when a body of troops finds itself hopelessly out-numbered and surrounded? It surrenders. What will London do when it finds itself approached by a crowd of airplanes capable of destroying it in half an hour? London will surrender. White flags and wireless messages--"Don't drop your bombs; we give in," will fill the air. But our own air squadrons will have already started to make the enemy surrender; from Berlin to Moscow, from Stockholm to Rome, the white flags will go up in every city. All the navies will strike their colors, ransoms and reparations and indemnities will cancel each other out after a squabble in Geneva, and the most disgraceful and inglorious war on record will peter out in general ridicule.

Therefore, let us not join the present foolish protest against the multiplication of bombing airplanes. They are angels of peace. Wars like the last one in 1914 involve the mobilization of vast assemblages of men and munitions in such numbers that it almost demobilizes itself by its own weight and mass. Such

(More)

demobilization is impossible with an enemy in the air going at speeds of one hundred miles anhour and upward, and equipped with means of destruction and death that put big assemblages at its mercy. Mobilization will come tomean not the concentration of troops, but their rapid disbursement. Very small armies, highly trained to run away at the very first sign of an approaching enemy will supersede the big battalians of Napoleon and those stupid imitators of his that do not know that Napoleon is deader than Queen Anne.

So do not let yourself be scared into perfectly useless attempts to keep the world on its old Napoleonic footing. If you are a humanitarian like myself, appeal to the Chemists to discover a humane gas that will kill instantly and painlessly. In short, a gentlemanly gas, deadly by all means, but humane, not cruel.

There is another snag in war. Wars cannot be fought on credit; they must be paid for on the nail. Englishmen and Germans cannot kill one another with exchequer bills and war scrip. Nothing but shot and shell and high explosives handled by real men wearing real boots and clothes and eating real meals are of any use on the battlefield. The men and women who are making the boots and guns and the explosives, must be fed and clothed and housed, and this also cannot be done on credit. Promises of next year's boots and the food to be grown twenty years hence will not keep a war going for five minutes, much less five years. By hook or crook, governments which go to war must be able to lay their hands on actual munitions. When the war is over, there is nothing of them left. They are all consumed or worn out or fired off. All that

(More)

remains for the victors is a little glory and a great deal of death and destruction and disablement and isolation. But it is then discovered that the belligerant states obtained a great deal more than the munitions, not by paying for them, but by promising to let the owners and their heirs live freely on the countries until the governments of the states buy back their promises. They also try to repay the owners and enrich themselves by plundering the defeated enemies, but this does not work, because enemies are not defeated at present in these days by old-fashioned decisive battles, but by blockade and starvation. Battles are useless. They last for months, and then peter out as the lastvestige of the defenses are shot down by machine guns on the barbed wire entanglements. Consequently, when the enemy is starved out, there is nothing to plunder. All that can be done is to make the defeated enemy pay a tribute year by year out of his earnings, and calling it reparations and indemnities. It sounds all right, but when we tried it on Germany it nearly ruined us. You see, there are no gold mines in Germany, so that when the Germans began paying us the tribute, they could not pay in gold money. They could do it only by supplying us with ships and steel and coal and the like.

Nowbefore we had done this we should have turned all our ship builders and steel workers and coal miners into makers of chocolate creams and Christmas crackers, turned our steel works into Palace Hotels, besides closing down on the coal mines. But our statesmen had never thought of this, and when we found out that living on German labor meant that our own labor was thrown out of work, they had to put on tariffs to keep the

(More)

German's goods out. This meant refusing to let the Germans pay in the only way they could pay, that is, refusing to let them pay at all.

Of course, our statesmen didn't say so, because they didn't understand what they were doing. They said that the Germans must pay in gold, and get it by selling their goods to other nations for gold. But the other nations did just what they did, and for the same reason. They put on prohibitive tariffs and refused to admit German goods. The Germans could get no gold, and had to keep their goods to themselves. It was a complete deadlock.

Yet we managed to make it worse. To carry on the war, all the victorious allies had borrowed their supplies recklessly from America, and England had not only borrowed largely herself but guaranteed the borrowings of several of the others. When the war was over the borrowers defaulted or repudiated in all directions.

(More)

take the icicle into the United States, but it would be all right here."

Now, this meant that England had gone off the gold standard. It was a great surprise to our voters because the government had just won an election by an impassioned appeal to the voters to save the country from utter dishonor and bankruptcy by saving the gold standard at all costs. The truth is neither the voters nor the states understood a thing about it. If they had, some voters would have asked the prime minister, Have you any gold to back our money with, or if not, can you buy any, because if not we must go off the gold standard whether we like it or not, and the only thing that can happen would be that if the United States would not take their tribute in goods,they may go whistle for it, just as we have had to go whistle for our tribute from Germany.

But nobody said anything of the sort because nobody knew what the gold standard meant. So democracy, through its voters, swore to maintain the gold standard to the last drop of its blood, and its political leaders promised to die rather than haul down that sacred emblem.

Well, the first man who presented a five-pound noteat the Bank of England brought all that nonsense down with a crash. The election shouting was hardly over when we came off the gold standard like a hen off a hot griddle.

Now, you would have thought after all this that the nations would have seen that they must write off their debts and wipe the slate clean, but they were prevented by their insane syndicalism -- s-y-n-d-i-c-a-l-i-s-m, syndicalism. Syndicalism is well known on the continent in crude revolutionary form as the

We in England owe an enormous tribute to the United States to pay for what they borrowed in addition to what she herself had borrowed. That the United States would not ruin their industries by accepting English goods in payment, they, too, wanted gold. Well, England has no gold mines, and when she tried to buy gold for her goods from other nations, they raised tariff walls to keep her goods out. When England and France had scraped together all the gold they could lay hands on and sent it to America, America was bursting with gold because it would not sell for goods, and Europe was bursting with goods that it could not sell for gold. Now, as a matter of fact, both continents were perfectly solvent, and they had nothing to do but wipe the slate and be happy.

Unfortunately, this simple solution does not apply to the money question. Money is nothing but a title deed to goods. A penny is exchangeable for a penny's worth of goods. A pound is a title deed to a pound's worth of goods. There is only one sort of goods that is readily exchangeable for any goods that its owners prefer to have, and that is gold. Accordingly, all the nations had to make their money entitle the owner to value in gold. Anybody who had an English five-pound note could go into the Bank of England and receive five golden sovereigns for it. This was called being on the gold standard. Yet when all the gold was drained into England and France, and then allthe gold was drained from England and France into the United States, the gold standard became impossible in Europe.

When you presented your five-pound note at the Bank of England, however, the bank had to say, "Sorry, no gold today; you can have it in British steel or in British fried fish and chips, or would you like a British icicle? You would not be allowed to

doctrine that all our industries should be owned and managed and financed by the workers actually engaged in them, the mines by the miners, the railways by the railway men,the factories by the factory hands, and theaters by the actors and scene shifters.

Now, everyone with a bit of sense and knowledge of business knows that mines cannot be managed by miners nor factories by factory operators nor railways by porters, street layers, locomotive drivers and stokers. It is not their job. They know no more of financing and managing and marketing than a ship steward knows of navigation.

We can see this very clearly when syndicalism is proposed for poor men who work for weekly wages, but we swallow it like children with our eyes shut and mouths open when the information is supplied by boards of directors, bankers and industrial and financial bosses generally. Yet these people are as ignorant of high politics as a coal miner is of office business. Their job is not to promote the welfare of the nation but to make profits for themselves and their shareholders. They think that the nation is prospering when they are making profits and is being ruined when their trade comes to a standstill.

The shipping companies think that the country lives by its overseas trade and that if every pound of cheese we make had to go three times around the world before we were ready to eat it, we should be three times as rich as we were before.

If you told themthat the real interest of every country was to have as little overseas trade as possible,they would think you had gone stark, raving mad. If we had been laboring to produce everything we consumed during the war, there would have been no

submarine campaign, but then the ship owners would not have made enormous fortunes out of the war. The war was a Godsend to them as it was not a Godsend to the rest of us.

Now, let us come to the very worst example of boss syndicalism. The most important trade of the country is the trade in money because, as I have just reminded you, money consists of title deeds to all sorts of goods from diamonds to baked potatoes. The trade in money is conducted by the bankers who make enormous profits by keeping our spare money for us and lending it to us again at interest. They are always looking for borrowers just as bakers and tailors are looking for customers, and they don't care a rap whether the borrower is a Britisher or a foreigner. They lend to whoever will pay the highest interest. Just as the cobbler comes to think there is nothing like leather and the ship owner that there is nothing like overseas trade, the bankers come to think that the whole business of the world consists of borrowing, and that we are all being ruined when we are not up to our eyes in debt.

Now, you know just as well as I do that nations should be cash nations. If a government is to be guided by money lenders, the money lenders will guide it by the shortest way to bankruptcy exactly like they guided the prodigal son.

When we found out that the plundering in Germany ordained by the Treaty of Versailles had ended by our pound itself being worth only a fraction of what it was before, we should have stopped it. We would have stopped it but for the money lenders.

How did they prevent us? They said, All your difficulties arise from the fact that you think Germany cannot pay her tribute to you, but don't forget that she can if you lend her the

money, Instead of sending them to the nearest lunatic asylum, our boss syndicalist government said, "Splendid!" They said, "Why didn't we think of that before?"

Of course, the German industrialists eagerly borrowed all the money they were offered and used it to try to flood the markets of their creditors with German goods. The deadlock was then worse than ever. Practically all the states stopped paying war debts. We were too honest to repudiate our debt to the United States. We acknowledged it handsomely and fully. But as we send only a few dollars now and then to show our good faith by what they call a token payment, the United States will lose nothing worth mentioning when she takes the advice I gave her last April in New York and magnanimously writes off her unpayable debt.

The plundering game is up, and the money-lending bubble is burst. The likelihood of another war is all the less because the last one, instead of doing all the glorious things it promised to do and was intended to do only smashed up the three empires that began it, broke the back of England, and left the European belligerants, victors and banquished alike, in the position of undischarged bankrupts, whilst their American creditor cursing her boss syndicalism more heartily than any of them.

And now what will the United States do to us in England when they realize that we cannot pay them in gold, and the payment in commercial goods will ruin their industries? Will they ask for payment in territory, say by handing over Jamaica to them? Will they offer to take the Codex Sinaticus, and their pick of the choicest works in the British Museum and the National Gallery? We shall reply that we shallpay only what we borrowed, and what we borrowed was not territory or art treasures of incalculable value

but food and munitions. There is no job that we could do for the United States that her millions of unemployed would not clamor for if it were proposed to let us do it, and so the deadlock would come again as hopeless as ever. There is really nothing for it but to wipe the slate, the sooner the better.

And now comes the question, When we have wiped the slate, what then? Are we to continue to live under a dictatorship of bankers and ship owners with cabinet ministers as their puppets and scapegoats? If so, what will happen?

The ship owners will keep on clamoring for more overseas trade and filling the newspapers with their alarms of national ruin whenever there is a decrease in our exports. Manufacturers and farmers will want to keep out foreign goods and supply our own necessities by our own labor, but the two will agree on one point. They will both want to force English goods on foreign nations.

If a country that has been wearing British stockings begins very sensibly to knit its own stockings and puts a duty on British stockings to keep them out, the newspapers will echo the cries of our stocking merchants and ship owners for what they call retaliation, that is, the government is bullied into putting a vindictive duty on some product of the other country to force it to give up knitting its own stockings. Nothing more senselessly stupid from the point of view of both nations could be imagined, but the ship owners and the manufacturers are quite well pleased because the vindictive duty keeps out foreign goods. This silly squabble used to end in war, but war, as I said before, is becoming impossible because instead of merely killing young soldiers, mostly

unmarried, it now kills women and men indiscriminately, and this means not glory but extermination. So we can no longer count on war to make us sit up and take our public business seriously. The disappearance of war seems such a relief at present that nobody thinks of looking beyond it, but as the waste of life under boss syndicalism is much worse than the slaughter in old-fashioned war, civilization may be in graver danger from peace than from war.

Well, I cannot go farther into that now but there remains a very important point which I have not yet touched. When you ask, Whither Britain? what exactly do you mean by Britain? Do you mean the British islands or the British Empire, for there is all the difference in the world? Ask a cockney soldier to die for England and he will think the demand a very proper one, althoughhe won't die if he can help it, but ask him to die for Calcutta, and his reply will be unprintable.

I should be very glad if I lived to see our Imperial distinguished men regarding the Hongkong Chinese and Senegalese and the Malays and the Maoris, the Hindus and the Zulus and the Bantus as their compatriots, their fellow-Britons, their own imperial flesh and blood instead of lumping them all contemptuously together as Niggers and Chinks. But if this brotherhood of mankind is to be effected at the cost of repudiation of all our nearest European neighbors as foreigners and enemies to be harassed with tariffs and threatened by big armaments, then instead of giving three cheers for the Empire, I feel inclined to say simply, Don't be silly.

I grant you that nationalism and patriotism have to be reckoned with when there are friendly human instincts and ethnologi-

cal facts at the back of them. The instinct not only of the distant Indian but even of the nearby welshman, the Irishman and the Scot is to resent and repudiate Imperial domination. So that if we are to preserve the connection we must make it appear flattering and advantageous to all parts of the Empire, giving them home rule, calling them Dominions instead of Colonies, and putting them on the same footing as what we call the mother country or England.

But think of what that may lead to. There is only a handful of English-speaking people with pink skins in the Dominions. The Indians outnumber the rest of the Empire, including England five to one. Consequently the effect of making England a dominion in the Canadian sense would be that England would become in effect a dominion of Indiana, and England might not like that. England might break off from the empire as the United States did.

Now, think over this -- I cannot feel sure of the permanence of any combination that is not based on homogeneity, that is, on the people in the combination being reasonably like one another in their tastes and religious faiths and traditions and hopes. It is as plain as can be that a combination of the northern states of Europe withthe United States of America and with Australia and New Zealand would be far more homogeneous than any possible combination of Europeans with Asiatics.

In the war, when the French let loose their Negro soldiers and the British their Asiatic soldiers to slaughter our German neighbors, I felt, and I hope you did, too, that this was not playing the game of Western civilization.

When the question, Whither Britain? is put to me, I am

prepared to make careful guesses as far as British men go, British ideas and British stock, but if it means a miscellaneous crowd of Chinese, millions of different sorts of Indians, a handful of Malay head hunters and Fiji cannibals, and masses of contingents from north and south Africa, then I can only sake my head. If I were a stranger from another planet I should say that an attempt to combine England with India before England was combined with the United States on the one side and with all her Western European neighbors on the other, is a crazy reversal of the natural order of things and cannot possibly last. I could understand an Asiatic combination with Japan as its most aggressive organizer, strengthening the West into a European and American combination, but I could not grant the permanency of the present combination.

I repeat, if we do not make the constituents of the Empire so independent of England that England will have nothing to do but support an enormously expensive navy to protect them, they will break off as the American colonies did. And if they grant them that independence, the tail will wag the dog as it did very vigorously at the Ottowa Conference.

As between the present arrangement of forty-five million pink men sitting on the necks of three hundred million brown and yellow men and the international cooperation insisted on by Mr. Wells, I am on the side of Mr. Wells, and Wells and I are both much more disinterested than the boss syndicalists. It is true that the parliamentary gentlemen pay no attention to us just as their grandfathers paid no attention to Dickens and Ruskin, Carlisle and Marx and the Fabians of the Nineteenth Century. But that did not in the least prevent things turning out as Dickens and

the rest said they would and as the parliamentary gentlemen said they would not, so look out, dear listeners, look out, look out! So long.

(The end)

CLOSING:

The Public Events and Special Features Department of the Columbia Network, in cooperation with the British Broadcasting Corporation, ~~has taken pleasure in~~ has presented another in the series of International broadcasts entitled "Whither Britain?". This afternoon it has been our privilege to bring you George Bernard Shaw, the Irish playwright-philosopher, who has presented his views on the subject: "Whither Britain?"

Your announcer is .....

This is the COLUMBIA .... Broadcasting System

(Fade theme 20 seconds)

WABC NEW YORK

--gc--

For the remainder of this period, we present the Salon Orchestra from our New York studios - playing the Fingal's Cave Overture of Mendelssohn

TO MUSIC

PRODUCTION REPORT

DAY Tues DATE 3/6/34

PROGRAM Whittier & Britain SCHEDULED AIR TIME 3:30 - 4:00 PM

ARTIST	SELECTIONS	DRESS REHEARSAL	AIR	
	ann.		30	57
	London on		30	57
	London off		53	10
	ann. ann. on		53	25
	ann. finished		53	55
	"fin du reve" System		59	30
	~~WABC~~		59	50

REMARKS: Check here ( ) if all O.K. Use reverse of original for detailed report or special comment.

MASTER COPY
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
ANNOUNCER Randal

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM INC

MARGARET HAIG, VISCOUNTESS RHONDDA:

Tuesday, March 6, 1934.
3:29 to 4:00 P.M.

CUE: (COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM)
(. . . . . .30 seconds.....)

ANNOUNCER: During the next thirty minutes the Public Events and Special Features Department of the Columbia Network, takes pleasure in presenting another in the series of international broadcasts entitled, "Whither Britain?" In this series we have brought you such distinguished speakers as H. G. Wells, Winston Churchill, and George Bernard Shaw, who discussed the trends apparent in contemporary England from the view-point of their several professions. Today we bring you Margaret Haig, Viscountess Rhondda — (~~pronounced: Ronthe~~). Lady Rhondda is a peeress in her own right, an honor bestowed in recognition of her many services to the Empire. As editor and publisher of the weekly, "Time and Tide", she has been a leader in the British feminist movement; as an executive and director of many shipping and mining companies, she has been an important figure in England's commercial and industrial activities.

Today, Lady ~~Rhondda~~ Rontha will present the woman's viewpoint on future developments and trends in English Life and thought. She speaks to you from the studios of the British Broadcasting Corporation in London, England. (CUE)

CLOSE:

ANNOUNCER: You have been listening to another in the series of international broadcasts entitled, "Whither Britain?" being presented by the Public Events and Special Features Department of the Columbia Network, in cooperation with the British Broadcasting ~~Company~~ Corporation. This afternoon you have heard Margaret Haig, Viscountess Rhondda, editor and industrialist, who has discussed the future developments and trends in English life and thought from the viewpoint of a woman. Your announcer is.....This is the Columbia Broadcasting System.

(Fade theme 20 seconds)

WABC - New York.

K.

TO MUSIC

PRODUCTION REPORT

DAY Tues DATE 3 28 34

PROGRAM David Lloyd George SCHEDULED AIR TIME 329-4P

ARTIST	SELECTIONS	DRESS REHEARSAL	AIR	
announcer	opening to cue London England		330	04
D L George	Speech Trends in Great Britain		403	20
announcer	Closing Lines CBS		403	50
	WABC		404	10
	Whither Britain? series from BBC (rebroadcast)			
	Larry Harding			
	Broadcast ok * see reverse for special note			

REMARKS: Check here (✓) if all O.K. Use reverse of original for detailed report or special comment.

MASTER COPY
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
ANNOUNCER

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

TUESDAY, MARCH 20, 1934.
~~3:30 to 4:00~~ P. M.
3:29:30 4:00

CUE: (COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM)
..... 30 seconds.....)

ANNC'R: During the next thirty minutes the Public Events and Special Features Department of the Columbia Network takes pleasure in presenting another in the series of international broadcasts entitled, " Whither Britain?". In this series we have brought you such distinguished speakers as H. G. Wells, Winston Churchill, and Georges Bernard Shaw who discussed the trends apparent in contemporary England from the view point of their several professions. Today we bring you David Lloyd George, Liberal leader, and war-time prime minister of Great Britain. Since 1890 Lloyd George has represented Carnarvon in Parliament. During these years he has held many important governmental posts, having been a cabinet minister from 1905 to 1922. He was successively President of the Board of Trade, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Minister of Munitions. From 1916 to 1922 he held the two portfolios of First Lord of the Treasury, and Prime Minister simultaneously. Today Lloyd George presents his views on future trends and developements in Great Britain.

There is some delay in picking up the prog of Whither B from L - We hope to bring you very shortly the voice of Lady Rontha - In the meantime, we present the Salon trio from our NY studios, playing La Fin d'un Rêve by Dycke

For the remainder of this period

You have been listening to an interlude of concert music played by the Columbia Salon Orch -

ANNC'R: (Cont.) He speaks to you from the studios of the British Broadcasting Corporation in LONDON, ENGLAND. (CUE)

CLOSE: You have been listening to another in the series of international broadcasts entitled, "Whither Britain?", being presented by the Public Events and Special Features Department of the Columbia Network, in cooperation with the British Broadcasting Corporation. This afternoon you have heard David Lloyd George, Liberal Leader, and war-time Prime Minister in Great Britain, who has discussed the developments and trends apparent in contemporary England.

Your announcer is _____.

This is the COLUMBIA ..... BROADCASTING SYSTEM.

(FADE THEME 20 SECONDS)

WABC NEW YORK

HOWARD/IR

Miss Law

From Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue, New York, 3/20/34

For Immediate Release

LLOYD GEORGE IN BROADCAST TO AMERICA OVER CBS

David Lloyd George, British statesman, spoke from London over the WABC-Columbia network, Tuesday, (March 20) on the topic, "Whither Britain," He was heard simultaneously in England and the United States.

The broadcast was one of a series by distinguished Britons arranged in cooperation with the British Broadcasting Corporation.

His text, as recorded by Stenotype in the WABC studios, follows:

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE: Good evening! After a strenuous public life of forty years of unbroken activity, without much leisure, I have spent most of the last two years in the country, farming and writing my war recollections. That seclusion has given me an increasing sense of relaxation from party stife. As an old parliamentarian, I am still naturally interested in watching the scene. But I find I can get much less s excited about the struggle of political parties in the House of Commons than I do, for instance, over an international rugby mat ch. However, I read assiduously all available information about what is going on in the world outside and I have more time, and what is of greater importance, more tranquility than I enjoyed former - ly to think about it and to assimilate its lessons.

I should like to give those who care to listen to me tonight the general impression I have formed as a result of my meditations as to Britain's immediate future.

I have a profound feeling that there is no clear realization amongst those who have the direction of affairs or an opinion of the magnitude and depth of the most urgent problems with which civilization has been confronted today. For that reason, the measures adopted to deal with these questions are inadequate and in the nature of temporary shifts and patches that do not and cannot deal effectively with the real evils and are, therefore, not likely to achieve any permanent results of a beneficial character.

Well, there is a degree of understanding of the

time, there is a sense of impotence which is paralyzing high endeavor. Let me give one or two illustrations. Let us take, first of all, the question of disarmament. Here I think there is a genuine apprehension everywhere of the consequences of maintaining gigantic national armaments which are more costly and more destructive than those which were responsible for the great war. After conferences over a decade at Geneva and elsewhere, the nations seem to have abandoned all hope of removing this menace to civilization, and in sheer despair are engaged in actually increasing it by each of them strengthening their individual forces, trusting thereby at any rate to obtain partial security for themselves.

Since the effort to achieve an all-around reduction was first made at Geneva, national armaments eventually expanded enormously in all directions, and this year all the great nations, the United States of America, France, Germany, Soviet Russia, Japan and ourselves, are augmenting their expenditure upon the weapons of war.

It is rather significant that the only scene of enthusiasm witnessed for some time in the House of Commons was when Mr. Baldwin stated that in certain contingencies, which I fear are not at all unlikely, the government contemplates a measure of rearmament on a great scale.

There is no security against ultimate war except the application of the Versailles conditions of disarmament to all nations alike, that is, the reduction of armies and the bringing up of armaments to the point where they will be adequate to

provide a police force for the preservation of internal law and order, but not powerful enough to tempt any nation to aggression against its neighbors. We are a long way off that ideal. There is no half-way house between its attainment and inevitable war.

My other illustrations will be taken from the economic situation. Here, in so far as it is understood, there is the same sense of impotence, at least in most countries, including our own. All this extravaganza or restrictions, quotas, higher tariffs, which we witness in every land, implies a sense of despair. Each country is engaged in trying to wall out the depression which is passing over and from other lands, and by that means it is creating an artificial drought in its own.

I do not propose to enter into the respective merits of free trade and protection. I am bound to accept the fact that we have become the highly protected country and that there is no prospect in the immediate future of persuading the nation to revert to free trade. I base my survey and suggestions on that assumption. These barriers, undoubtedly, aggravate some of the worst evils from which we are now suffering, but the causes of our economic troubles lie deeper. Whether under tariffs or under free trade, plenty has produced poverty and peril for generations.

The essential paradox of the world's present economic trouble, including our own, is that under our existing economic system, the exuberance of the earth's gifts has resulted in creating a famine in millions of housholds. The economic system under which we work has been shown up by the world crisis

to be a protentious fraud which has robbed humanity of its fair share of the good things which science has produced in abundance e for the benefit of mankind.

If Britain's destiny is to be assured as a great and prosperous community that can maintain its thronging population in progressive comfort and provide it with the amenities and opportunities of a highly civilized people, then we ought to examine evils, causes and remedies, fearlessly, without regard to accepted theories or rooted prejudices. Having done so, we must apply the essential cure straightforwardly. There can be no recovery without reconstruction. When necessary, we must pull down, then reconstruct and rebuild on solid foundations with carefully thought out plans and sound material. We should do it in the bold and courageous spirit displayed by President Roosevelt but without awaiting the terrible crash which compelled him to take such drastic action to save his country from revolution. America, with her great and gigantic national resources can survive the catastrophe that befell her financial and economic system. We are a very small country and might not be able to do so.

The existence for a period of thirteen years of abnormal unemployment in our midst and the increasing devastation over that period of once prosperous industrial areas ought to be sufficient proof that there is something radically wrong in our industrial and financial system. An unemployment fluctuating between one and three millions will force us in the end to grapple with this muddle. The longer we delay, the more difficult will be the task and the greater will be the dangers we will run.

Here are the two practical issues arising out of the unemployment problem with which we shall be compelled to deal if we are to avoid a social upheaval: The first is the provision of work for those who are unemployed, owing to the abnormal conditions created by the world crisis. The other is the absorption of the exceptionally high minimum of unemployment, which has existed in this country since the war, whatever the state of world trade might be.

Let us take the first; for the time being, there is a steady recovery which gives hope that the world may be emerging from the crash of 1931. But if this spurt in trade blinds us to the fundamental facts that lie underneath the troubles from which we have been and still are suffering and the need for tackling them, then it will be a curse and not a blessing. Trade is improving and we rejoice at it. Take the last year, March '33 to March '34, the United States of America, which had at the beginning of that year 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 of unemployed succeeded in reducing the number by 4,000,000. Germany, which had over 5,000,000 unemployed at that time, has brought the figure down, according to a Times report, by over 2,500,000. Our figures show an improvement during that period of 500,000. But each of these countries has still a huge army of willing workers for whom there is nothing to do and who have to be maintained out of public charity. We have still well over 2,300,000 of registered unemployed. To these must be added the black coated, who are out of a job and who number at least 300,000. They constitute the most hopeless contingent of the workless; for them there is no dole.

The number of the unemployed here and probably in other countries will continue to diminish for a time, but our experience since the war shows there is an irreducible minimum of at least a million for whom there is no work, even in a trade boom. In 1928 when there was a wave of prosperity sweeping over the world and our trade rivals had practically no unemployment problem, our figures of the workless never descended below the million. Before the war that would have been regarded as alarming. Since the war, it has become here the normal condition of our labor market.

That is partly due to the fact that Britain is the largest international trader in the world. Since the war, every country has developed its own manufacturing facilities, its own distributing resources and its own shipping to the utmost attainable. Both in exports of manufactured goods, coal and shipping we have suffered more severely than any other country. The increased restrictions and barriers which have been set up in recent years by all countries, including our own, have since further reduced international trade in quantity by a third, in value by one-half. Although there were quite a number of conferences going on between nations to ease the situation, I can see no immediate prospect of any appreciable change being effected. A rate may be changed here and there, but the walls will remain for some years at a prohibitive height.

We must not, therefore, expect much relief in this direction for our export and shipping trades upon which so large a proportion of our population have always depended for their living. That accounts for the exceptionally high figures of unemployment in the coal and cotton areas and in our great seaport towns.

When world recovery enables us to bring our unemployment figure down to 1,000,000 again, then will come the inevitable trade reaction and once more the figure will mount upward. Twice since the war have we exceeded the 2,000,000 mark, first in 1921 when we reached the figure of 2,500,000. In fifteen months' time, it came down to 1,250,000 and remained in and around that figure for seven years, when world trade was brisk and prosperous. Then came the second collapse and this has lasted nearly five years already. Just before the present Prime Minister came into power in 1929, our unemployed numbered 1,177,000. Today the number stands at over double that figure. If it dwindles at the present rate, then by 1936, we may be down again in the neighborhood of the refractory minimum. But I predict that unless some drastic measures are taken to deal with the problem soon, then before this decade is over we shall be back again over the 2,000,000 limit.

What has it cost us already?Since the middle of 1920, we have spent 1,100,000,000 in maintaining the unemployed in idleness. It has been a meager and stinted allowance we have been able to spare them. It is generally agreed that it is utterly inadequate to provide the comforts of life and for the children the necessities. Even assuming the numbers of the workers diminished steadily during the next two years, then by the end of the last time of this Parliament, we shall expend at least another 150,000,000 on sustenance, that is, 1,250,000,000 pounds in all.

What shall we have to show for this colossal expenditure, Nothing but demoralization and disaffection. Supposing

1,000,000,000 of this sum had been spent on providing work, there would have still been 250,000,000 to supply food and other essentials for those who could not be immediately absorbed. What would you not have accomplished with that 1,100,000,000 pounds? We could have cleansed the land of the infamy of the slums. By today the slums would have disappeared entirely from our towns and our cities and also from our villages. We could have done more. We could have swept away many, if not most of the mean streets, which, without being actually slums, make those areas in which the majority of our industrial population dwell hideous, dingy and squalid, odious to the sight, depressing to the spirit, utlimately injurious to the health of the people who dwell in them, they constitute an increasing source of danger to society, for they engender and foster the germs of disaffection.

If we had expended a part of that 1,000,000,000 pounds in rebuilding or better still in consigning to the outskirts of the town the dwelling places of our industrial workers, the greater part of the social affliction and menace of the main streets would have been in process of being eliminated.

We could also have improved our transport facilities, in railroads by electrification and otherwise, and in roads, docks and canals. We could have brought our telephone system up to the level of our commercial rivals. We could have regenerated the countryside.

We should have contributed magnificently to improving the amenities and the proficiencies of this country. You would have had a different, a better equipped, a healthier and a sightlier person; above all, you would have avoided the disastrous demoralization of our people, especially of our youth

through worklessness.

Now this brings me to the second part of the problem, the solution of our post-war problem of chronic unemployment of an exceptional character by providing permanent employment for the whole of our population. How could we have done that, The most helpful method that has always occurred to me has been the better utilization of the resources of our soil. There is no better soil in Europe, there are no markets for its products comparable to ours. Still there are only 6.8 per cent of our population employed on the land. What about other countries, If you take the country with the next highest percentage, Belgium, which, just like our country, is highly industrialized, the proportion employed in the cultivation of the land there is three times that of Great Britain. Germany has over four times our percentage. France has between six and seven times our proportion. And the United States of America has four times as many as we have in proportion to its population. If we had the same percentage of people on the soil as the next lowest country, we should in a few years have absorbed all the chronic unemployment which is one of the most terrible of our economic problems, and this minimum of a million would have been employed in the healthiest of all occupations, where they could bring up their children in the most vitalizing surroundings, instead of rearing them in the fetid atmosphere of our overcrowded industrial towns.

The work of reclamation of waste lands, of the drainage of water-logged lands, of the reconditioning of the millions of acres of neglected and undercultivated land, of the repair and adaptation to modern conditions of farm buildings, of

the reforestation of land suitable for timber, and perhaps for nothing else, of the training of our youth for land settlement and rural industries, would provide for years a great deal of work which would reequip and enrich the country.

On land thus improved by judicious public expenditure, you could settle permanently hundreds of thousands of families who would earn an assured sustenance for themselves and provide abundance of fresh and nourishing food for the rest of the community and every extra man you put on the land provides work for another worker outside.

This country possesses the means which will enable it to carry out this program. It has greater financial reserves than any country in Europe, it has the money by the hundreds of millions lying idle in its banks because they cannot find investment for that money which will be both profitable and safe. It can afford to invest that idle surplus in the development of our resources at home, but it cannot very much longer afford to neglect doing so. It is obviously better it should spend its money in providing useful work than in maintaining millions in enforced idleness. In opening up the riches of her soil, Britain has the advantage that there is a market for the yield within easy reach of the fields. Last year in spite of all restrictions and embargoes, we brought from across the seas at the existing low prices over 200,000,000 pounds' worth of agricultural produce, more than half of which our own soil can produce. I am not counting wheat in this computation, for we could not possibly produce in this country the grain that is necessary for our great country. I include butter, cheese, meat, vegetables, poultry, eggs, fruit. Where could you produce better, where find more ready markets,

I know from my own experience on the land during the last few years what can be done in increasing the yield of comparatively second-rate soil and even poorer. I mean providing increased employment by that means. I am convinced that by employing the necessary capital in reconditioning and equipment, utilizing the valuable scientific discoveries and inventions of the past thirty or forty years, if they are supplemented by an efficient marketing system, the number who could profitably be employed on the soil, I mean all auxiliary industries would be doubled. In my case, it has been multiplied more than fourfold.

I hope we are not going to be deluded by the present trend of recovery into believing our difficulties will now be solved for us without any further effort on our own part, by the returning to prosperity. When that has reached its height, we shall still have that stubborn million left on the Strand, and to them will inevitably follow the tide and that million will again become two, and I would it stopped there.

One of the greatest obstacles in the way of rousing public opinion to the point of insistence on timely action lies in the fact that those who are most responsible for forming and guiding public opinion and for planning and initiating action, live in an area which has suffered least from unemployment. The great press of Britain is mostly directed, written and printed in London. Ministers and members of Parliament have to sit in London to do their work. The civil service occupy offices in London, and London, for special reasons, has suffered less from the depression than any other great city in this Kingdom. One reason is that there has been a remarkable movement of great

industries from the North down to the South and the port of London has profited largely by that migration. But take the rest of the ports of the country, with the one exception of Southampton, which has also benefited by the same movement -- they all tell the same tale of unparalleled desolation. London has an unemployment register of about 10 per cent; New Castle has 25 per cent; Cardiff, 29 per cent; Swansey, 32 per cent; Liverpool, 29 per cent; Glasgow, 31 per cent. Aib has more than twice the unemployment of London. The same thing applies to the cotton and coal districts. Lancaster has 21.8 per cent; Durham, more; Manchester has nearly two out of every five of their workers unemployed.

If the news writers were sent for six months for a succession of visits to each of these depressed areas and had to write their leading articles during their stay, we should not be plied with situations of swift optimism; we should have the bitter facts. I am glad to find in the Times today, they are beginning to call attention to the dead industries of Durham. If Parliament had to sit in turn in Durham, Liverpool, Glasgow, New Castle, Cardiff and carried ministers along with it, we should have had measures which indicated a comprehension of the despair which unemployment has created during the last twelve years under the ravages of its idleness.

I have not been concerned in this talk with arguments about the comparative advantages of capital and national ownership or individualism and socialism. I am more intent upon examining thoroughly the facts and proceeding experimentally without fear, not hesitating in the last to try expedients which have no precedence, nor even to discard experiments which do not succeed and then try others until we at least reach the system

best adapted to our national conditions and also to our national characteristics.

Good night!

(THE END)

BC SUNDAY POSTSCRIPT: EDWARD R MURROW: SUNDAY 14TH JUNE 1942: 9.15 p.m.

The B.B.C. said "talk about America". Having lived and worked here for more than five years, and in the course of that time having been much exposed to understatement, I suggested that America might be too small a subject for a postscript?" Being always considerate of foreigners, the BBC broadened the terms of reference, and said: "All right, talk about America and Great Britain".

This is to be no discourse upon the size of the United States; our potential productive capacity; our history, food or language. No more is it to be an explanation addressed to the "very greatest people that there has ever been upon this earth", of the youthfulness of the New World; its suspicion of Europe; its love of motor cars or fondness for ice cream.

I am an American reporter sitting here behind a microphone in London - the same microphone that has carried millions of words about Britain to America since the Coronation of King George the Sixth. To this reporter all microphones look alike - the most revealing instrument devised by the hand of man - an accurate mirror of prejudice and bigotry, as well as honesty. Presumably the only reason for my being here tonight is that I enjoyed the high privilege of seeing Britain in her finest and darkest hour; and have recently returned from a trip of some seventeen-thousand miles around my own country.

This is no time for casual platitudes or talk of Transatlantic cousinhood. Surely we must all be weary of phrases that have long ago lost their cutting edge. If we now engage in hypocrisy - take refuge behind the false belief that words mean something different on the two sides of the Atlantic - the future will take its revenge, and retribution will not limp.

Some of you don't like some of us - and it's mutual. Some of you think we talk big and do little; that we are lacking in reverence and respect for your the land that gave us our law, much of our literature and most of our customs. Some of us look upon you as a wearier and sometimes wiser mother-in-law. Some of us suspect you of condescension and deep-laid plots to embroil us in the affairs of Europe, from which our ancestors tried to escape. There is in America a suspicion of the wily intrigues of British diplomats; a fear that you will, in the American vernacular, "out-smart" us in any negotiations to which we may be a party. We have dealt less than frankly with each other in the past, and we are now paying the price. Unless we propose to pay it again with interest; if this war is to be anything other than a prelude to the Third World War, we must begin to use our common language to say to each other just what we mean. Otherwise words will come to have no meaning. Let's stop hiding behind the easy excuse that America is young and Britain is old; that you have great unity while we are a melting-pot; that we are rough, raw and rambunctious while you are calm, tolerant and dispassionate. The diplomatic record of neither country has been so universally brilliant in the past 25 years as to warrant fear or apprehension by the other party. Neither one of us has any monopoly in the making of mistakes. But we are now engaged in a great war to determine whether or not we shall survive. Not just one of us, but both of us. Many Americans fought the last war hoping for nothing better than to get out of it a Europe that wouldn't bother us. This time the war came to us, and most of those who had believed that Isolationism was workable have now been persuaded that we can never again hope to ride as comfortable, unconcerned passengers on this world.

There are some people in America who believe that this is the dusk of the British Empire, and the dawn of American Imperialism. There are those who hate Roosevelt more than they hate Hitler. There are a few who would be prepared to see us win this war if somehow the Russians could lost it; but their number is not great. There is some criticism of Britain - just as there is criticism of our own administration. But don't be misled by stories of conflict within the United States. Our sacrifices have not been as great as yours, but that is due to the accident of geography. The will to win this war is no less great there than it is here.

It may be true that for the past 25 years we in America have been busily engaged in coating ourselves with a veneer of cheap cynicism and pseudo-sophistication, warning ourselves so thoroughly against believing propaganda that we had come to believe nothing. Perhaps we had been living on the reputation for hard work, resolution and sacrifice created by our grandfathers. But, believe me, that has changed. The people who work with their hands, who have grease under their finger-nails - are just as tough and determined as were their counterparts in this country, who got up and went back to work each morning after the all-night raids two years ago.

I spent a great deal of time while I was home in factories, shipyards and tank arsenals; and the temper of those men and women is not to be mistaken. In the factories and on the farms in this country and at home, you find men and women who have the same hopes and the same fears. You may want to spend your leisure time digging in the garden or watching birds. While we look forward to eating hot-dogs on a crowded beach. You may want to go to a football match, or to applaud when someone is L.B.W.; while we prefer to scream and howl at a

baseball game. But these things are minor differences. When people like Henry Wallace, our Vice-President, speak of "The century of the common man," they mean a period in which the great mass of people shall have security and leisure and work and dignity. The real unity of purpose - the real hope for any sort of Anglo-American understanding after this war - depends upon that common man. Today we are sending diplomats, propagandists, officials and experts back and forth across the Atlantic. They're supposed to promote understanding and good will. I wonder what would happen if you should decide to send a couple of hundred first-class British technicians to the States - men who are working here on American machines - send them over not to make lectures, or to ride in parades, but to work alongside Americans, and then to bring back to this country each an American workman with him. The results might astound those who deal with communiques and mimeograph machines.

The gentlemen of the City of London and those who sit in Wall Street may anticipate great competition for foreign markets when the war is over. There may be, as was reflected in recent reconstruction plans of British business organisations, a fear of post-war competition with American industry. But the people who produce the goods on both sides of the Atlantic are not greatly worried about such matters. They are determined only that this shall not happen again; and that the mistakes that followed the last war shall not be repeated. The common man, or if you prefer, the common people, is no idle phrase. In my country three times within a hundred years there has appeared the possibility that we might achieve a new level of equality, security and individual happiness. The first time was under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln at the

end of our Civil War. The second was under Woodrow Wilson at the end of the first World War. And the third is now. We failed after the last war becuase the understanding of the issues involved was not sufficiently widespread. I think maybe part of our failure was due to the fact that we did not then have a workable system of communication. It was impossible for a President or a Prime Minister to sit behind one of these little black microphones and explain the issues confronting the nation and the world. Had Woodrow Wilson been able to use broadcasting as it is now used, we might not have made our great mistake after the last war, because he would have been able to explain to the comman man his stake in the world which was then being shaped.

I engage in no controversy with my colleagues of the Press by reminding you that Mr. Roosevelt has won three successive elections in the face of overwhelming Press opposition, primarily because he has been able to speak directly to the individual in his home; has been able to employ the instrument of persuasion in the conduct of a great campaign of adult education. The Americans are not easy to persuade. Our Anglo-Saxon heritage is sufficiently strong to make us stubborn. But once persuaded we are inclined to stay that way. The same thing is true of you. You don't know very much about us; and we don't know enough about you. When Americans, who are coming over here in increasing numbers, question you about Britain, ask for statistics - act as though they were cross-examining a hostile witness - please understand that we are equipped with more curiosity than most people; and that we are anxious to learn, even though we may not always make good use of the knowledge gained. We have had a great many misunderstandings in the past - we shall probably have more in the future. Neither country has devoted enough time, energy or thought

to a proper portrayal of its own life and institutions; we are not as Hollywood pictures us; and you are not a nation of scarlet-coated gentlemen and hat-touching lackeys, "expecting every American to do your duty".

If you'll listen a minute, maybe I can prove to you that these two eccentric nations are not so unlike after all. Both of us are likely to act up to the broad caricature of ourselves that is perpetually before our eyes. Tell me whether these sentences apply to John Bull or to Uncle Sam: "If he be a little uncouth in speech, and apt to utter impertinent truths, he confesses that he always speaks his mind. If he now and then flies into an unreasonable burst of passion about trifles, his passion is over in a moment and he bears no malice. If he betrays a coarseness of taste and an insensibility to foreign refinements, he thanks Heaven for his ignorance and has no relish for frippery and knick-knacks. He is always more generous than wise. He will contrive to argue every fault into a merit, and will frankly convict himself of being the honestest fellow in existence. To all appearance he is a plain, downright, matter-of-fact fellow, with much less of poetry about him than rich prose. There is little of romance in his nature, but a vast deal of strong natural feeling. He excels in humour more than in wit; is jolly rather than gay - melancholy rather than morose - can easily be moved to a sudden tear, or surprised into a broad laugh. He is a boon companion if you allow him to have his humour and to talk about himself. And he will stand by a friend in a quarrel, with life and purse, however soundly he may be cudgelled. He is a busy-minded personage, who thinks not merely for himself and family but for all the country round, and is most generously disposed to be everybody's

champion. He his continually volunteering his services to settle his neighbour's affairs, and takes it in great dudgeon if they engage in any matter of consequence without asking his advice. Though he seldom engages in any friendly office of the kind without finishing by getting into a squabble with all parties, and then railing bitterly at their ingratitude. He cannot hear of a quarrel between the most distant of his neighbours but he begins incontinently to fumble with the head of his cudgel and consider whether his interest or honour does not require that he should meddle in the broil. Though really a good-hearted, good-tempered fellow at bottom, yet he is singularly fond of being in the midst of contention ... He always goes into a fight with alacrity, but comes out of it grumbling even when victorious. And though no one fights with more obstinacy to carry a contested point, yet when the battle is over and he comes to the reconciliation, he is so much taken up with the mere shaking of hands that he is apt to let his antagonist pocket all that they have been quarrelling about. It is not, therefore, fighting that he ought to be so much on his guard against, as making friends. It's difficult to cudgel him out of a farthing, but put him in a good humour and you may bargain him out of all the money in his pocket. He is like a stout ship which will weather the roughest storm uninjured, but roll its masts overboard in the succeeding calm. He is a little fond of playing the magnifico abroad."

Perhaps here is a good sentence with which to end this quotation - "Yet for all the old fellow's spirit is as tall and as gallant as ever."

I wonder whether you think that was written about Uncle Sam or

John Bull? Most of it might apply to either one. Perhaps we aren't so different after all. As a matter of fact, what I have just read to you was written about a hundred years ago - by a fellow-countryman of mine, Washington Irving, and since we Americans are neither a boastful nor an introspective people it was, of course, a description of John Bull.

Good night.

“orchestrated hell”...

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
Friday—December 3rd, 1943
5:30-5:45 P.M.

ANNOUNCER: *CBS World News now brings you a special broadcast from London. Columbia's correspondent, Edward R. Murrow, was on one of the RAF bombing planes that smashed at Berlin last night in one of the heaviest attacks of the war. Forty-one bombers were lost in the raid, and only two of the correspondents who flew with the raiders, returned to base. For Mr. Murrow's story of the attack, we take you now to London—*

MURROW: This is London. Yesterday afternoon, the waiting was over; the weather was right; the target was to be the big city. The crew captains walked into the briefing room, looked at the maps and charts and sat down with their big celluloid pads on their knees. The atmosphere was that of a school and a church. The weather man gave us the weather. The pilots were reminded that Berlin is Germany's greatest center of war produc-

tion. The intelligence officer told us how many heavy and light ack-ack guns, how many searchlights we might expect to encounter. Then, Jock, the Wing Commander, explained the system of markings, the kind of flare that would be used by the Pathfinders. He said that concentration was the secret of success in these raids and as long as the aircraft stayed well-bunched, they would protect each other. The Captains of Aircraft walked out.

I noticed that the big Canadian with the slow, easy grin had printed "Berlin" at the top of his pad and then embellished it with a scroll. The red-headed English boy with the two weeks' old moustache was the last to leave the room. Late in the afternoon, we went to the locker room to draw parachutes, Mae Wests, and all the rest. As we dressed, a couple of the Australians were whistling. Walking out to the bus that was to take us to the aircraft, I heard the station loud-speakers announcing that that evening all personnel would be able to see a film, "Star-Spangled Rhythm" free.

We went out and stood around the big, black, four-motored Lancaster—"D for Dog." A small station wagon

delivered a thermos bottle of coffee, chewing gum, an orange and a bit of chocolate for each man. Up in that part of England, the air hums and throbs with the sound of aircraft motors all day. But for half an hour before take-off, the skies are dead, silent, and expectant. A lone hawk hovered over the air field, absolutely still as he faced into the wind. Jack, the tail gunner, said, "It would be nice if we could fly like that." Jock looked at his watch and moved toward the aircraft. Nothing was said. We all followed.

"D for Dog" eased around the perimeter track to the end of the runway. We sat there for a moment. The green light flashed and we were rolling—ten seconds ahead of schedule! The take-off was smooth as silk. The wheels came up and "D for Dog" started the long climb. As we came up through the clouds, I looked right and left, and counted 14 black Lancasters climbing for the place where men must burn oxygen to live. The sun was going down and its red glow made rivers of lakes of fire on tops of the clouds. Down to the southward, the clouds piled up to form castles, battlements, and whole cities—all tinged with red.

Soon we were out over the North Sea. Dave, the Navigator, asked Jock if he couldn't make a little more speed. We were nearly two minutes late. By this time, we were all using oxygen. The talk on the inter-com was brief and crisp. Everyone sounded relaxed. For a while, the 8 of us in our little world in exile moved over the sea. There was a quarter moon on the starboard beam. Jock's quiet voice came through the inter-com, "That'll be flak ahead." We were approaching the enemy coast. The flak looked like a cigarette lighter in a dark room—one that won't light. Sparks but no flame. The sparks crackling just above the level of the cloud tops. We flew steady and straight, and soon the flak was directly below us.

"D-Dog" rocked a little from right to left but that wasn't caused by the flak. We were in the slip stream of other Lancasters ahead and we were over the enemy coast. And then a strange thing happened. The aircraft seemed to grow smaller. Jack in the rear turret, Wally—the mid upper gunner. Titch—the wireless operator, all seemed somehow to draw closer to Jock in the

cockpit. It was as though each man's shoulder was against the other's. The understanding was complete. The inter-com came to life and Jock said, "Two aircraft on the port beam." Jack in the tail said, "Okay, sir, they're Lancs." The whole crew was a unit and wasn't wasting words.

The cloud below was ten-tenths. The blue-green jet of the exhausts licked back along the leading edge, and there were other aircraft all around us. The whole great aerial armada was hurtling towards Berlin. We flew so for twenty minutes, when Jock looked up at a vapor trail curling across above us, remarking in a conversational tone that from the look of it he thought there was a fighter up there. Occasionally the angry red of ack-ack burst through the clouds, but it was far away and we took only an academic interest. We were flying in the third wave. Jock asked Wally in the mid-upper turret, and Jack in the rear turret if they were cold. They said they were all right, and thanked him for asking. Even asked how I was and I said, "All right so far." The cloud was beginning to thin out. Up to the north we could see light, and the flak began to liven up ahead of it.

Boz, the bomb aimer, cracked through on the intercom, "There's a battle going on on the starboard beam." We couldn't see the aircraft, but we could see the jets of red tracer being exchanged. Suddenly there was a burst of yellow flame and Jock remarked, "That's a fighter going down—note the position." The whole thing was interesting, but remote. Dave, the Navigator, who was sitting back with his maps, charts, and compasses, said, "The attack ought to begin in exactly two minutes." We were still over the clouds. But suddenly those dirty gray clouds turned white. We were over the outer searchlight defenses. The clouds below us were white and we were black. "D-Dog" seemed like a black bug on a white sheet. The flak began coming up, but none of it close. We were still a long way from Berlin. I didn't realize just how far.

Jock observed, "There's a kite on fire dead ahead." It was a great golden slow-moving meteor slanting towards the earth. By this time we were about 30 miles from our target area in Berlin. That 30 miles was the longest flight I have ever made. Dead on time, Boz the bomb aimer reported, "Target indicators going

down." At the same moment the sky ahead was lit up by bright yellow flares. Off to starboard, another kite went down in flames. The flares were spouting all over the sky—red and green and yellow—and we were flying straight for the center of the fireworks. "D-Dog" seemed to be standing still, the four propellers thrashing the air. But we didn't seem to be closing in. The clouds had cleared, and off to the starboard a Lanc was caught by at least 14 searchlight beams. We could see him twist and turn and finally break out. But still the whole thing had a quality of unreality about it. No one seemed to be shooting at us, but it was getting lighter all the time. Suddenly, a tremendous big blob of yellow light appeared dead ahead, another to the right, and another to the left. We were flying straight for them.

Jock pointed out to me the dummy fires and flares to right and left. But we kept going in. Dead ahead there was a whole chain of red flares looking like stop lights. Another Lanc was coned on our starboard beam. The lights seemed to be supporting it. Again we could see those little bubbles of colored lead driving at it

from two sides. The German fighters were at him. And then with no warning at all, "D-Dog" was filled with an unhealthy white light. I was standing just behind Jock and could see all the seams on the wings. His quiet Scots voice beat into my ears, "Steady, lads, we've been coned." His slender body lifted half out of his seat as he jammed the control column forward and to the left. We were going down.

Jock was wearing woolen gloves with the fingers cut off. I could see his fingernails turn white as he gripped the wheel. And then I was on my knees, flat on the deck, for he had whipped the "Dog" back into a climbing turn. The knees should have been strong enough to support me but they weren't and the stomach seemed in some danger of letting me down, too. I picked myself up and looked out again. It seemed that one big searchlight, instead of being 20,000 feet below, was mounted right on our wing tip. "D-Dog" was corkscrewing. As we rolled down on the other side. I began to see what was happening to Berlin.

The clouds were gone, and the sticks of incendiaries from the preceding waves made the place look like a

badly laid out city with the street lights on. The small incendiaries were going down like a fistful of white rice thrown on a piece of black velvet. As Jock hauled the "Dog" up again, I was thrown to the other side of the cockpit and there below were more incendiaries, glowing white and then turning red. The cookies—the 4,000 pound high explosives—were bursting below like great sunflowers gone mad. And then, as we started down again, still held in the lights, I remembered that the "Dog" still had one of those cookies and a whole basket of incendiaries in his belly and the lights still held us. And I was very frightened.

While Jock was flinging her about in the air, he suddenly flung over the inter-com, "Two aircraft on the port beam." I looked astern, and saw Wally, the mid-upper, whip his turret around to port, and then look up to see a single-engined fighter slide just above us. The other aircraft was one of ours. Finally, we were out of the cone, flying level. I looked down on the white fires, the white fires had turned red. They were beginning to merge and spread, just like butter does on a hot plate. Jock and Boz, the bomb aimer, began to discuss the

target. The smoke was getting thick down below. Boz said he liked the two green flares on the ground almost dead ahead. He began calling his directions. And just then, a new bunch of big flares went down on the far side of the sea of flame and flare that seemed to be directly below us. He thought that would be a better aiming point. Jock agreed and we flew on. The bomb doors were open. Boz called his directions, "Five left, five left" and then there was a gentle, confident, upward thrust under my feet and Boz said, "Cookie gone." A few seconds later, the incendiaries went and "D-Dog" seemed lighter and easier to handle.

I thought I could make out the outline of streets below. But the bomb aimer didn't agree, and he ought to know. By this time, all those patches of white on black had turned yellow, and started to flow together. Another searchlight caught us but didn't hold us. Then through the inter-com came the word, "One can of incendiaries didn't clear; we're still carrying it." And Jock replied, "Is it a big one or a little one?" The word came back, "Little one, I think, but I'm not sure, I'll check." More of those yellow flares came down and hung about

us. I haven't seen so much light since the war began. Finally, the inter-com announced that it was only a small container of incendiaries left, and Jock remarked, "Well, it's hardly worth going back and doing another run-up for that." If there had been a good fat bundle left, he would have gone back through that stuff and done it all over again.

I began to breathe and to reflect again—that all men would be brave if only they could leave their stomachs at home. Then there was a tremendous whoomp, an unintelligible shout from the tail gunner and "D-Dog" shivered and lost altitude. I looked at the port side and there was a Lancaster that seemed close enough to touch. It whipped straight under us, missed us by twenty-five, fifty feet, no one knew how much. The Navigator sang out the new course and we were heading for home. Jock was doing what I had heard him tell his pilots to do so often—flying dead on course. He flew straight into a huge green searchlight, and as he rammed the throttles home, remarked, "We'll have a little trouble getting away from this one." And again, "D-Dog" dove, climbed and twisted and was finally

free. We flew level then. I looked at the port beam at the target area. There was a red, sullen, obscene glare. The fires seemed to have found each other—and we were heading home.

In a little more than half an hour, Berlin had received about three times the weight of bombs that had ever fallen on London in the course of a long winter night. For a little while, it was smooth sailing. We saw more battles. Then another plane in flames. But no one could tell whether it was ours or theirs. We were still near the target. Dave, the Navigator, said, "Hold her steady, skipper, I want to get an astral site." And Jock held her steady. And the flak began coming up at us. It seemed to be very close. It was winking off both wings. But the Dog was steady. Finally, Dave said "Okay, Skipper, thank you very much." And a great orange blob of flak smacked up straight in front of us. And Jock said, "I think they're shooting at us." I'd thought so for some time.

And he began to throw "D for Dog" up, around, and about again. And when we were clear of the barrage, I asked him how close the bursts were and he said, "Not

very close. When they're really near, you can smell 'em." That proved nothing, for I'd been holding my breath. Jack sang out from the rear turret, said his oxygen was getting low, thought maybe the lead had frozen. Titch, the wireless operator, went scrambling back with a new mask and a bottle of oxygen. Dave, the Navigator, said, "We're crossing the coast." My mind went back to the time I had crossed that coast in 1938, in a plane that had taken off from Prague. Just ahead of me sat two refugees from Vienna—an old man and his wife. The co-pilot came back and told them that we were outside German territory. The old man reached out and grasped his wife's hand.

The work that was done last night was a massive blow of retribution for all those who have fled from the sound of shots and blows on a stricken continent.

We began to lose height over the North Sea. We were over England's shore. The land was dark beneath us. Somewhere down there below, American boys were probably bombing-up Fortresses and Liberators, getting ready for the day's work. We were over the home field. We called the control tower and the calm clear

voice of an English girl replied, "Greetings 'D-Dog'. You are diverted to Mule Bag*." We swung round, contacted Mule Bag, came in on the flare path, touched down very gently, ran along to the end of the runway and turned left. And Jock, the finest pilot in Bomber Command, said to the control tower, "D-Dog clear of runway."

When we went in for interrogation, I looked on the board and saw that the big slow-smiling Canadian and the red-headed English boy with the two-weeks' old moustache hadn't made it. They were missing. There were two reporter friends of mine on this operation who didn't come back either—Norman Stockton of Australian Associated Newspapers, and Lowell Bennett, an American representing International News Service. There is something of a tradition amongst reporters that those who are prevented by circumstances from filing their stories will be covered by their colleagues. This has been my effort to do so.

In the aircraft in which I flew, the men who flew and fought it, poured into my ears their comments on fighters, flak and flares in the same tone that they would have used in reporting a host of daffodils. I have no

*Code for an airfield.

doubt that Bennett and Stockton would have given you a better report of last night's activities.

Berlin was a kind of orchestrated hell, a terrible symphony of light and flame. It isn't a pleasant kind of warfare—the men doing it speak of it as a job. Yesterday afternoon, when the tapes were stretched out on the big map all the way to Berlin and back again, a young pilot with old eyes said to me, "I see we're working again tonight." That's the frame of mind in which the job is being done. The job isn't pleasant; it's terribly tiring. Men die in the sky while others are roasted alive in their cellars. Berlin last night wasn't a pretty sight. In about thirty-five minutes, it was hit with about three times the amount of stuff that ever came down on London in a night long blitz. This is a calculated, remorseless campaign of destruction. Right now, the mechanics are probably working on "D-Dog" getting him ready to fly again. I return you now to CBS New York.

ANNOUNCER: *You have been Listening to Edward R. Murrow in an eye-witness report of his experiences in one of the bombers that raided Berlin last night. At 6:45 p.m.*

Eastern Wartime Mr. Murrow will again be heard over most of these stations with a report on the highlights of his story. This is the Columbia Broadcasting System.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
WICKERSHAM 2-2000

PAUL W. WHITE
DIRECTOR OF NEWS BROADCASTS

December 4, 1943

Dear Ed,

I thought you would be interested in how the Press Associations and papers here spread your story on the raid.

We played the recording on WABC at 1:00 and 4:00 A.M. this morning, and the comments around the building are all swell.

I hope now you are cured. Please, please, please don't do it again!

Cordially,

Paul

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
49 Hallam Street
London, W1
England

A62

NEW YORK, DEC. 3-(AP)-IN THE MIDST OF THE BIG RAF RAID THURSDAY NIGHT BERLIN LOOKED LIKE "A BADLY LAID OUT CITY WITH THE STREET LIGHTS ON" TO EDWARD R.MURROW, CBS CORRESPONDENT, AS HE STOOD IN A LANCASTER HEAVY BOMBER OVER THE BURNING GERMAN CAPITAL.

"IN A LITTLE MORE THAN HALF AN HOUR," MURROW SAID IN A BROADCAST FROM LONDON TONIGHT, "BERLIN HAD RECEIVED ABOUT THREE TIMES THE WEIGHT OF BOMBS THAT HAD FALLEN ON LONDON IN THE COURSE OF A LONG WINTER NIGHT." HE WAS IN LONDON THROUGH THE BIG BLITZ OF 1940-41.

LOWELL BENNETT OF INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE, WHO, AS A POOL CORRESPONDENT, ALSO REPRESENTED OTHER AMERICAN NEWS SERVICES ON THE MISSION, AND NORMAN STOCKTON OF THE SYDNEY (AUSTRALIA) SUN, ALSO FLEW ON THE RAID, BUT THEY FAILED TO RETURN.

MURROW'S PLANE FLEW THROUGH ANTIAIRCRAFT FIRE AND FIGHTER OPPOSITION LONG BEFORE IT GOT OVER THE TARGET. "JOCK," THE PILOT, SAID "THERE'S A KITE ON FIRE DEAD AHEAD," AND MURROW OBSERVED:

"IT WAS A GREAT GOLDEN SLOW-MOVING METEOR SLANTING TOWARDS THE EARTH. BY THIS TIME WE WERE ABOUT THIRTY MILES FROM OUR TARGET AREA IN BERLIN. THAT THIRTY MILES WAS THE LONGEST FLIGHT I HAVE EVER MADE....

"OFF TO STARBOARD ANOTHER KITE WENT DOWN IN FLAMES. THE FLARES WERE SPOUTING ALL OVER THE SKY, REDS AND GREENS AND YELLOWS, AND WE WERE FLYING STRAIGHT FOR THE CENTER OF THE FIREWORKS."

CORRESPONDENT, ALSO REPRESENTED OTHER AMERICAN NEWS SERVICES ON THE MISSION, AND NORMAN STOCKTON OF THE SYDNEY (AUSTRALIA) SUN, ALSO FLEW ON THE RAID, BUT THEY FAILED TO RETURN.

MURROW'S PLANE FLEW THROUGH ANTIAIRCRAFT FIRE AND FIGHTER OPPOSITION LONG BEFORE IT GOT OVER THE TARGET. "JOCK," THE PILOT, SAID "THERE'S A KITE ON FIRE DEAD AHEAD," AND MURROW OBSERVED:

"IT WAS A GREAT GOLDEN SLOW-MOVING METEOR SLANTING TOWARDS THE EARTH. BY THIS TIME WE WERE ABOUT THIRTY MILES FROM OUR TARGET AREA IN BERLIN. THAT THIRTY MILES WAS THE LONGEST FLIGHT I HAVE EVER MADE....

"OFF TO STARBOARD ANOTHER KITE WENT DOWN IN FLAMES. THE FLARES WERE SPOUTING ALL OVER THE SKY, REDS AND GREENS AND YELLOWS, AND WE WERE FLYING STRAIGHT FOR THE CENTER OF THE FIREWORKS."

A LITTLE LATER: "ANOTHER LANC (LANCASTER-BOMBER) WAS CONED ON OUR STARBOARD BEAM. THE LIGHTS SEEMED TO BE SUPPORTING IT. AGAIN WE COULD SEE THOSE LITTLE BUBBLES OF COLORED LEAD ON TWO SIDES. THE GERMAN FIGHTERS WERE AT HIM. AND THEN WITH NO WARNING AT ALL, THE D-DOG (MURROW'S PLANE) WAS FILLED WITH AN UNHEALTHY WHITE LIGHT....

JOCK'S "QUIET SCOTS VOICE BEAT INTO MY EARS, 'STEADY, LADS, WE'VE BEEN CONED.'...HE JAMMED THE CONTROL COLUMN FORWARD, AND TO THE LEFT. WE WERE GOING DOWN. JOCK WAS WEARING WOOLEN GLOVES WITH THE FINGERS CUT OFF. I COULD SEE HIS FINGER NAILS TURNING WHITE AS HE GRIPPED THE WHEEL....MY KNEES SHOULD HAVE BEEN STRONG ENOUGH TO SUPPORT ME, BUT THEY WEREN'T. AND THE STOMACH SEEMED IN SOME DANGER OF LETTING ME DOWN TOO. I PICKED MYSELF UP AND LOOKED OUT AGAIN. IT SEEMED THAT ONE BIG SEARCHLIGHT, INSTEAD OF BEING 20,000 FEET BELOW, WAS MOUNTED ON OUR WING TIP. D-DOG WAS CORKSCREWING...."

BACK IN ENGLAND AT LAST, MURROW CONCLUDED: "BERLIN WAS A KIND OF ORCHESTRATED HELL, A TERRIBLE SYMPHONY OF LIGHT AND FLAME. IT ISN'T A PLEASANT KIND OF WARFARE. THE MEN DOING IT SPEAK OF IT AS A JOB.... IT'S TERRIBLY TIRING. MEN DIE IN THE SKIES WHILE OTHERS ARE ROASTED ALIVE IN THEIR CELLARS."

WE840PEW

Tampa Morning Tribune.

Reporter, In Bomber, Tells What Berlin Raid Is Like

By United Press

Edward R. Murrow, CBS correspondent who rode in a Lancaster bomber during Thursday night's attack on Berlin, reported in a broadcast from London Friday night that two-ton blockbuster bombs burst in the German capital "like great sun-flowers gone mad."

Murrow flew in the plane "D-for-Dog" and of five correspondents who went on the raid he and an Australian were the only ones who returned.

Over Berlin, he said, clouds which had marked the route were gone "and the sticks of incendiaries from the preceding waves (of bombers) made the place look like a badly laid-out city with the street lights on. The small incendiaries were going down like a fistful of white rice thrown on a piece of black velvet."

He said the raid had "a quality of unreality" about it. As the planes approached Berlin, Murrow reported that the sky became lighter and suddenly there was a tremendous blob of yellow light dead ahead, another to the right and another to the left.

Over Berlin, D-for-Dog was caught in a searchlight beam but the pilot corkscrewed the machine out of it and the bombardier dropped the bombs.

"I looked down and the white fires had turned to red," Murrow said in describing Berlin aflame. "They were beginning to merge and spread just like butter does on a hot plate . . . The smoke was getting thick... I thought I could make the outline of streets below but the bomb-aimer didn't agree, and he ought to know. By this time all those patches of white on black had turned yellow and started to flow together . . . I haven't seen so much light since the war began."

Flying away from Berlin, he reported he could see a "red, sullen, obscene glare . . . The fires seemed to have found each other, and we were heading home."

BOMBER'S VIEW OF BERLIN

Murrow of CBS Describes Bursts of Blockbusters, Merging of Fires

Edward R. Murrow, Columbia Broadcasting System correspondent who rode in a Lancaster bomber during Thursday night's RAF attack on Berlin, reported in a broadcast from London last night that two-ton blockbuster bombs burst in the German capital "like great sun-flowers gone mad."

Mr. Murrow flew in the plane D-for-Dog and of five sorrespondents who went on the raid he and an Australian were the only ones who returned.

Over Berlin, he said, clouds that had marked the route were gone "and the stticks of incendiaries

from the preceding waves (of bombers) made the place look like a badly laid-out city with the street lights on. The small incendiaries were going down like a fistful of white rice thrown on a piece of black velvet."

As the Lancaster approached Berlin, Mr. Murrow reported, the sky became lighter and suddenly there was a tremendous blob of yellow light ahead, another to the right and another to the left.

Over Berlin D-for-Dog was caught in a searchlight beam but the pilot corkscrewed the machine out of it and the bombadier dropped the bombs.

"I looked down and the white fires had turned to red," Mr. Murrow said in describing Berlin aflame. "They were beginning to merge and spread just like butter does on a hot plate. . . . The smoke was getting thick. . . .

"I thought I could make out the outline of streets below but the bomb-aimer didn't agree, and he ought to know. By this time all those patches of white on black had turned yellow and started to flow together. . . . I haven't seen so much light since the war began."

Flying away from Berlin, he reported, he could see a "red, sullen obscene glare . . . The fires seemed to have found each other, and we were heading home."

Did You Ev

(Continued from page 2)

Sea. Dave, the navigator, asked Jock if he couldn't make a little more speed. We were nearly two minutes late. By this time we were all using oxygen. For a while, the eight of us, in our little world of exile, moved over the sea.

"The attack ought to begin in exactly two minutes," Dave said.

Then suddenly the dirty gray clouds turned white. We were over the outer searchlight defenses. The flak began coming up but none of it close.

'We've Been Coned,' Jock Tells the Crew

Jock observed: "There's a kite on fire dead ahead." It was a great golden, slow-moving meteor slanting toward the earth. By this time we were about 30 miles from our target area in Berlin.

"Dead on time," Bars, the bomb-aimer reported: "Target-indicators going down." At the same moment the sky ahead was lit up by bright yellow flares. Off to

id You Ever Raid Berlin?
ust Hop In and We're Off

Five correspondents rode with the RAF over Berlin Thursday ht. Three didn't come back. One who did was Edward R. Murrow, S correspondent, and last night he broadcast over the Columbia twork his eye-witness account of the raid, which devastated and afire huge areas of Berlin at a cost of 41 bombers. Here is his ry in part.

aily News - 12-4-43

By EDWARD R. MURROW

Yesterday afternoon, the waiting was over, the weather right. The target was to be the big city. The crew tains walked into the briefing room, looked at the maps charts and the weather man gave us the weather.

ate in the afternoon we went to locker room to draw para-es, Mae Wests and all the rest. ve dressed a couple of the men whistling. We went out and d around the big black four-ored Lancaster—D for Dog. A l station wagon delivered a mos bottle of coffee, chewing and orange and a bit of choco-for each man.

ck, the Wing Commander, ed at his watch and moved rd the aircraft. Nothing was We all followed. D-Dog d around the perimeter track e end of the runway. We sat e for a moment, a green light flashed, and we were rolling, ten seconds ahead of schedule..

Two Minutes Late, Asks More Speed

The takeoff was smooth as silk. The wheels came up, and D-Dog started the long climb. As we came up through the clouds, I looked right and left and counted 14 black Lancasters climbing for the place where men must burn oxygen to live. The sun was going down, and its red glow made rivers and lakes on fire on top of the clouds.

Soon we were out over the North

(Continued on page 6, col. 1)

ver Raid Berlin? Well, Just Hop In and Off We Go

asked little two e we or a little e sea. in in said. gray over nses. but

te on great lant- this from

omb-dica-same t up f to

starboard another kite went down in flames.

Dead ahead there was a whole chain of red flares, looking like s ' lights. A Lanc was coned on our starboard beam. The lights seemed to be supporting it. The German fighters were at him. And then with no warning at all, the D-Dog was filled with an unhealthy white light.

I was standing just behind Jock and his quiet Scot. voice beat into my ears, "steady lads, we've been coned." He jammed the control column forward, and to the left. We were going down. Then I was on my knees, hot on the deck, for he had whipped the Dog back into a climbing turn. The knees should have been strong enough to support me, but they weren't. And the stomach seemed in some danger of letting me down too. I picked myself up and looked out again. D for Dog was corkscrewing and I began to see what was happening to Berlin. The clouds were gone, and the sticks of incendiaries from the preceding waves made the place look like a badly laid-out city with the street lights on. The small incendiaries were going down like a fistful of white rice thrown on a piece of black velvet.

The cookies, the two-ton high explosives, were bursting below like great sunflowers gone mad and then as we started down again still held in the light, I remembered that the Dog still had one of those cookies and a whole basket of incendiaries in his belly and the light still held us and I was very frightened.

Finally we were out of the cone, flying level. I looked down and the white fires had turned red.

Greetings, D-Dog, Message at Home

By this time all those patches of white on black had turned yellow and started to flow together.

Another searchlight caught us but didn't hold us. Then more of those yellow flares came down and hung about us.

I haven't seen so much light since the war began. Then there was a tremendous "whoompf," an unintelligible shout from the tail gunner, and D-Dog shivered and lost altitude. I looked at the port side, and there was a Lancaster that seemed close enough to touch. It whipped straight under us, missed us by 25, 50 feet.

In a little more than half an hour, Berlin had received about three times the weight of bombs that had ever fallen on London in the course of a long Winter night. For a little while it was smoother sailing. We saw more battles. Then another plane in flames. But no one could tell whether it was ours or theirs.

We began to lose height over the North Sea. We were over England's shore. The land was dark beneath us. Somewhere down there below American boys were probably bombing-up Fortresses and Liberators, getting ready for the day's work. We were over the home field. We called the control tower, and the calm, clear voice of an English girl replied: "Greetings, D-Dog. You are diverted to Mule-Bag."

He swung around and contacted 'mule-bag,' came in on the flare path, touched down very gently, ran along to the end of the runway and turned left.

And Jock, the finest pilot in Bomber Command, said to the control tower: 'D-Dog, clear of runway.'

There were five reporters on this operation. Three of them didn't come back. Two were friends of mine, Norman Stockton, Australian Associated Newspapers, and Lowell Bennett, an American, representing International News Service.

There is something of a tradition among reporters that those who are prevented by circumstances from filing our stories will be covered by their colleagues. This is my effort to do so.

WRITER LOST, BUT HIS FINAL STORY LIVES

By PAUL H. KING

The theatre's tradition that—"The Show Must Go On"—has its age-old counterpart in the newspaper business. Especially among war correspondents, the tradition is that correspondents who return from the field of battle report for those who don't.

So, last night Columbia Broadcasting System's Edward R. Murrow, one of five correspondent who flew over Berlin in Thursday night's devastating raid, stood before a mike in London and "reported" for three writing colleagues who failed to return.

Yes, Lowell Bennett, of International News Service; Norman Stockton, of the Australian Associated News Service, and a third unidentified correspondent, wherever you are—YOUR STORIES CAME THROUGH. They are in print, perhaps not just as you would have written them, but in print they are.

Murrow, a close friend of Bennett and Stockton, began his eye witness account of the raid with the solemn observation:

"This is my effort to 'cover' for them."

Looking down from a bomber on the same burning scene that Bennett, Stockton and the unidentified writer saw, but were

Continued on Page 7

Lost Writer's Story 'Goes On'

Continued from Page 3

unable to describe, Murrow continued:

"The 4,000-pound explosives burst below like sunflowers gone mad. Berlin looked like a badly laid out city with the street lights on. The British incendiaries looked like fistfulls of white rice on a piece of black velvet."

Bennett and Stockton would have liked those lines.

Wins Death Flip

Bennett, 23, went on the raid after winning several "lotteries" for the place in his bomber. First there was a lottery to see whether an International News Service, an Associated Press or a United Press correspondent would go on the raid to represent all the news service. INS won. Then, Bennett flipped a coin with another INS correspondent for the trip. Bennett won.

Bennett's wife returned to the U. S. recently to await the birth of a second baby. He wanted it born in this country. His parents, Mrs. Bennett and a young son, Allen, live at 433 Vose Ave., South Orange, N. J.

When war broke out, Bennett enlisted in the Canadian army. After the first Russo-Finnish war began he joined the Finnish International Brigade with the rank of Sergeant. Later he transferred to the American Ambulance Corps for service in France, then joined the Free French as a sub-officer.

Later he joined the INS bureau in London and became an accredited war correspondent when the U. S. entered the war. He covered the Tunisian campaign and wrote a best seller—"Assignment to Nowhere."

Though no details of Bennett's fate were available, the British Air Ministry announced that the Bomber Command was making every effort to obtain information.

Out in Freeman, Mo., Bennett's 95-year-old great grandmother, Mrs. Elija J. Bennett, was confident he would turn up.

"Lowell is such a fine boy and from a grandmother's viewpoint he is perfect," she said.

Yes, Lowell, thanks to Murrow, your story is on Broadway today.

Daily Mirror 12/4/43

WNNA1A (PRECEDE) HEREWITH ARE EXCERPTS FROM AN EYEWITNESS STORY OF THURSDAY NIGHT'S MAMMOTH RAF ATTACK ON BERLIN, AS BROADCAST FROM LONDON FRIDAY BY CBS WAR CORRESPONDENT EDWARD R. MURROW, WHO RODE ONE OF THE BRITISH LANCASTERS IN THE RAID. IT WAS NAMED "D-FOR-DOG."

Five ~~THREE~~ OTHER CORRESPONDENTS ~~WHO~~ ACCOMPANIED THE RAIDERS And three of them FAILED TO RETURN. TWO OF THEM, LOWELL BENNETT OF INS AND NORMAN STOCKTON OF AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATED NEWSPAPERS, WERE FRIENDS OF THE CBS REPORTER. HIS STORY, HE DECLARES, "IS MY EFFORT TO COVER FOR THEM." (END PRECEDE)

BY EDWARD R. MURROW

CBS CORRESPONDENT IN LONDON

(DISTRIBUTED BY INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE)

THE TAKE-OFF WAS SMOOTH AS SILK. THE WHEELS CAME UP, AND D-DOG STARTED THE LONG CLIMB...

SOON WE WERE OUT OVER THE NORTH SEA. DAVE, THE NAVIGATOR, ASKED JOCK, THE PILOT, IF HE COULDN'T MAKE A LITTLE MORE SPEED. WE WERE NEARLY TWO MINUTES LATE. BY THIS TIME WE WERE ALL USING OXYGEN. THE TALK ON THE INTER-COM WAS BRIEF AND CRISP. EVERYONE SOUNDED RELAXED...

JOCK'S QUIET VOICE CAME THROUGH THE INTER-COM; "THERE'LL BE FLAK AHEAD." WE WERE APPROACHING THE ENEMY COAST. THE FLAK LOOKED LIKE A CIGARETTE LIGHTER IN A DARK ROOM; ONE THAT WON'T LIGHT. SPARKS, BUT NO FLAME. THE SPARKS CRACKLING JUST ABOVE THE LEVEL OF THE CLOUD TOPS. WE FLEW STEADY AND STRAIGHT, AND SOON THE FLAK WAS DIRECTLY BELOW US.

MORE 401AEB

HNA17 ADD BERLIN EYEWITNESS (MURROW) X X X WHITE LIGHT.

I WAS STANDING JUST BEHIND JOCK AND COULD SEE ALL THE SCENES ON THE WINGS. HIS QUIET SCOTS VOICE BEAT INTO MY EARS, "STEADY LADS, WE'VE BEEN CONED."

JOCK WAS WEARING WOOLEN GLOVES, WITH THE FINGERS CUT OFF. I COULD SEE HIS FINGER NAILS TURNING WHITE AS HE GRIPPED THE WHEEL. AND THEN I WAS ON MY KNEES, HOT ON THE DECK, FOR HE HAD WHIPPED THE DOG BACK INTO A CLIMBING TURN...

D-DOG WAS CORKSCREWING. AS HE ROLLED DOWN ON THE OTHER SIDE I BEGAN TO SEE WHAT WAS HAPPENING TO BERLIN. THE CLOUDS WERE GONE, AND THE STICKS OF INCENDIARIES FROM THE PRECEDING WAVES MADE THE PLACE LOOK LIKE A BADLY LAID-OUT CITY WITH THE STREET LIGHTS ON...

JOCK HAULED THE D-DOG UP AGAIN. I WAS THROWN TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COCKPIT. AND THERE BELOW WERE MORE INCENDIARIES, GLOWING WHITE AND THEN TURNING RED.

THE COOKIES, THE FOUR-THOUSAND-POUND HIGH EXPLOSIVES, WERE BURSTING BELOW LIKE GREAT SUNFLOWERS GONE MAD AND THEN AS WE STARTED DOWN AGAIN, STILL HELD IN THE LIGHT, I REMEMBERED THAT THE D-DOG STILL HAD ONE OF THOSE COOKIES AND A WHOLE BASKET OF INCENDIARIES IN HIS BELLY AND THE LIGHT STILL HELD US AND I WAS VERY FRIGHTENED.

WHILE JOCK WAS FLINGING HER ABOUT IN THE AIR, HE SUDDENLY FLUNG OVER INTER-COM, "TWO AIRCRAFT ON THE PORT BEAM." I LOOKED ASTERN AND SAW WALLIE, THE MID-UPPER, WHIP HIS TURRET AROUND TO PORT, AND THEN LOOKED UP TO SEE A SINGLE-ENGINED FIGHTER SLIDE JUST ABOVE US. THE OTHER AIRCRAFT WAS ONE OF OURS. FINALLY WE WERE OUT OF THE CONE, FLYING LEVEL. I LOOKED DOWN AND THE WHITE FIRES HAD TURNED RED...

KNA18 ADD BERLIN EYEWITNESS (MURROW) X X X TURNED RED...

JOCK AND BUZZ, THE BOMB-AIMER, BEGAN TO DISCUSS THE TARGET. THE SMOKE WAS GETTING THICK DOWN BELOW. BUZZ SAID HE LIKED THE TWO GREEN FLARES ON THE GROUND ALMOST DEAD AHEAD. HE BEGAN CALLING HIS DIRECTIONS AND JUST THEN A NEW BUNCH OF BIG FLARES WENT DOWN ON THE FAR SIDE OF THE SEA OF FLAME AND FLARE THAT SEEMED TO BE DIRECTLY BELOW US. HE THOUGHT THAT WOULD BE A BETTER AIMING POINT. JOCK AGREED AND WE FLEW OUT.

THE BOMB-DOORS WERE OPEN. BUZZ CALLED HIS DIRECTIONS: "FIVE LEFT, FIVE LEFT." AND THEN THERE WAS A GENTLE CONFIDENT UPWARD THRUST UNDER MY FEET AND BUZZ SAID: "COOKIES GONE, COOKIES GONE." A FEW SECONDS LATER THE INCENDIARIES WENT AND D-DOG SEEMED LIGHTER AND EASIER TO HANDLE.

I THOUGHT I COULD MAKE OUT THE OUTLINE OF STREETS BELOW, BUT THE BOMB-AIMER DIDN'T AGREE AND HE OUGHT TO KNOW. BY THIS TIME ALL THOSE PATCHES OF WHITE ON BLACK HAD TURNED YELLOW AND STARTED TO FLOW TOGETHER...

I BEGAN TO BREATHE AND TO ERFLECT AGAIN THAT ALL MEN WOULD BE BRAVE AGAIN IF ONLY THEY COULD LEAVE THEIR STOMACHS AT HOME, WHEN THERE WAS A TREMENDOUS "WHOOMPF," AN UNINTELLIGIBLE SHOUT FROM THE TAIL GUNNER, AND D-DOG SHIVERED AND LOST ALTITUDE.

I LOOKED AT THE PORT SIDE, AND THERE WAS A LANCASTER THAT SEEMED CLOSE ENOUGH TO TOUCH. IT WHIPPED STRAIGHT UNDER US, MISSED US BY 25, 50 FEET--NO ONE KNEW HOW MUCH.

MORE 8 424AEB

KNA18 ADD BERLIN EYEWITNESS (MORROW) X X X HOW MUCH.

D-DOG SHIVERED AND LOST ALTITUDE.

I LOOKED AT THE PORT SIDE, AND THERE WAS A LANCASTER THAT SEEMED CLOSE ENOUGH TO TOUCH. IT WHIPPED STRAIGHT UNDER US, MISSED US BY 25, 50 FEET--NO ONE KNEW HOW MUCH.

MORE 8 424AEB

HNA19 ADD BERLIN EYEWITNESS (MORROW) X X X HOW MUCH.

THE NAVIGATOR SANG OUT THE NEW COURSE AND WE WERE HEADING FOR [illegible] JOCK WAS DOING WHAT I HAD HEARD HIM TELLING HIS PILOTS TO DO SO OFTEN--FLYING A HEAD-ON COURSE. HE FLEW STRAIGHT INTO A HUGE, GREEN SEARCH-LIGHT, AND AS HE RAMMED THE THROTTLES HOME REMARKED: "WE'LL HAVE A LITTLE TROUBLE GETTING AWAY FROM THIS ONE."

AND AGAIN D-DOG DOVE, CLIMBED AND TWISTED AND WAS FINALLY FREE. WE FLEW LEVEL THEN. I LOOKED ON THE PORT BEAM OF THE TARGET AREA. THERE WAS A RED, SULLEN, OBSCENE GLARE. THE FIRES SEEMED TO HAVE FOUND EACH OTHER, AND WE WERE HEADING HOME.

IN A LITTLE MORE THAN HALF AN HOUR, BERLIN HAD RECEIVED ABOUT THREE TIMES THE WEIGHT OF BOMBS THAT HAD EVER FALLEN ON LONDON IN THE COURSE OF A LONG WINTER NIGHT. FOR A LITTLE WHILE IT WAS SMOOTHER SAILING. WE SAW MORE BATTLES. THEN ANOTHER PLANE IN FLAMES. BUT NO ONE COULD TELL WHETHER IT WAS OURS OR THEIRS...

WE BEGAN TO LOSE HEIGHT [illegible]

A RED, SULLEN, OBSCENE GLARE. THE FIRES SEEMED TO HAVE FOUND EACH OTHER, AND WE WERE HEADING HOME.

IN A LITTLE MORE THAN HALF AN HOUR, BERLIN HAD RECEIVED ABOUT THREE TIMES THE WEIGHT OF BOMBS THAT HAD EVER FALLEN ON LONDON IN THE COURSE OF A LONG WINTER NIGHT. FOR A LITTLE WHILE IT WAS SMOOTHER SAILING. WE SAW MORE BATTLES. THEN ANOTHER PLANE IN FLAMES. BUT NO ONE COULD TELL WHETHER IT WAS OURS OR THEIRS...

WE BEGAN TO LOSE HEIGHT OVER THE NORTH SEA. WE WERE OVER ENGLAND'S SHORE. THE LAND WAS DARK BENEATH US. SOMEWHERE DOWN THERE BELOW AMERICAN BOYS WERE PROBABLY BOMBING-UP FORTRESSES AND LIBERATORS, GETTING READY FOR THE DAY'S WORK. WE WERE OVER THE HOME FIELD. WE CALLED THE CONTROL TOWER, AND THE CALM, CLEAR VOICE OF AN ENGLISH GIRL REPLIED: "GREETINGS, D-DOG. YOU ARE DIVERTED TO MULE-BAG."

MORE 429AEB

HNA20 ADD BERLIN EYEWITNESS (MURROW) X X X MULE-BAG."

WE SWUNG AROUND AND CONTACTED "MULE-BAG," CAME IN ON THE FLARE PATH, TOUCHED DOWN VERY GENTLY, RAN ALONG TO THE END OF THE RUNWAY AND TURNED LEFT...

THERE WERE FOUR REPORTERS ON THIS OPERATION. TWO OF THEM DIDN'T COME BACK. TWO FRIENDS OF MINE, NORMAN STOCKTON, AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATED NEWSPAPERS, AND LOWELL BENNETT, AN AMERICAN, REPRESENTING INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE.

THERE IS SOMETHING OF A TRADITION AMONGST REPORTERS THAT THOSE WHO ARE PREVENTED BY CIRCUMSTANCES FROM FILING OUR STORIES WILL BE COVERED BY THEIR COLLEAGUES.

THIS IS MY EFFORT TO DO SO...

BERLIN WAS A KIND OF ORCHESTRATED HELL, A TERRIBLE SYMPHONY OF LIGHT AND FLAME. IT ISN'T A PLEASANT KIND OF WARFARE. THE MEN DOING IT SPEAK OF IT AS A JOB. YESTERDAY AFTERNOON, WHEN THE TACKS WERE STRETCHED OUT ON THE BIG MAP ALL THE WAY TO BERLIN AND BACK AGAIN, A YOUNG PILOT WITH OLD EYES SAID TO ME, "I SEE WE'RE WORKING AGAIN TONIGHT." THAT'S THE FRAME OF MIND IN WHICH THE JOB IS BEING DONE.

433AEB

UP32

LONDON, DEC. 4.--(UP)--THE FIRES IN BERLIN SET BY RAIDING BRITISH BOMBERS GLOWED YELLOW, THEN FLOWED TOGETHER IN GREAT BLANKETS THAT BURNED WITH A "RED, SULLEN, OBSCENE GLARE," EDWARD R. MURROW, CBS COMMENTATOR, REPORTED LAST NIGHT AFTER A FLIGHT OVER THE CITY WITH ATTACKING LANCASTERS.

"BERLIN WAS A KIND OF ORCHESTRATED HELL, A TERRIBLE SYMPHONY OF LIGHT AND FLAME," HE SAID.

MURROW, ONE OF FIVE CORRESPONDENTS ON THE THURSDAY NIGHT RAID--THREE OF WHOM WERE LOST--DESCRIBED HOW THE BOMBERS POURED GLOWING INCENDIARIES AND TWO-TON BLOCKBUSTERS ON THE CITY, ATTACKING THROUGH GERMAN NIGHT FIGHTERS AND BEAMS OF SEARCHLIGHTS.

"THE COOKIES, THE FOUR THOUSAND POUND HIGH EXPLOSIVES, WERE BURSTING BELOW LIKE GREAT SUNFLOWERS GONE MAD," HE SAID. "...I LOOKED DOWN AND THE WHITE FIRES HAD TURNED RED. THEY WERE BEGINNING TO MERGE AND SPREAD JUST LIKE BUTTER DOES ON A HOT PLATE.

"...I THOUGHT I COULD MAKE OUT THE OUTLINE OF THE STREETS BELOW, BUT THE BOMB-AIMER DIDN'T AGREE AND HE OUGHT TO KNOW. BY THIS TIME ALL THOSE PATCHES OF WHITE ON BLACK HAD TURNED YELLOW AND STARTED TO FLOW TOGETHER."

HE DESCRIBED HOW "JOCK", PILOT OF THE PLANE IN WHICH HE RODE, CAREENED THE HUGE FOUR-MOTORED CRAFT THROUGH SEARCHLIGHTS AND FLASHES OF FLAK FIRE WHILE SMALL INCENDIARIES SHOWERED DOWN LIKE "A FISTFULL OF WHITE RICE THROWN ON A PIECE OF BLACK VELVET."

"I HAVEN'T SEEN SO MUCH LIGHT SINCE THE WAR BEGAN," HE SAID. "...I LOOKED ON THE PORT BEAM OF THE TARGET AREA. THERE WAS A RED, SULLEN OBSCENE FLARE. THE FIRES SEEMED TO HAVE FOUND EACH OTHER, AND WE WERE HEADING HOME."

C0545A

UP136

BY UNITED PRESS

EDWARD R. MURROW, CBS CORRESPONDENT WHO RODE IN A LANCASTER BOMBER DURING LAST NIGHT'S ATTACK ON BERLIN, REPORTED IN A BROADCAST FROM LONDON TONIGHT THAT TWO-TON BLOCKBUSTER BOMBS BURST IN THE GERMAN CAPITAL "LIKE GREAT SUN-FLOWERS GONE MAD."

MURROW FLEW IN THE PLANE "D-FOR-DOG" AND OF FIVE CORRESPONDENTS WHO WENT ON THE RAID HE AND AN AUSTRALIAN WERE THE ONLY ONES WHO RETURNED.

OVER BERLIN, HE SAID, CLOUDS WHICH HAD MARKED THE ROUTE WERE GONE "AND THE STICKS OF INCENDIARIES FROM THE PRECEDING WAVES (OF BOMBERS) MADE THE PLACE LOOK LIKE A BADLY LAID-OUT CITY WITH THE STREET LIGHTS ON. THE SMALL INCENDIARIES WERE GOING DOWN LIKE A FISTFUL OF WHITE RICE THROWN ON A PIECE OF BLACK VELVET."

HE SAID THE RAID HAD A "QUALITY OF UNREALITY" ABOUT IT. AS THE PLANES APPROACHED BERLIN, MURROW REPORTED THAT THE SKY BECAME LIGHTER AND SUDDENLY THERE WAS A TREMENDOUS BLOB OF YELLOW LIGHT DEAD AHEAD, ANOTHER TO THE RIGHT AND ANOTHER TO THE LEFT.

OVER BERLIN, D-FOR-DOG WAS CAUGHT IN A SEARCHLIGHT BEAM BUT THE PILOT CORKSCREWED THE MACHINE OUT OF IT AND THE BOMBARDIER DROPPED THE BOMBS.

"I LOOKED DOWN AND THE WHITE FIRES HAD TURNED TO RED," MURROW SAID IN DESCRIBING BERLIN AFLAME. "THEY WERE BEGINNING TO MERGE AND SPREAD JUST LIKE BUTTER DOES ON A HOT PLATE.....THE SMOKE WAS GETTING THICK... I THOUGHT I COULD MAKE OUT THE OUTLINE OF STREETS BELOW BUT THE BOMB-AIMER DIDN'T AGREE, AND HE OUGHT TO KNOW. BY THIS TIME ALL THOSE PATCHES OF WHITE ON BLACK HAD TURNED YELLOW AND STARTED TO FLOW TOGETHER...I HAVEN'T SEEN SO MUCH LIGHT SINCE THE WAR BEGAN."

FLYING AWAY FROM BERLIN, HE REPORTED HE COULD SEE A "RED, SULLEN, OBSCENE GLARE....THE FIRES SEEMED TO HAVE FOUND EACH OTHER, AND WE WERE HEADING HOME."

RH656P

UP157

ADD MURROW UNDATED XXX HOME."

"THE TAKE-OFF WAS SMOOTH AS SILK," MURROW SAID. "THE SUN WAS GOING DOWN, AND ITS RED GLOW MADE RIVERS AND LAKES OF FIRE ON TOPS OF THE CLOUDS. SOON WE WERE OUT OVER THE NORTH SEA. JOCK'S (THE PILOT) VOICE CAME THROUGH THE INTER-COM: 'THERE'LL BE FLAK AHEAD.' WE WERE APPROACHING THE ENEMY COAST. THE FLAK LOOKED LIKE A CIGARETTE LIGHTER IN A DARK ROOM; ONE THAT WON'T LIGHT. SPARKS, BUT NO FLAME. THE SPARKS CRACKLING JUST ABOVE THE LEVEL OF THE CLOUD TOPS.

"SUDDENLY THERE WAS A BURST OF YELLOW FLAME AND JOCK REMARKED: 'THAT'S A FIGHTER GOIND DOWN. NOTE THE POSITION.' THE WHOLE THING WAS INTERESTING BUT REMOTE. DAVE, THE NAVIGATOR, WHO WAS SITTING BACK WITH HIS MAPS, CHARTS AND COMPASSES, SAID: 'THE ATTACK OUGHT TO BEGIN IN EXACTLY TWO MINUTES.' WE WERE STILL OVER THE CLOUDS.

MORE F802P

UP159

ADD MURROW UNDATED XXX CLOUDS.

"BUT SUDDENLY THOSE DIRTY GRAY CLOUDS TURNED WHITE. WE WERE OVER THE OUTER SEARCHLIGHT DEFENSES. THE CLOUDS BELOW WERE WHITE AND WE WERE BLACK. D-DOG SEEMED LIKE A BLACK BUG ON A WHITE SHEET. WE WERE STILL A LONG WAY FROM BERLIN. JOCK OBSERVED: 'THERE'S A KITE ON FIRE DEAD AHEAD.' IT WAS A GREAT GOLDEN SLOW-MOVING METEOR SLANTING TOWARDS THE EARTH. BY THIS TIME WE WERE ABOUT THIRTY MILES FROM OUR TARGET AREA IN BERLIN. THAT THIRTY MILES WAS THE LONGEST FLIGHT I HAVE EVER MADE...THE SKY AHEAD WAS LIT UP BY BRIGHT YELLOW FLARES. OFF TO STARBOARD ANOTHER KITE WENT DOWN IN FLAMES. THE FLARES WERE SPOUTING ALL OVER THE SKY, REDS, GREENS AND YELLOWS AND WERE WERE FLYING STRAIGHT FOR THE CENTER OF THE FIREWORKS. D-DOG SEEMED TO BE STANDING STILL, THE FOUR PROPELLERS THRASHING THE AIR. BUT WE DIDN'T SEEM TO BE CLOSING IN.

"SUDDENLY A TREMENDOUS BIG BLOB OF YELLOW LIGHT DEAD AHEAD, ANOTHER TO THE RIGHT AND ANOTHER TO THE LEFT. WE WERE FLYING STRAIGHT FOR THEM. JOCK POINTED OUT TO ME DUMMY FIRES AND FLARES TO RIGHT AND LEFT, BUT WE KEPT GOING IN. DEAD-AHEAD THERE WAS A WHOLE CHAIN OF RED FLARES, LOOKING LIKE STOP LIGHTS. ANOTHER LANC WAS CONED ON OUR STARBOARD BEAM. THE LIGHTS SEEMED TO BE SUPPORTING IT. AGAIN WE COULD SEE THOSE LITTLE BUBBLES OF COLORED LEAD ON TWO SIDES. THE GERMAN FIGHTERS WERE AT HIM. AND THEN, WITH NO WARNING AT ALL, D-DOG WAS FILLED WITH AN UNHEALTHY WHITE LIGHT.

MORE F811P

ADD MURROW UNDATED XXX LIGHT."

"I WAS STANDING JUST BEHIND JOCK AND COULD SEE ALL THE SCENES ON HIS WINGS. HIS QUIET SCOTS VOICE BEAT INTO MY EARS, 'STEADY LADS, WE'VE BEEN CONED.' HIS SLENDER BODY LIFTED HALF OUT OF HIS SEAT AS HE JAMMED THE CONTROL COLUMN FORWARD, AND TO THE LEFT. WE WERE GOING DOWN.

"JOCK WAS WEARING WOOLEN GLOVES, WITH THE FINGERS CUT OFF. I COULD SEE HIS FINGER NAILS TURNING WHITE AS HE GRIPPED THE WHEEL. AND THEN I WAS ON MY KNEES, NOT ON THE DECK, FOR HE HAD WHIPPED THE DOG BACK INTO A CLIMBING TURN. THE KNEES SHOULD HAVE BEEN STRONG ENOUGH TO SUPPORT ME, BUT THEY WEREN'T. AND THE STOMACH SEEMED IN SOME DANGER OF LETTING ME DOWN, TOO. I PICKED MYSELF UP AND LOOKED OUT AGAIN. IT SEEMED THAT ONE BIG SEARCHLIGHT, INSTEAD OF BEING 20,000 FEET BELOW, WAS MOUNTED RIGHT ON OUR WING TIP. D-DOG WAS CORKSCREWING. AS HE ROLLED DOWN ON THE OTHER SIDE I BEGAN TO SEE WHAT WAS HAPPENING TO BERLIN. THE CLOUDS WERE GONE, AND THE STICKS OF INCENDIARIES FROM THE PRECEDING WAVES MADE THE PLACE LOOK LIKE A BADLY LAID-OUT CITY WITH THE STREET

WE'VE BEEN COMED.' HIS SLENDER BODY LIFTED HALF OUT OF HIS SEAT AS HE JAMMED THE CONTROL COLUMN FORWARD, AND TO THE LEFT. WE WERE GOING DOWN.

"JOCK WAS WEARING WOOLEN GLOVES, WITH THE FINGERS CUT OFF. I COULD SEE HIS FINGER NAILS TURNING WHITE AS HE GRIPPED THE WHEEL. AND THEN I WAS ON MY KNEES, HOT ON THE DECK, FOR HE HAD WHIPPED THE DOG BACK INTO A CLIMBING TURN. THE KNEES SHOULD HAVE BEEN STRONG ENOUGH TO SUPPORT ME, BUT THEY WEREN'T. AND THE STOMACH SEEMED IN SOME DANGER OF LETTING ME DOWN, TOO. I PICKED MYSELF UP AND LOOKED OUT AGAIN. IT SEEMED THAT ONE BIG SEARCHLIGHT, INSTEAD OF BEING 20,000 FEET BELOW, WAS MOUNTED RIGHT ON OUR WING TIP. D-DOG WAS CORKSCREWING. AS HE ROLLED DOWN ON THE OTHER SIDE I BEGAN TO SEE WHAT WAS HAPPENING TO BERLIN. THE CLOUDS WERE GONE, AND THE STICKS OF INCENDIARIES FROM THE PRECEDING WAVES MADE THE PLACE LOOK LIKE A BADLY LAID-OUT CITY WITH THE STREET LIGHTS ON. THE SMALL INCENDIARIES WERE GOING DOWN LIKE A FISTFULL OF WHITE RICE THROWN ON A PIECE OF BLACK VELVET.

"..JOCK AND BUZZ, THE BOMB-AIMER, BEGAN TO DISCUSS THE TARGET. THE SMOKE WAS GETTING THICK DOWN BELOW. BUZZ SAID HE LIKED THE TWO GREEN FLARES ON THE GROUND ALMOST DEAD AHEAD. HE BEGAN CALLING HIS DIRECTIONS AND JUST THEN A NEW BUNCH OF BIG FLARES WENT DOWN ON THE FAR SIDE OF THE SEA OF FLAME AND FLARE THAT SEEMED TO BE DIRECTLY BELOW US. HE THOUGHT THAT WOULD BE A BETTER AIMING POINT. JOCK AGREED AND WE FLEW OUT. THE BOMB DOORS WERE OPEN. BUZZ CALLED HIS DIRECTIONS: "FIVE LEFT, FIVE LEFT.' AND THEN THERE WAS A GENTLE CONFIDENT UPWARD THRUST UNDER MY FEET AND BUZZ SAID: "COOKIES GONE. COOKIES GONE." A FEW SECONDS LATER THE INCENDIARIES WENT AND D-DOG SEEMED LIGHTER AND EASIER TO HANDLE."

~~UPOTHW~~

~~LOND~~

AND ~~EASIER TO HANDLE."~~

F821P

"EDWARD R. MURROW IN LOS ANGELES"

Sunday, January 14, 1945, 10:45-11:00 AM, PWT Originating KNX, CBS Full Network

---

MURROW: Last week was one of the best the Allies have had for many months. In Europe the outstanding development was the launching of the great Russian winter offensive. The Germans are now held in a vise, but the effect of the Russian attack will not be felt on the western front for many weeks. There the Germans are pulling out of the Ardennes salient, while the first and third armies attempt to cut them off. SHAEF censors are holding detailed reports of the action, but it is clear that the battle flows in our favor. In the Philippines reconnaisance units have penetrated twenty miles inland and today's communique states that the enemy is either unable or unwilling to seriously challenge our drive into the central plains. B-29's have struck again at the fortress of Formosa and at the Japanese home island of Honshu. The uneasy armistice in Greece and the passage of Allied ships through the Dardanelles reflect an improvement on the diplomatic front.

I should like to talk for a few minutes about this country. For most of the past eight years I have been looking at America from the outside. During the past month I have been looking and listening, enjoying, and sometimes being bewildered by the complexities and contradictions of this great continent. These remarks ought to be labelled rather carefully. They represent impressions rather than conclusions. They are based upon travel across the continent (the second opportunity of that kind since the war began in 1939). This is not the result of any careful fact finding study or survey of public opinion. It's merely the impression of

one reporter who has seen something of this war, and who has often longed for familiar sights and friendly voices. These impressions come from casual conversations on trains. . in bus stations. . at lunch counters . . talks with cowboys in Texas and with movie producers in Hollywood. . bankers and bus boys. . wounded soldiers. . widows. . college presidents, and a whole lot of people whose professions were unknown to me. This will not turn out to be a comparison of life in Europe and in America, for no comparison is possible. We live in the light, in relative comfort and complete security. We are the only nation engaged in this war which has raised its standard of living since the war began. We are not tired, as all Europe is tired. We are not as cynical. We are healthy, well fed and well dressed (at least most of us seem to be). Of course it's tempting for anyone who looks at home again to talk just of the country. . the sound of the subway in New York. . the look of Washington on a rainy day. . what an engine whistle sounds like in the Cumberland Gap. . or the way the brakeman's lantern seems to stumble across the snow. . the freight yards in Cincinnati, or the color of the Mississippi. . the flat corn land of Missouri. . the good food and the well filled shops of St. Louis. . the space of Texas where a man must look at the sky. . and the clear water of occasional streams moving along between shaggy banks to an ocean that is far away. . the stainless steel mountains of Arizona. One is tempted to talk of all the things that have meant home during so many conversations with so many fighting men in Europe. Ours is a homesick army (and with good reason). The sun. . and the fog here in Southern California remind you of all the boys who have talked of this part of the world. But this isn't a travel talk. The enjoyment of the great grandeur of the country is somewhat dulled by the memory of the boys who

long to see it again. I have watched some of the men who have come back, sitting there for hundreds of miles looking out of the train windows neither moving or speaking. They wear ribbons won in far lands. Their cast of countenance resembles every race and nation I have known in Europe. They are Americans who have come home from the wars. . from the greatest mass adventure in the nation's history. They look out at country that may remind them of the hedgerows of Normandy, the barren hills of Tunisia, or the valleys of India. There are men without legs and without arms travelling across the country. The other day there was a whole carload of men who were served during special hours in the dining car (because they were upset by strangers). Civilians, the porter said. . "I think something happened to their nerves," and the dining car steward said they were fine boys, never gave any trouble. They were but the beginning of the tortured nerves and twisted bodies which the war will return to this land. And what kind of country will it be. I have heard many questions about what the soldiers will be like when they come home. It is a question which no man can answer but I believe that the answer will be determined by the kind of country they find when they get back. If there are jobs and houses and hope. . if they see some evidence that the slogans they have heard are being translated into action. . if they are made to feel that their sacrifice was not made in order that a few might profit. . if they are convinced that they have not suffered sacrifices and achieved in order that old men may attempt to remake the world on the old pattern. . then this army will probably display the same courage, discipline, and willingness to work when it takes off the uniform that it has shown during the war. Well, what does the country look like to one who is really seeing it for the second time since '39? (And these comments are offered

with full appreciation that no war correspondent suffers the sustained hardships of combat troops or flyers). In the first place there is a new seriousness in the land. . a gradual realization that the way ahead will be hard. . that American strength carries with it great responsibilities. There is certainly complete confidence in the outcome of the war. There is much less confidence that we shall know what to do with the victory. It might almost be said that there is a reluctance to accept the position of leadership which our economic and military strength has thrust upon us. We did not actively seek such leadership and responsibility. Confidence in the military and economic strength of the country is tremendous . . but there are few people who have confidence that we shall be able, by effort and example, to demonstrate that democracy is an item for export. The revolutionary character of this war has not been fully appreciated, and there is much evidence of impatience with Europe when things fail to fall back into an ordered and understandable pattern. Dozens of times in the last month I have heard a phrase that went something like this: "Things seem to be in a mess in Europe, even in the liberated areas, and if all this wrangling goes on this country will soon be back where it was in 1920." In other words a return to isolation. There is one rather remarkable similarity between Europe and America today, and that is that in serious circles on both continents there is a common subject of conversation, and the subject is American foreign policy. . what is it? It seems to me that there is no nation where people are more willing to support the underdog. . more ready to give their confidence to men who talk of principle and fair play. There is certainly great discussion and debate about foreign policy and it goes very deep. It is one of the striking and significant changes in America during the last years, and most

people. . at least those I have listened to. . are more than a little bewildered and confused. . and many are apprehensive. I have the impression that many people would welcome more straightforward talk from Washington. They want to know what their government plans to do, for in this country as in no other people still regard their government as something which works for them and is subject, or should be subject, to constant review and criticism. I have heard some powerful criticism. . at times a foreigner might have been lead to believe the President won the last election by some kind of fraud. . might have thought that everyone was against him and his policies except the voters. But a great deal of this criticism is aimed at the administration of legislation and executive orders, rather than at the stated objectives. There is uncertainty about the interpretation of wartime controls and regulations by various government agencies. And at the same time there is much less complaint about rationing than we had been lead to believe in Europe. It is impossible to avoid the impression that most people would willingly undertake additional sacrifices if they were demanded, and if they could be persuaded that there would be something approaching equality of sacrifice. We seem almost to take our victories for granted, we are conscious of our strength and doubtful of our ability to use it wisely. We are quick to criticize our allies and quicker to resent their criticism of us. There is still much suspicion of the designs and intentions of foreign nations. But there is certainly more serious discussion of fundamental problems in this country than there was three years ago. It's true that you will hear conversations that would make you think the speakers regarded taxes as more important than winning the war, but that doesn't occur very often. There seems to be more discussion of housing and education and of our own problems of racial and religious

discrimination than ever before. It would be a bold and arrogant man who would venture to prophesy the course this nation will follow. It is possible that we shall demonstrate that democracy can achieve security and freedom for the individual, and it is possible that we shall prove traitors to human hope and unworthy of the sacrifices being made by young men with four o'clock in the morning courage in the combat zones all over the world. But one thing is certain. . the nation is busy talking and discussing. . the tone of the discussion is serious and often informed. Soldiers in Europe are inclined to resent some of the news from home, strikes and plans for an early victory celebration do not make pleasant reading. There is a great gulf between the men overseas and the folks at home. Some of them will come home as strangers. Those who have not shared their experience will not find it easy to understand them. Most of them are not keen students of politics and international affairs. There is no time for debate and discussion in the front line or on the bomb run. They are trained for action and accustomed to change. They really know what it is to live dangerously. And yet I think many of them would be encouraged to know that the democracy for which they are fighting is seriously debating its responsibilities and policies, and appears to be willing to make substantial sacrifices to prevent an early recurrence of this slaughter. This is the testing ground of democracy. No one can doubt that the test will be severe. It will require great statesmanship and a vigilant public. It will require tolerance and patience and high principle in dealing with foreign nations. It may even require some sacrifice of sovereignty. Viewed from Europe, American policy will be decisive in vast areas of which we know little. We are viewed in many countries with a mixture of fear and admiration. I have the impression, after a month of listening, that more and more people are aware of that

fact. . they are talking about the conduct of the nations relations with other nations. If that impression is correct it is important and encouraging.

This is Edward R. Murrow in Los Angeles. (Two second pause) And now back to New York.

New Republic - March 22, 1948

of press agentry to achieve selfish ends. First, the committee had revived old, unsubstantiated and suitably vague charges against Dr. Condon in a way to create public fear that our dearest atomic-defense secrets were in danger.

Then Thomas tried to pressure Secretary of Commerce Harriman into surrendering the confidential records of his own departmental investigation, which had cleared Condon. To his credit, Harriman stood firm against the committee's encroachment, even declaring that its conduct was "in my opinion, un-American."

A few courageous voices protested against the slow chipping away at US citizens' liberties. Representative Chet Holifield (D, Calif.) condemned the committee's techniques as "biased and prejudiced, and in the reports . . . full of errors and misstatements of fact." Representative Leo Isacson (ALP, N. Y.), in his maiden congressional

Jan Masaryk

by Edward R. Murrow

THEY SAY he committed suicide. I don't know.

Jan Masaryk was a man of great faith and great courage. Under certain circumstances he would be capable of laying down his life with a grin and a wisecrack. For more than two years he had hidden a heavy heart behind that big smile and a casual, sometimes irreverent, often caustic comment on world affairs. . . .

I sat with him, all night, in his London Embassy the night his country was sacrificed on the altar of appeasement at Munich. He knew it meant war, knew that his country and its people were doomed, but there was no bitterness in the man, nor was there resignation or defeat. We talked long of what must happen to Europe, of the young men that would die, and the cities that would be smashed to rubble, but Jan Masaryk's faith was steady. As I rose to leave, the gray dawn pressed against the windows.

Jan pointed to a big picture of Hitler and Mussolini that stood on the mantel and he said:

"Don't worry, Ed. There will be dark days and many men will die, but there is a God and He will not let two such men rule Europe."

He had faith and he was a patriot and he was an excellent cook. One night during the blitz he was preparing a meal in his little apartment. A bomb came down in the middle distance and rocked the bulding. Jan Masaryk emerged from the kitchen to remark:

"Uncivilized swine, the Germans! They have ruined my soufflé."

DRAWING BY STEFANELLI

I once asked him what his war aim was and he replied: "I just want to go home."

He always knew that in a world where there is no security for little nations, there is neither peace nor security for big ones. After the Munich betrayal, the British made a conscience loan to Czechoslovakia. Benes and Masaryk used a considerable part of that money to set up an underground news service. It was functioning when the Germans overran the country. . . .

Jan Masaryk took to the radio, talking to his people at home, telling them that there was hope in the West, that Czechs and Slovaks would again walk that fair land as free men.

When the war was over he went home, certain that his country had to get along with the Russians, or, as he used to say, "they will eat us up." His faith in democracy was in no wise diminished. . . . As the Communist strength increased, Jan saw less and less of his friends when he came to this country. His music no longer gave him comfort.

No more were there those happy late night hours with Masaryk playing the piano, hours of rich, rolling Czech and Slovak folksongs. I asked him why he didn't get out, come to this country, where he had so many friends. He replied: "Do you think I enjoy what I'm doing? But my heart is with my people. I must do what I can. Maybe a corpse, but never a refugee."

Did he make a mistake in this last crisis? I don't know. He stayed with Benes. Who knows what pressures he was subjected to? It is unlikely that he could have altered the course of events. Perhaps it was in his mind that he could save some of his friends, some small part of liberty and freedom, by staying on as a non-party foreign minister. . . .

In the course of chronicling the cause of the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia, the Alsops referred to Jan Masaryk as "the salon favorite in New York, who has played perhaps the most morally shabby game of all."

What arrogance, fathered by ignorance! What a profound moral judgment delivered from such a distance!

If the brothers Alsop were looking for a martyr, they have found his name in today's news from Prague. So far as salons are concerned, if they have them in the next world, this reporter will count himself fortunate to be permitted to sit on the floor in the one where Jan Masaryk will be found. – *Reprinted by permission from Mr. Murrow's broadcast of March 10 over CBS.*

Draft

NOTES ON THE NEWS

by

Edward R. Murrow

"My first exclusive," as the lady says on the radio.

I think the readers of this column ought to know that so far as I know, John Crosby was the first to suggest in print that some useful purpose might be served if radio undertook reasoned and responsible criticism of the press. Such a project had been under consideration for several months at CBS. The program has been on the air 6:15 PM Saturdays for ten weeks. Mail response has been commendatory and the ratio about one hundred to one. Much of this correspondence is marked by a reaction which might be summed up as: "It's too good to be true," "it can't last" and "do you think you can get away with it for very long?"

CBS VIEWS THE PRESS was undertaken on the assumption that mutual criticism would be beneficial. The program will remain on the air. If CBS news makes a serious mistake, the gentlemen of the press may be expected to let their readers know about it, and that would be a healthy thing too.

The networks are relaxing their restrictions against the use of recordings. This will require new skills in the networks' news rooms. The editing of records, the writing of proper transitions and the presentation of a coherent quarter hour made up in part of a "live" voice and partly of recorded material, is not easy. I am persuaded that a political convention, hearings before a Senate Committee, or a meeting of the UN assembly, can be presented in this fashion in half an hour, whereas an on-the-spot broadcast of the proceedings would require several hours. Right now WQXR is doing a first class job in this field with its UNITED

NATIONS NEWS REEL at 11:30 AM Tuesdays thru Saturdays.

There is a tendency among broadcasters to congratulate themselves on the job radio did during the war, and I suppose it is true that certain skills and individuals were developed between the time of the Anschluss and the surrender in Tokyo Bay, but I think the testing time for radio news is right now. It is certainly easier to report a battle or a heavy air action than it is to report clearly and fairly and interestingly the provisions and implications of the Taft-Hartley Bill or the Marshall Plan. A little courage, a certain ability to write the language of speech, a basic knowledge of military science and tactics and an interest in people, combined to make a pretty fair radio war correspondent. It was as important to be in the right place at the focal point of interest as it was to be able to write skillfully and talk well. Today the foreign correspondent requires, in addition to curiosity and the ability to go without sleep, a knowledge of history, economics, political philosophy, languages and even law. The current crop of foreign correspondents has another fundamental problem - and the good ones recognize it. They are, almost without exception, talking from countries that are lean to a country that is fat. There is almost no common denominator of experience between the people with whom they live and talk and work and the people to whom they are talking in this country. Even the meaning of common words has changed. A word like "shortage" here may mean that it is a little tough to get a new car, but in most of Europe it means that it is mighty difficult to get most anything. Our black market involves only a few things that cannot be regarded as essentials, while the whole economy of several European countries rests on the black market. It is difficult, if not impossible, for the foreign correspondent to convey to us the fear with which Europeans view the onset of another winter. That is because most of us were warm and comfortable last winter. The men with microphones abroad are trying to sort out the intricacies of domestic French

politics for us when many of the French do not really understand them. Every reporter is influenced by the atmosphere and the climate of opinion in which he works. Many develop emotional allegiances to the countries in which they are stationed. It would seem to follow that foreign correspondents should be moved frequently for it is obvious that it is no longer enough to know a single country. As we in this country come more and more to realize that what happens abroad affects us directly in terms of taxes and security, the foreign correspondent will have to do a job of translating that will be, I think, without parallel in terms of its importance to the informing of the American public. This in turn will require a greater degree of sophistication on the part of the listener. It is surprising how many listeners will conclude that a reporter, doing his level best to explain the problems and the philosophy of a Socialist or Communist state, is advocating that philosophy and recommending it to us over here. The American radio listener has become accustomed to fast switching from capital to capital. That started at the time of the Anschluss and I suspect that listeners are no longer impressed. The tendency now seems to be to switch abroad only when the reporter there can produce eye witness or background material not available from other sources, and that is a good thing too for it means that the mechanics get less in the way of the broadcaster.

It is often said that we are the best informed nation on earth. I do not know about that but I do know that we have access to more information than any other people. There is a difference.

SPECIAL PROGRAMS

BBC PROGRAM on U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

November 1, 1948

CBS ELECTION PREVUE (Studio 22)

NOVEMBER 2, 1948

6:15-6:30 PM CNYT

Murrow

(NOTE: Tape recording, once started, will run continuously to conclusion) (from 9A)

DALY: This is JOHN DALY in New York. Tonight is the night and CBS is the place. In just 105 minutes from this very moment — at 8 PM Eastern Standard Time — CBS News will bring you the next big chapter in the great American story that ends in Washington, D.C., on the 20th of next January....the story that began — and was recorded for you — last June in Philadelphia.

TAPE CUE # 1: Speaker: The Convention will come to order ... (GAVEL RAPS) Will the delegates please be seated (FADE AFTER FIRST GAVEL RAP FOR:)

DALY: (on cue): The Republicans were first. They had MUSIC! (5 sec)

TAPE CUE # 2: Song: We've a date in '48
Lots of votes in every state;
The coming White House resident (FADE TO BACKGROUND)
Will be .. a brand new President...

DALY (on cue): And campaign charges as well as promises ... (3 sec)

TAPE CUE # 3: Voice: We won on those principles in 1946 and we will win on those principles in 1948. (x) And if anybody thinks that the Republican position today is not the American position, let him look at the election returns next November (TAKE A BEAT OF APPLAUSE AND FADE BEHIND:)

DALY (on cue): And out of the heat of Convention Hall and the heat of argument came a candidate! (5sec)

TAPE CUE # 4: Voice: America's next president - THOMAS E. DEWEY. (HOLD APPLAUSE UP, FADING AFTER FOUR SECONDS TO BACKGROUND FOR:)

DALY: Then - two weeks later - the Democrats made Convention Hall ring again with political oratory ..... (5 sec)

TAPE CUE # 5: Voice: I don't care how much money the Republicans raise, they can't fool the American people again. They can't blitz the American electorate the way they can blitz a Republican convention.

DALY:(on cue): Then .... FIREWORKS! (2 sec)

TAPE CUE # 6: Voice: We recommend that the delegation from the State of Mississippi be seated by reason of the acts of the convention held in that State (FADE ROAR AFTER ONE BEAT FOR:)

DALY (on cue): These fireworks split the Democratic party AND...(3 sec)

TAPE CUE # 7: Voice: Thirteen of the 14 delegates proceed to walk out of this convention and return to Alabama and make (FADE CHEERS & BOOS FOR:)

DALY (on cue): But the Democrats came up with their candidate! (3 sec)

TAPE CUE # 8: Voice: The President of the United States, Harry S. Truman (TAKE A COUPLE OF BEATS OF CHEERS THEN FADE FOR:)

DALY: (on roving mike) About a week later a new party - the Progressives — did it again at Convention Hall, nominating as their candidate, Henry A. Wallace. (SOUND OUT) Then — by radio — by train and plane, across this great nation, the major candidates took their messages to the American people. Today you cast your ballot — in a free election — for the candidates of your choice. And tonight from CBS News you will get the results in the fastest, most accurate and complete election coverage in all history. Here in this vast studio from which I now speak to you — CBS Election Headquarters in New York — we have gathered together for our thorough and comprehensive election coverage radio's most competent news reporters and analysts. Beginning at eight o'clock, New York Time, CBS News will tabulate, evaluate and analyse the election returns from every corner of the nation. Literally every precinct in America will come under the

CBS ELECTION PREVUE 3-3-3

DALY: expert scrutiny of Columbia's top-drawer newsmen..men like Edward R. Murrow, Lowell Thomas, Don Hollenbeck, Eric Sevareid, Ned Calmer... and many others. Some of these men are already at work here at CBS Election Headquarters in New York ....so I'm going to move around with my portable microphone and speak with them briefly...Oh, Eric! Here's Eric Sevareid, who just finished his own regular news broadcast a moment ago....

SEVAREID: Hello John.....

DALY: Eric, your work is certainly cut out for you tonight. You'll be watching that all-important Senate race, won't you?

SEVAREID: That's right, John. Of course it's an important race...very evenly divided and interesting no matter how it goes. I expect a busy time tonight, but it's possible we may not know the make-up of the Senate until tomorrow....

DALY: Thanks, Eric....Say, Don Hollenbeck .. is your House in order for tonight?

HOLLENBECK: If you are referring, John, to the House of Representatives, I can only say it'll really be a night's work keeping up with the story of those 435 seats in the House. But I have a wonderful staff to help me so when you call on me, I'll be ready...

DALY: Right, Don...And here's the man who'll be following the gubernatorial returns — Ned Calmer...

CALMER: John, the governors' races don't worry me at all. But, frankly, I'm a little concerned about when I'll find time to write my CBS World News Roundup for 8 AM tomorrow morning....

DALY: (laughing) Which proves why CBS News is out in front -- our men work hours ahead of anyone else. (CALLING) Ed Murrow! Ed!

MURROW: Why hello, Brother Daly.

DALY: I trust you are ready to join with us around the tabulating board, come eight o'clock tonight.

MURROW: That's right, John. I understand they want me to chase you and Sevareid and Hellenbeck around with an analysis or two...about how the results shape up in terms of domestic and international matters. I think it's fair to say it will be a large evening.

DALY: Very large, Mr. Murrow.....Now, here's Elmo Roper who'll also be with us all evening....

ROPER: That's right, John....I'll be here to examine trends as they appear from the results and check them against the trends of my previous polls.

DALY: These men -- and many more of our analysts and correspondents are standing by throughout America and overseas. They will be following every development tonight. Let's check in with a few of these many points right now and find out what's going on. First to Republican Campaign Headquarters in Washington and Joseph C. Harsch.

**********SWITCH TO WASHINGTON FOR EXACTLY ONE MINUTE
ending on cue:

"HOW DOES IT LOOK OUT IN INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI, JOHN ADAMS?"

**********SWITCH TO INDEPENDENCE FOR EXACTLY ONE MINUTE
ending on cue:

"NOW - WHAT'S DOING ALONG THE GREAT WHITE WAY? GO AHEAD, NORMAN BROKENSHIRE IN THE CBS MOBILE UNIT, SOMEWHERE IN NEW YORK CITY."

CBS ELECTION PREVUE 5-5-5

**********SWITCH TO MOBILE UNIT IN NEW YORK FOR EXACTLY ONE MINUTE
ending on cue:

"WELL, ALLAN JACKSON — WHAT'S GOING ON AT GOVERNOR DEWEY'S HEADQUARTERS AT THE HOTEL ROOSEVELT?"

**********SWITCH TO HOTEL ROOSEVELT FOR EXACTLY ONE MINUTE
ending on cue:

"NOW, HOW ABOUT THE WALLACE HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK? IS ANYTHING DOING THERE, JACK WALTERS?"

**********SWITCH TO WALLACE HEADQUARTERS FOR EXACTLY ONE MINUTE
ending on cue:

"AND THAT'S THE STORY FROM HERE, JOHN DALY".

**********RETURN TO STUDIO 22 ON ABOVE CUE FOR:

DALY: You've heard from just five of our countless CBS News vantage points outside CBS Election Headquarters in New York. Around this nation - from coast to coast - in every major section of the country ....and at several points overseas, veteran CBS news correspondents are at their microphones. Beginning at 8 PM Eastern Standard Time tonight, every one of these men will standby throughout the evening to bring you the full report of this national election. Behind the scenes, a corps of experienced news editors, political experts and accurate tabulators will join forces to bring you this swift and thorough CBS News coverage. In addition to this vast radio setup, we have extensive telephone and teletype facilities to key points in the nation — to keep the results moving directly to you, with the greatest possible speed.

I have moved over to the special horseshoe-shaped news desk here in our CBS Election Headquarters and I want you to meet the man who must coordinate all the many elements of coverage in tonight's complex broadcast. Here's Columbia's Director of News — Wells Church.

CBS ELECTION PREVUE 6-6-6

CHURCH: Thanks, John Daly. If you've ever seen a juggler spinning hoops on one foot, balancing a stick on his nose and tossing a basketful of tennis balls at the same time — then you have an idea of what my work is like tonight. A lot of people might be bothered by a job like that and I might be too — but for one very important reason. And that reason is this: I know that every one of the several hundred CBS newsmen, engineers and reporters is going to be on his toes. These men know their business and that's why this complicated broadcast is a pleasure to do. It's also why you listeners are going to get the best coverage from CBS News.

DALY: Well, I know you're busy, Wells Church....so I'll leave you to your chores....

CHURCH: There's just one thing more, John....CBS is pleased tonight in having, for the first time in radio history, a sponsor of our presidential election returns. We are proud to be associated, in this broadcast, with NASH MOTORS. (PAUSE) Now, John Daly, have you told the people of the very important part you'll play in this Election broadcast?

DALY: No, Ted...but I shall. (DESCRIBE HOW YOU WILL READ THE UP-TO-THE MINUTE RETURNS FROM THE BIG TABULATING BOARD...HOW OFTEN...DESCRIBE THE STUDIO AND TELEVISION SETUP....AND VAMP GENERALLY UNTIL TIME FOR:)

DALY CLOSING: This is John Daly at CBS News Election Headquarters in New York...We've brought you a prevue of what's to follow...just 90 minutes from now...beginning at 8 PM Eastern Standard Time. YOu'll get the festest, most thorough and accurate Election Coverage by staying tuned to

CBS.....THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

STUDIO 'B' NEWS MAP
U. S. ELECTIONS 1st November, 1948

Rehearsal: 5.30/6.00 p.m.
Non.circ. 6.00/7.00 p.m.
Rehearsal: 7.00/8.00 "
Transmission: 9.45/10.15.

Programme arranged by
Jacqueline Kennish
Produced by Mary Adams.

VISION:	SOUND:
Captions: NEWS MAP THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2nd November 1948 THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	Announcer: Tonight in our series News Map, Stephen Laird of Columbia Broadcasting System is here in the Studio to explain the American Presidential Election. With maps of the United States and films he will show how Americans elect their President and will discuss the issues which face them when they cast their votes tomorrow.....
American Flag	~~Gettysburg speech read by an American~~ No sound approximate 10 seconds. "Ballad for Americans" sung by Paul Robeson (final verse about 30 secs) in which Robeson sings list of Nationalities and Religions of U.S.
Telecine: Sequence of film showing panorama of Washington Govt. Bldg., Lincoln Memorial, etc.	Gettysburg speech read by an American. (speech cut.)
Stephen Laird	Laird introducing the programme on election.
U.S. map of 48 States.	Laird comments - America is a continent - population - etc. etc.
Telecine Film showing various aspects of American scene.	Laird introduces and comments on film.
Stephen Laird	Laird describes parties, two-party system, etc. etc.
Bureau of Current Affairs animated graph showing votes for President since 1900.	
Stephen Laird	Laird discusses policies of the three parties....
U. S. Map showing Republican and Democrat strongholds and "floating states'.	

VISION	SOUND
Election posters of Truman, Dewey, Wallace, etc.	Laird describes candidates
Stephen Laird	Laird introduces three Americans who either have absentee vote or will give reason why they will or would vote for respective candidates.
Close-ups C.U. 1st American	American: Why I vote for .....
C. U. 2nd "	" " " "
C. U. 3rd "	" " " "
Laird and three Americans	Laird explains absentee vote and says this is how Americans at home will be voting tomorrow..."The First Tuesday after the First Monday in November...."
Caption: TUESDAY IN NOVEMBER	
Telecine: Tuesday in November - film showing actual process of voting plus animated cartoon explaining structure of American Government.	As Telecine (commentary direct from film)
Stephen Laird	Laird: The issues before voters - Foreign Policy
World Map showing USA in the centre	How it affects Great Britain & Europe
Polar Map of USA & USSR	USA and USSR....
Stephen Laird	Laird introduces Ed Murrow
Laird and three Americans listen	Ed Murrow from New York
Laird	Laird links up between Ed Murrow and cues newsreel shots of Truman Dewey and Wallace at Philadelphia Conventions.
Telecine Newsreel - Truman, Dewey & Wallace	Truman: I accept the nomination,....
	Dewey: I accept the nomination.....
	Wallace: I accept the nomination.....
Caption: U.S.Presidential Election	Announcer:....

FADE SOUND AND VISION.

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION
Head Office : Broadcasting House, London, W.1
Alexandra Palace, Wood Green, London, N.22
TELEPHONE: TUDOR 6420 CABLES: BROADCASTS, LONDON
INLAND TELEGRAMS: BROADCASTS, TELEX, LONDON

Oct 22

My dear Ed

It will be very nice to hear your voice next week — and it's another win of you to do it for us. I've often wished to see you during your occasional visits to London, but somehow never have!

I only wish we could see you next Monday week!

As ever

Mary Adams

HE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION
Head Office : Broadcasting House, London, W.1
Alexandra Palace, Wood Green, London, N.22
TELEPHONE: TUDOR 6420 CABLES: BROADCASTS, LONDON
INLAND TELEGRAMS: BROADCASTS, TELEX, LONDON

P.S. The announcement at the beginning is only to indicate approximately what will be said. It must be more carefully composed and I observe a horrible omission, i.e. your own name. This will, of course, be announced because it is, in fact, the high-light of the programme.

JYK.

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION
Head Office : Broadcasting House, London, W.1

Alexandra Palace, Wood Green, London, N.22

TELEPHONE: TUDOR 6420 CABLES: BROADCASTS, LONDON INLAND TELEGRAMS: BROADCASTS, TELEX, LONDON

22nd October 1948

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I think you have probably heard through our New York office how pleased we are that you are going to take part in our programme on 1st November. I am now enclosing a 'running order' giving the sequence of the programme, but so far without exact timing, because we have been held up over some film material and I cannot time it exactly until next week.

I sent through a message to our New York office, asking them to re-assure you about the coming script and to explain that, in Television Talks, particularly, we do not have written scripts except on very rare occasions, because we try to keep the effect as spontaneous as possible. I shall not be able to see Steve Laird to discuss his commentary more fully until Monday and will then immediately get off to you a resume of what he is going to say and which points he proposes to emphasise.

You will see that you come in almost at the end of the programme, which is logical enough, as we expect from you the last-minute summing up of the situation and any good colour you feel is of interest to viewers here. I would like you to make it clear that you are talking specifically to television viewers. We shall of course arrange through our New York office for you to be cued if, as I very much hope, you can speak direct to the programme, rather than record.

Meantime, if there are any points on the enclosed script which you would like clarified, would you send a message through our New York office and I will attend to them at once.

I would like to add that I think the newsreel shots of the three candidates will make a very good end of the programme, with each candidate announcing from the rostrum his acceptance of the nomination, each acceptance being greeted with tremendous cheers.

Yours sincerely,

Jacqueline Kennish

Jacqueline Kennish

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Head Office : Broadcasting House, London, W.1

Alexandra Palace, Wood Green, London, N.22

TELEPHONE: TUDOR 6420 CABLES: BROADCASTS, LONDON INLAND TELEGRAMS: BROADCASTS, TELEX, LONDON

20th September 1948

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I am arranging a programme on the Presidential Election to be televised on the evening of 1st November. I have asked Stephen Laird if he will take part here and would like to have someone coming in to give viewers an idea of the eve-of-election atmosphere. We would most particularly like to have you do this and I do hope that you will find it possible to accept, because of course I want the programme to be as good as it can be and your name is well-known over here. Mrs Adams, the head of my department, would be very pleased if you would join us in this programme.

If you are able to do so, it may be necessary to make a recording to be sure of good reception here, but that can be arranged later. Meanwhile, would you let me know if you can do this for us and I will then send you a script.

I might add that I did meet you sometimes when you were here during the war, as I was for some years a Time and Life staff correspondent - my name then was Jacqueline Saix.

If possible I should very much like to know at once whether you can accept. Could you cable, or perhaps if you speak to Steve Laird tell him yes or no and follow it up by air mail. I am most anxious to know if you can do this.

Yours sincerely,

Recording 11:00 AM. Jacqueline Kennish

Jacqueline Kennish
Talks Department

Line between 4:30 & 5:00

SEPTEMBER 28, 1948

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION
BROADCASTS, LONDON

FOR JACQUELINE KENNISH MANY THANKS DELIGHTED TAKE PART NOVEMBER

FIRST PROGRAM WILL AWAIT SCRIPT REGARDS.

ED MURROW
NEW YORK

Election night. 11/2/48

Following is two way [redacted] bit between Club 15 and Ed Murrow on election day. Following first number which includes Modernaires and Margeret Whiting and is a combination of "Wintergreen for President" and "Love Is Sweeping the Country We Hear", after applause, the following:

CROSBY On behalf of the Modernaires and Maggie Whitting, thanks...and Mag...

WHITING: Yes, Bob, [redacted]

CROSBY: I wonder who is sweeping the country?

WHITING: Who do you think I am Ed Murrow?

CROSBY: No, you're prettier.

WHITING: Thanks a lot.

CROSBY: But let's find out from Ed Murrow, just what is going on.

WHITING: How do we do that? Just holler, "Hey, Ed Murrow, how is the election going?" and get an answer.

urrow...Crosby show: (Lets have the facts, Ed.

Here they are, Bob. Generally good weather throughout the country... heavy and early voting from most sections of the country. To this moment:

Murrow: You sure do Maggie. ~~particularly when we've ordered special lines and rehearsed our cues.~~ My mother said Edward, never fail to answer a lady, especially when she's pretty

WHITING: Why it is Ed Murrow.

CROSBY: Hi Ed.

MURROW: How are you Robert

CROSBY: How does it look in New York, Ed?

Murrow: Its still pretty early, Bob. The polls aren't closed yet. People are still voting, and other people are counting. The experts say it looks as if it's Dewey. How does it look in Hollywood?

CROSBY: Foggy.- Let's have the facts, Ed.

Murrow: (two minutes facts closes with:) That's the picture at the moment, Bob, I'll be back in ____ minutes with my regular news show.. and more election returns.

INVITATION TO LEARNING

February 6, 1949

CBS Radio Broadcast

Discussion on Ideals of Civilization, based on John Stuart Mill's "Essay on Liberty."

Guests: Lyman Bryson, CBS Counsellor on Public Affairs; Clyde Kluckhohn, Anthropologist and Director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University; and Edward R. Murrow

Script attached

Note: See similar program on June 20, 1954.

F. 559

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Murrow

From George Crothers

Station

December 29, 1948

This is a note to remind you that you have mortgaged yourself for February 6 and the INVITATION TO LEARNING program about "Liberty" ~~as an ideal~~ of western civilization. The point of departure is John Stuart Mill's essay, On Liberty.

Procedure, in case you need the reminder, is for guests to meet in the studio about an hour before they go on the air to talk over the things they wish to include or exclude in the discussion. Broadcast time is 12 Noon to 12:30 PM. When you get here Sunday morning February 6, maybe you'd better check the lobby attendant for the proper studio, although it will undoubtedly be #5 on the 21st floor.

I shall let you know who you will be talking with in addition to Lyman Bryson as soon as I have made that arrangement. I shall also endeavor to get to your secretary, for forwarding to you in Washington, a copy of Mill's essay. I hope you will enjoy doing the job.

George

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F 559-3/48

To Edward R. Murrow

From George D. Crothers

Station

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

February 9, 1949

This is just a note of thanks and congratulations for your good part in the INVITATION TO LEARNING program last Sunday. I assume Mr. Bryson will already have told you that the response (on a program of this sort, obviously small) was this time uniformly of unordinarily high caliber.

Only trouble is now I will be wanting to have you on the program far more frequently than I have any right to ask of you.

George

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

Eng Post

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Jane Knapp

From Joan Platoff

Station

July 18, 1949

Mr. Murrow is on vacation until August 29th, so I'm returning the attached script for your files. It must have been buried under something for some time, for which we apologize.

Joan Platoff

Joan —
you might as well keep it until he corrects it
we cant use it until he does —
JK

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

INVITATION TO LEARNING

JK for use only Lyman Bryson 3.28.49

C/J. dright.

Sunday, February 6, 1949
12:00-12:30 p.m.

ANNOUNCER: The Columbia Broadcasting System extends to you an "Invitation to Learning," an invitation to join three guests as they discuss Ideals of Civilization as revealed in great books. John Stuart Mill's essay on "Liberty" is a classic treatment of the problem - how to maintain order in a complicated society and still keep the liberties and the freedom that we want. Mill's "Essay" and the Ideal of Liberty are the subjects of "Invitation to Learning" today.

Chairman of "Invitation to Learning" is Lyman Bryson, CBS Counsellor on Public Affairs. His guests are Edward R. Murrow, noted news analyst, heard regularly on CBS, and Clyde Kluckhohn, Director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, and author of the just published "Mirror for Man."

For "Invitation to Learning's" discussion of "Liberty" and John Stuart Mill's essay "On Liberty," we hear first from Lyman Bryson.

BRYSON: As in all this series, we are discussing an idea. The book that we have on hand is ~~rather~~ a text from which we can take off, ~~to discuss the idea~~. In rereading Mill, I was struck by the fact that he ~~puts an extreme statement,~~ takes an extreme position on this matter of liberty, which I imagine would not be acceptable to a good many people today because Mill does say, and he says it in so many words ~~practically~~, that governments have no business interfering in the liberties of men even for the good of the men.

MURROW: That's certainly true! It seems to me no one can claim real familiarity with the literature of liberty without reading this book and Mill does another thing that is to me very pleasing. He puts his whole thesis, states his whole case, in a single paragraph.

BRYSON: Makes it easy for students, Mr. Murrow!

MURROW: That's right ... one of whom I am with, as it has been said: The object of this essay, he says, is to assert one very simple principle, as entitled to govern absolutely the dealings of society with the individual in the way of compulsion and control, whether the means used be physical force in the form of legal penalties or the moral coercion of public opinion. That principle is, he says, that the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection, that the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community against his will is to prevent harm to others. It seems to me that he states his whole case there in a single paragraph.

KLUCKHOHN: It's a very nice conception and in the best of all possible worlds I wish that we could have more of it, so to speak.

BRYSON: Not this world, Mr. Kluckhohn?

KLUCKHOHN: Well, that's the trouble! Today, the area within which, in the interests of self-protection, the state has to interfere in order that we can keep such liberties as we stillhave has enlarged enormously, it seems to me.

BRYSON: That is, the state's part has enlarged?

KLUCKHOHN: Yes.

BRYSON: And our liberties have narrowed?

KLUCKHOHN: Our liberties ... yes, yes, let's face the fact, our liberties have narrowed. We can't allow the same degree of individual freedom in the face of certain economic and political situations with which we're faced. That's not a nice thing, but it's true and I think ..... (inter.)

MURROW: Well, why can't we, Mr. Kluckhohn?

KLUCKHOHN: Because if we do allow an absolute conception of liberty, such as Mill talks about, I think the kind of thing that we get is the kind of thing that happened in France in 1940.

MURROW: Well, there have been certain extensions of government control,

certainly, and with some of them I imagine Mill would agree. For example, he lays down the thesis that no penalty should be placed against a man for being drunk unless he be a policeman or a soldier on duty. I assume that under present conditions he would add to that that a man driving a motor car while drunk should be subjected to a penalty.

BRYSON: Or running very intricate machinery of some kind!

MURROW: Right! But as I understand Mr. Kluckhohn, he is saying that it is necessary for the state to encroach more and more on the freedom of action of the individual. Is that right?

KLUCKHOHN: Yes, Mill says liberty consists in doing what one desires. Now, it would be marvelous if we were at the millennium that Confucius talks about in which he says that in the perfect society and with perfect individuals that we would all have to do what we want to do and we would all want to do what we have to do, but we're so far from that, and in this terribly complicated contemporary world of ours, almost anything that I want to do involves you and a lot of other people.

BRYSON: Mr. Kluckhohn, ~~it seems to me that you're saying ... I want to ask you~~ ... are you saying that what Millx said might have been all right a hundred-odd years ago, but isn't all right now?

KLUCKHOHN: It's all right in the abstract, but let's not stay too much in the abstract.

BRYSON: Was it all right practically in Mill's day? The only reason I ask that is because if it was right then I want to know why it isn't right now. Remember Mill said ... Mill said "it is not the business of a government to compel a parent to educate his children."

MURROW: That's right!

BRYSON: ~~Yes,~~ That's an extreme statement. ~~of this.~~

KLUCKHOHN: Yes, and it seems to me that that particular point was wrong because if no one compels you to educate your children then my children and I

grow up in a society of people who are not competent to exercise the privileges of democracy.

MURROW: Yes, but Mill said also that one must do what one wants to do in this ideal society so long as it does not damage someone else.

KLUCKHOHN: Yes, but my point precisely is that Mill ludicrously underestimated the extent to which anybody's action, except in a comparatively small class of acts, necessarily in a world like we have now at any rate, does hold the possibility of damaging other people.

MURROW: Well, aren't you leading us down a narrowing road because roughly a hundred years ago, when Mill wrote this essay, there were broad areas of freedom and, as I understand it, you're saying now that the government is pressing in on both sides, - what is the end result of this? Do we finally come down to where the individual has no freedom left? Is this the result of planning?

BRYSON: Maybe it's the result of development, of science, the result of a more complicated and technological civilization.

KLUCKHOHN: I think inevitably it is a result of that. It seems to me that the only hopeful thing is that to a greater extent we may want to do what it is useful for others that we should do.

MURROW: This seems to me to be a rather dreary prospect because in vast areas of the worldnow the government is controlling and allocating steel, cotton, rubber, building materials - planning.

BRYSON: Let's name one, Mr. Murrow!

MURROW: Well, in Britain, for example.

BRYSON: Which you know so much about! What's happening there?

MURROW: Where civil liberties are, as of now, completely intact. The individual is as free in Britain under Socialism as he is in this country. However, as the planning progresses, as the state tries to do more andmore for the citizen, as more and more elements in the industrial life are controlled, finally,

are they not going to come down to the one element which is not controlled, which is the individual, and then what happens to the individual's freedom?

KLUCKHOHN: Well, that's a very real problem and if in democracies we thought that we already had all the answers, that we had a perfect plan, why, then, certainly, the net result of all of this would be to make automatons of us all, but I think that the strength of British or of American democracy is that both our leaders, and we, the people, feel that we haven't got a perfect way of life. Our strength is ... that democracy leaves in growth further development in the encouragement of, as Mr. Bryson says in his book on science and freedom, in encouraging a wide variety of normalities within our society, the choice between them.

MURROW: Well, as you say, Mr. Kluckhohn, we haven't a perfect or ideal way of life now, but you seem to imply that we're going to plan one and in the course of the planning the individual is going to be reduced to a little dot on a chart or something of that sort. It seems to me that Mill is losing ground all the while.

KLUCKHOHN: No, I don't think we're going to plan one in the sense that we're going to set all of the content of a way of life. We're going to ... we plan in the sense that we set certain conditions. We plan certain trends, but if we set down a complete blueprint, why, then, I say by definition we're not living any more in a democracy, we're living in a totalitarian state.

MURROW: Well, as I understand it, your price for progress is the gradual diminution of the freedom of the individual.

KLUCKHOHN: Not a gradual and progressive diminution. What I say is that we have to face the fact that the act of any one of us is of some significance for the acts of all the others and ..... (inter.)

BRYSON: It seems to me, Mr. Kluckhohn, Mr. Murrow is pressing you a little hard here on a position that I'm not altogether sure you want to take. Do you believe that the necessary progress of our further knowledge about ourselve

and our control over the material forces of nature leads, ~~first~~, to planning and that planning gets to be more and more and more converging, as Mr. Murrow says, on the poor individual until he's just a dot and gets shoved around? Do you really think that?

KLUCKHOHN: I'm afraid I do.

BRYSON: Well, at what point do you stop?

KLUCKHOHN: You stop at the point when the economic and the social situatic permits a greater tolerance of individual variation, that is, in the kind of world ..... (inter.)

BRYSON: A luxury!

KLUCKHOHN: It is a luxury. That is precisely my point. Now, this isn't something I like. This just seems to me to be a fact. It's one that I personally don't like.

MURROW: Well, there we're in agreement. I agree with Mr. Kluckhohn that it's happening, but we don't like it.

BRYSON: ~~Well,~~ What's going to set the limits on it in Britain, Mr. Murrow? It seems to me that this is no longer a merely theoretical discussion for us Americans. We're caught in a secular trend, toward planning and Socialism and so on, and we can watch Britain, which is so much like ourselves, - what is going to prevent over there the pushing of this planning toward the point of actual control over the life of the individual, if anything?

MURROW: I think I have an idea as to what will prevent it. I think Mill, to a certain extent, a lot of people in Britain have read and absorbed Mill and a lot of other writers in the same area. I think another thing will prevent it. I saw it happen the day after Italy declared war, and I think it was the third murder case ever to reach the law lords came up on appeal from the lower courts, an Italian convicted of stabbing a British soldier in Soho. The verdict of the lower court was reversed and everyone, even at a time of tension and emotional crisis as then existed, everyone took it as just normal routine, entirely

to be expected. I think the law is the only thing that will prevent it happening in Britain.

BRYSON: Of course, the law is built so firmly into the habits and almost into the souls of the British people that you might be able to say that about them when you couldn't say it about some others.

MURROW: I think perhaps that's true ... I don't know.

KLUCKHOHN: Even in the case of the British, of course, we run into the business that plagues the whole history of this concept of liberty, that is, is it to be liberty for the particular kinds of things that we in our society want to do, or, is it to be liberty for kinds of expression that are natural to other individuals or to other societies? I mean, even in this very, very noble book, Mill does say "despotism is a legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarians provided the end be their improvement and the means justified by actually expecting that end."

MURROW: Now, of course, Mr. Kluckhohn, you and Mr. Bryson have written more books than I have, therefore, it's possible for me to say that any author is likely to get involved in a contradiction, which Mill did there, of course.

KLUCKHOHN: Yes, but you aren't suggesting that this is just a single contradiction, are you? Surely, this is a note which has run through a great deal of British ... both thinking and behavior on their side.

BRYSON: I was going to say, Mr. Kluckhohn, British practice! ~~because~~ Isn't it true that in the nineteenth century the British achieved ~~two~~, in government, two great ideals - perfect liberty at home and a magnificent empire outside?

KLUCKHOHN: Yes! Do either of you remember what it was Clemenceau said to Lloyd George about this after he came back from India?

MURROW: Well, I think he said something to the effect that the British had given to the Indians a magnificent civil service and an incorruptible judicial service and it provided them with the economic possibilities of enjoying neither one.

KLUCKHOHN: Yes!

MURROW: That perhaps isn't a literal quote but it was in that area anyway.

BRYSON: ~~Well, of course,~~ There's a sharpness there which is partly true and partly Clemenceau, but there isn't the slightest doubt that the British have done just that. They've had freedom at home to the extent, I should say, that nobody else has ever surpassed, is that right? I mean, nobody's ever had more freedom than the ordinary British citizen, up to recently anyway, and ..... (inter.)

MURROW: I would think that's so.

BRYSON: ..... abroad they've been able to impose the good ~~of the~~ on barbarian peoples, but who decides that somebody else is a barbarian?

KLUCKHOHN: On the other hand, let's set the record straight on this point. They also did communicate to the Indians, for example, their conceptions, allowed the Indians, the Indian intellectuals, to make them their own and you see what has happened within the last few years.

BRYSON: Well, it's far from my purpose to make the British in their behavior justify one of their great men, but I do think that Mill got out of the difficulty here by means, Mr. Murrow, of his inconsistency.

MURROW: That is quite true, but leave us turn loose of the lion's tail for a moment, Mr. Bryson, and address ourselves to our own problem in vast areas of the world where we are now administering the affairs of people ..... (inter.)

BRYSON: We as the ..... (inter.)

MURROW: In Japan.

BRYSON: We, ~~the~~ free people at home are an imperialistic people abroad, Mr. Murrow?

MURROW: Well, Mr. Kluckhohn is an expert in that area, I think.

BRYSON: You're not going to commit yourself! (laughter)

KLUCKHOHN: Well, I'm hardly an expert, but I have been in Japan under the occupation ..... (inter.)

BRYSON: May we call you a professional?!

KLUCKHOHN: I suppose so; I haven't got my trade union card here, but there are some fascinating and some rather disturbing things there. If I remember correctly, General MacArthur, the present shogun, is said to have proclaimed the recent election in Japan as a victory for the forces of democracy. I suppose what he really means, or, what he really meant was a victory for the forces of conservatism, that is, in other words, it's like the old business in Tom Jones. When I say the church, I mean the Christian Church and, naturally, I also mean the Church of England, etc., etc., and we do get involved, the best of us, in contradictions. We tend all too often to mean freedom for what we happen to feel is the only right and proper attitude.

MURROW: Well, in connection with General MacArthur's statement, he said that this could be regarded as a triumph for the conservative philosophy of government, which, indeed, it was. It was about the equivalent of an election in Germany which resulted in the Junkers and the big industrialists taking over the Government in the western zone of Germany. Now, I think we'll all agree that that would not be a development that would contribute very much to the solidification of western Germany.

BRYSON: Are you gentlemen saying that in both Germany and Japan, where we have a fairly free hand, we are building institutions which are not democratic and are encouraging those elements in the situation which are not devoted to freedom and that, when we pull out, those will be the people that will be in control?

KLUCKHOHN: Well, once again ... I hate to seem to play the role of reactionary in this discussion, because I don't think I'm completely reactionary ..... (inter.)

BRYSON: You talked like a (? - both speaking - indistinct) good New Dealer a moment ago, Mr. Kluckhohn!

KLUCKHOHN: But let's not talk about Germany and Japan in the abstract. I mean let's look at the concrete realities. It is, it seems to me, clearly in the American interest and in the interest of the things in which the British and

French and American peoples believe that there should not be - anarchy in Japan, that there should be a strong government there. Don't we have to face up to this reality?

MURROW: Well, then, as I understand you again, Mr. Kluckhohn, you are going to plan these Japanese and Germans into freedom and independence whether they like it or not?

BRYSON: By way of an ... of reactionary election!

KLUCKHOHN: Now, don't shake this club of the word "plan" over my head all the time! Everything that we do during most of the day ... what are we trying to do? We're trying to influence the behavior of other people and when you say "plan" that is simply making the thing a little more explicit; insofar as it is made more explicit, it comes into the realm of conscious and critical discussion and human beings all the time are planning for other human beings.

MURROW: And it is also reducing the area of maneuver in which the individual can operate, isn't it?

BRYSON: Well, let me summon Mill to Mr. Kluckhohn's clarification here, if not to his defense. It seems to me Mill meets this, though he doesn't anticipate ~~his~~ its difficulty or its complication, ~~because~~ Mill's objection is not to planning, I think, Mr. Murrow. Mill's objection is to planning exclusively by government because government tends to express only the opinion of the larger group and creativeness, Mill indicates although he doesn't use quite the modern jargon, comes out of the diversity of individuals ~~and the majority, which is what the government ...~~ the opinion of the majority is what the government is going to impose and if the government plans too much, then the individual diversities, which make for progress and change and which can exist only in freedom, are restricted. ~~It's the government.~~

MURROW: Great skill in summation, hasn't he, Mr. Kluckhohn?! (laughter)

KLUCKHOHN: Yes, but he isn't telling the whole truth, I don't think about Mill because Mill tilts not only at the government but against the tyranny of

public opinion.

BRYSON: He certainly does and I accept that addition with great welcome, Mr. Kluckhohn. Of course, he does! One of the most eloquent passages in the essay is where he points out that common opinion, not government, but just common opinion, just the majority of one's neighbors, can be the most insufferable and intolerable of tyrannies, but I think, nevertheless ... and this is the point which I think the people of Europe ... your point of view must necessarily meet if you're going to rest content with Mr. Mill is to indicate howmuch of this planning, which is always going on, and which is always necessary, must necessarily be in the hands of government.

KLUCKHOHN: Yes, but let's not again make a nice high abstraction out of government. You two gentlemen have been talking almost as if there were down in Capitol Hill, in Washington, or something, just out of a chamber there, there spouted plans. Now, plans are made by people and the diversity of humankind, the differences between individuals get a chance, in a democracy at least, to express themselves in making these plans, and the plans are changed.

MURROW: I quite agree with that, but let's see if we can summon Mill to defend the remnants of our liberties now. I'd like to put you a question, Mr. Kluckhohn.

KLUCKHOHN: This is going to be bad!

MURROW: Would Mill favor the outlawing of the Communist Party?

KLUCKHOHN: I don't think that Mill would favor the outlawing of the Communist Party, but I repeat that England in the first half of the nineteenth century and the United States in this year of gracelessness, 1949, are different situations and I appeal to you ..... (inter.)

MURROW: That is quite true! I go along with you there entirely, but I do believe that Mill states the most forceful case that I have seen against the right of the state to query the individual citizen as to what he believes. He defends the right of the state to ask him what he did and to inquire whether

or not he did anything that was harmful to other citizens or to the state and, it seems to me, this is an important area where he states the case better than I have seen it stated elsewhere.

BRYSON: It's a clear distinction!

KLUCKHOHN: Yes, it is a clear distinction, logically, but, once again, are you saying that if an American citizens believes in the Communist Party that this has no implications for action? Come, gentlemen!

BRYSON: Well, now, you're asking Mr. Murrow that question. I'm speaking here for Mr. Mill. Mr. Murrow is speaking for himself.

MURROW: I am speaking also ... I hope! ... for Mr. Mill. I think that if Mr. Mill were to be summoned before the House Committee on Un-American Activities he would probably reply by saying -- "I refuse to state whether I'm a member of the Communist, Republican, Democratic, or Socialist Party because this is not a suitable field of inquiry for the Government." I think if he were questioned as to acts that he might have committed, that ... he states, as a matter of fact, in the essay that he's obliged as a citizen to respond in that area.

KLUCKHOHN: But my point is that that is in fact an academic distinction.

BRYSON: Mill wouldn't think so and you think Mill was wrong, is that right?

KLUCKHOHN: Mill didn't live in the present time!

BRYSON: You think it has become an academic question?

KLUCKHOHN: Yes, and I mean I think this emphasis, segregation apart, belief, is, of course, also a peculiarity of western culture. You take the Christian religion for example. The Christian religion is one of comparatively few religions known to the anthropologist in which people were burned at the stake, or forced out of office and so on, because they said, or refused to say, certain words about belief. In most of the religions of the world it's what you do that counts or the two things, belief and action, are taken as going together, which,

in point of fact, the case of the secular religion like Communism, they do, so that the minute I say that I am a member of a particular organization this has implications for my acts and I say it's artificial to pretend that the state is justified about inquiring about my acts and holding me responsible and not justified in asking about what I believe. The two things are connected.

MURROW: But, Mr. Kluckhohn, Mill deals with that, it seems to me, in a very satisfactory fashion when he discourses at some length on Marcus Aurelius and he asserts that Marcus Aurelius acted more like a Christian than most Christians, but, nevertheless, he persecuted Christians because he believed that it was necessary that they be persecuted.

KLUCKHOHN: For reasons of state!

MURROW: Yes!

BRYSON: When are you going to start ... It seems to me there's the problem, Mr. Kluckhohn, at its worst. When does a tendency ... Mr. Murrow has put this several times, I think it has to be put again ... when does the inevitable tendency that we are discussing here, that we all agree exists, ~~when is it successfully kept~~, when do you stop it from continually moving forward until, as Mr. Murrow says, a while ago, the individual himself finds that he has to take orders?

KLUCKHOHN: It seems to me that you have to ask that in concrete terms, and it's some point on a continuum ... it's not an either/or business, it's not a black-or-white business; it depends upon the political and economic temperature of a particular period; it depends upon the concrete case and I don't think you can give a purely abstract formula. It would be nice to have one, but I don't think you can give one.

BRYSON: Can you depend on men who get into power to hold back at the time when they're going too far?

KLUCKHOHN: You can't always. I think that you can if you have a sufficiently courageous and sufficiently well-informed public opinion.

MURROW: Well, this program is nearing its close, is it not, Dr. Bryson? We have been discussing Mill's book. I purpose to go home this afternoon and read Mr. Kluckhohn's book.

KLUCKHOHN: Thank you, Mr. Murrow!

MURROW: I once participated in a broadcast with an author who couldn't remember the title of his own book. Do you remember yours, Mr. Kluckhohn?

KLUCKHOHN: Oh, yes! "Mirror for Man."

BRYSON: It seems to me whatMr. Kluckhohn has brought here, to this discussion, Mr. Murrow, is a description of the present situation in terms as an anthropologist sees it when he looks around over the world and sees the different situations and different conditions into which men get necessarily affects their principles. I do not completely share the belief that Mill would have become as flexibly adapted to the present situation. I think Mill would be more timid about the future than you are, Mr. Kluckhohn, but that's only my guess and Mill isn't here to say it for himself.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

ANNOUNCER: You have been listening to "Invitation to Learning," Columbia's weekly discussion of Ideals of Civilization as they are revealed in great books. The basis of today's program about liberty was John Stuart Mill's essay - "On Liberty." Lyman Bryson, CBS Counsellor on Public Affairs, had as his guests Edward R. Murrow, noted news analyst heard regularly on CBS, and Clyde Kluckhohn, Director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, and author of "Mirror for Man."

Next week at this time "Invitation to Learning" will examine the Ideal of Wisdom. Joining Mr. Bryson in a discussion of "The Advancement of Learning" by Sir Francis Bacon will be Howard Mumford Jones and T. V. Smith. Two weeks from today the subject of "Invitation to Learning" will be "La Vita Nuova" by Dante.

(CARE announcement)

This is CBS ... Jack Benny's radio address ... the COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Ed.trans.-Adele A. Cardiff

SPECIAL MURROW AUDITION

MARCH 27, 1949

SUNDAY WITH MURROW

INTRO TO SHOW

(.....This is C.B.S....The Columbia Broadcasting System....)

TC #1 A THEME: UP FULL - HOLD - THEN BEHIND

ANNOUNCER: Sunday with Murrow

TC #1 A THEME: UP FULL AGAIN - THEN BEHIND AND HOLD

ANNOUNCER: Sunday With Murrow ... from the pages of a reporter's note book...some thoughts and impressions...on things big and small... a second in history ... perhaps only a footnote to these days in which we live... the recorded word of those who chart our course... and the voices of people who look hopefully toward a better tomorrow... an informal half hour on: Sunday With Murrow

TC #1 A THEME: UP TO FINISH

MURROW: This is Ed Murrow.

The other night, at dinner with friends, we were discussing one of the most carefully protected but temporarily tattered possessions a woman can own: the family pocketbook. And some where in the conversation someone remarked: "I suppose there are lots of things in life that money won't buy - but have you ever tried to buy them without money?" Now it's an economic certainty - surer even than death and taxes - that you can't survive without money. So it would seem that the immediate problem confronting most of us is how to make that dollar stretch, how to get the most out of what we make. The cost of living has been going down...not much...but for five months now it's been heading in the right direction. I even noticed that a Boston department store is going to have a one day's sale this week on men's suits -- 11 dollars, one to a customer. But if food and clothing prices have shown hopeful signs of coming down, rents haven't. This past week, Congress finally succeeded in agreeing on extending rent controls for another 15 months. But there's a provision in that bill which would allow any state, city or even township to end controls at any time with the state governor's approval. Thus, in the long argument over whether rents should be lowered or whether the landlord is entitled to more money, we're back where we started from. About a half year ago, Congress held public hearings on this issue. And the landlord's argument with the tenant then is the same as it is now.

kk

- more -

TC #2B LANDLORD : "I don't begrudge them the right to go down to the racetrack and bet their month's salary if they want to on a bob-tail nag that doesn't even get away from the starting post. But I don't like to be told that when people can do that they can't pay a little increase in rent."

TC #3A MUSIC: TAG

MURROW: To which one of the tenants snapped back:

TC#4B TENANT: "The only animal which tenants have come to be familiar with are the rodents and the vermin which infest the homes of New York City."

TC #5A MUSIC: TAG

MURROW: I think you see what I mean about this new rent extension bill. It leaves the most important question unanswered...and the loopholes are big. Well then, who's to blame for the weak bill Congress has turned over to the President. There's apparently no doubt in Mr. Truman's mind:

TC #6B TRUMAN: "It is a terrible and shocking thing that the real estate lobby which pretends to speak for those whose business is providing homes - has become the real enemy of the American home."

kk

MURROW: This business of lobbying is one of the most abused and widely practiced activities in Washington. And when it comes to lashing the lobbyists, the President need take a back seat to no one. But in this business of lobbying, let's not forget that the government does its share too. Even the President, when he tries to influence legislation, is also a lobbyist. As near as I can make out the word lobbyist is used as a term of opprobrium when you don't agree with the thing the lobbyist is trying to do. If you do agree with him, then he's just a public spirited citizen... deeply concerned about the national welfare... a persuasive character... determined to protect the individual citizen, ...

About four months ago when we woke up to discover Democrats controlling the Senate, the House & the Presidency, there were prophicies (even though the prophets had so recently been confounded).

These prophicies were that this three-horse team would light out down the New Deal highway, hauling the wagon of our destiny behind them. There was even talk about repetition of the first hundred days of slam-bang legislation of the New Deal. The President faced this new Congress with optimism:

mf

TC #7B TRUMAN: "The people have a right to expect that the Congress and the President will work in the closest cooperation with one objective- the welfare of the people of this nation as a whole. In the months ahead I know that I shall be able to cooperate with this Congress."

MURROW: "There is no sadder sight," Mark Twain once said, 'than an old optimist- except possibly a young pessimist." And time was to prove that in the case of Harry Truman Twain was right. The three-horse team got tangled in its harness. There was some doubt as to who was driving. Some wanted to use the whip; others the brake, passing pedestrians warned that there's a bridge out ahead. The first fifty days went something like this: The President wanted 8- hundred million for universal military training. The Democratic Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Representative Vinson said:

TC #8-A VINSON: 8-hundred million dollars must be used for planes!

MURROW: The President said that Marshal Stalin's offer of a new peace conference was nothing but a "political maneuver." The Democratic Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Tom Connally said:

(More)

mf

TC #93 CONNALLY: "Stalin's statement is significant. It is welcomed by those who are anxious to preserve world peace."

MURROW: The President asked for high taxes during those first 50 days. The Democratic Chairman of the two Congressional Finance Committees said "no." The Democratic Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Enery, Sen. Brian MacMahon asked for an exhaustive and thorough study to decide whether Congress should be told how many atom bombs we have. The President said: "The number of bombs will be kept secret, this is not a matter for public discussion." In those 50 days there were enough issues to load the bases and have a man at bat - the only difficulty being there would be at least two men on each base and two at bat. But in spite of these setbacks, the President came out of the dug-out, picked up a big bat and swung:

TC #10-A TRUMAN: "We are meeting determined opposition. The special interests are fighting us as if they never heard of November second. For them the campaign and election are just preliminary exhibition matches - the fight in the Congress is the main issue with them."

le

MURROW: The President may have had a point. But the record of the second 50 days shows that the President and Congress are still not playing on the same team. Mr. Truman wanted 48 combat air groups. The House has approved 70 groups. The President wanted a showdown on civil rights, a showdown on the fillibuster. He got both - and lost. He wanted his good friend Mon Wallgren named Chairman of the Security Resources Board. A Senate Committee killed the nomination. He'll try on this again. He wants a stronger rent controls in the new extension bill. The final bill as I told you a few minutes ago isn't even close to what was asked for.

Thus, in the twilight of what the optimists had hoped would be the "glorious hundred days," confusion has been confounded and it's a little hard to tell who's at bat and who's on first. But the President is still in there swinging. This week he pulled his cap over his eyes and came up to the plate again.

To the Conference of Mayors he said:

TC #11-B TRUMAN: "Of course I differ with the actions of Congress on some points. But basically the Congress and the President are working together and will continue to work together for the good of the country."

(More)

le

MURROW: To which California's Republican Senator Knowland replied in 3 words:

TC #12-B KNOWLAND: "Is he kidding?"

MURROW: It would seem that in politics like baseball, hits and errors look different: much depends upon which side of the grand-stand you're sitting in.

TC #13-A MUSIC: BRIDGE

le

MURROW: Those behind cried forward and those in front cried back. The House of Representatives this week demonstrated that members will vote one way when they can do it anonymously, another way when the individual vote is recorded. The argument which tied up the House for three days, was over a 90-dollar-a-month pension bill for veterans of both world wars when they reach the age of 60. It was fathered by Representative Rankin - against the wishes of the Administration, the Veterans Committee which he heads and most veteran organizations. During the 3 days of debate, members of the House switched votes five times before finally sending the bill back to committee, killing it for this session anyway. No recordings can be made on the floor of Congress, but Mr.Rankin had something to say between courses in the House Cafeteria:

TC #14B RANKIN: "This veterans pension bill was a good bill...a patriotic bill...the veteran deserved it. I tried every trick I knew to get the bill through but they were organized against us and ran over us. That kills the pension. But I'm thinking of proposing a little bonus for the veteran. God knows he deserves it."

kk

MURROW: There is only one conclusion to draw from this exhibition of statesmanship in the House: Congressmen found themselves voting two ways at once: they voted their convictions and they voted their fears - fears of losing votes at the next election. Of course, maybe some of them really changed their minds between the five roll calls - but if so, it was a wondrous mass conversion.

TC #15A MUSIC BRIDGE ("V" NOTE, ENDING ON BOAT WHISTLE)

kk

MURROW: There arrived on these shores this week a most distinguished visitor, full of years and honors - Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill. Mr. Churchill is in many ways the most remarkable man to cross the stage of history during our generation. He is essentially a man of action - it has been in the tense and turbulent days of conflict that his countrymen have placed their destiny in his hands. In some ways and in certain moods, he creates the impression of a precocious and indestructible juvenile. At other times, Mr. Churchill appears to be a combination of an early 18th century cavalry officer and a brilliant student of history. On other occasions it requires but little imagination to picture him with ruffles at his wrist and cutlass at his belt - the embodiment of an Elizabethan pirate. He can be emotional as a great artist, as hard and reckless as a great captain. He can produce a thunderous phrase with an impromptu air, although the phrase has obviously been well rehearsed and calculated. But his was the honor of marshalling and mobilizing the English language in such fashion as to sustain those upon whom the long dark night of tyranny had descended and to inspire those who had yet time to arm themselves and beat it off.

kk

TC #16B CHURCHILL:

"Behind the armies of Britain and France gather a group of shattered states and bludgeoned great races, the Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, the Danes, the Dutch, the Belgians. Upon all of those the long nights of barbarism will descend unbroken even by a star of hope unless we conquer. Yes, conquer we must as conquer we shall... The battle of Britain is about to begin. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in these islands or lose the war. Let us therefore brace ourselves that if the British Empire and its Commonwealths last for a thousand years, men will still say this was their finest hour."

TC #17A MUSIC CURTAIN UP TO FINISH

KK

MURROW: Great as Mr. Churchill's utterances were, I suspect that in the end of the day his place in history will rest upon his respect for the House of Commons, his determination to defend what it represents in accumulated freedom and liberty, in his first loyalty. Mr. Churchill has changed his mind about very few things in the last 50 years. He has not always been right, particularly in his assessment of British public opinion. During the war he would occasionally in a contemplative mood discuss the possibility of laying down the heavy burdens of office when the war had been won - retiring to write and to paint - but when the time came he couldn't do it. He is incapable of quitting. As a wartime leader, Mr. Churchill was indomitable and inflexible. The British electorate concluded that in the changed conditions of peace he would be equally inflexible and so they voted him out of power. But one day...some way...he still hopes to return. It was just three years ago that Mr, Churchill spoke at Westminster College. There he made an impassioned appeal for understanding... for world peace. This week - three years later - he speaks again, this time at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I do not know what he will have to say. But of this I am certain: that he feels today as he did at Fulton three years ago when he said:

kk

TC #18B CHURCHILL: "Let me make it clear that I have no official mission or status of any kind and that I speak only for myself. There is nothing here but what you see. I can therefore allow my mind with the experience of a lifetime to play over the problems that beset us and to try and make sure with what strength I have that what has been gained with so much sacrifice and suffering shall be preserved for the future glory and safety of mankind."

TC #19A MUSIC CUE, MAJESTIC - UP TO FINISH

kk

MURROW: It's a little different down on the farm. You may have to get up early and put in a day's back-breaking work but when day is done there are many compensations- not the least of them being a wild scramble for home on the subway. There's nothing quite like being elbowed, pushed, shoved, trampled, crushed, sworn at and being hit by the door closing you out of the train you risked your life to catch, Listen-

TC & #20B TAPE: SOUNDS INSIDE SUBWAY STATION UP FULL AND UNDER FOR:

MURROW: Those recordings were made ten feet below the ground- in the bowels of a New York Subway station. It's a little different down on the farm. This week, the men responsible for running the subways and hiring the people who run it received a most unusual letter (SOUND OUT) "Gentlemen," the letter began, "I am not in the habit of writing letters like this. But I must tell you that in the 30 years I have been riding your subways I have never come across as polite, as good-humored, as kindly and good natured guard as I did today. I don't know who he is- only his number: 65054. I am writing you from my heart because I feel when a man is lost in a job like that why not say something nice about him if you can!" (SNEAK TC #203 BACK) With a little effort, we located guard number 65054. He's Stephen Dolan... has spent nearly half of his 50 years working underground on the subways... but definitely, very definitely, doesn't feel he's lost in his job. He likes it. Between trains we asked him about that letter-

mf

TC #21A DOLAN: "If you like people... if you talk to them in a friendly way... they'll cooperate with you and they won't give you any trouble. No one's looking for a fight unless he thinks the other fellow wants one. Keep smiling is what I recommend... keep smiling and half the battle's won." (SOUND OUT)

TC #21A MUSIC: CURTAIN TO FINISH.

(MORE)

mf.

MURROW: One week from tomorrow...and one year almost to the day when it was conceived...The Atlantic Pact will be signed in Washington. After it is signed, the Senate will have its first opportunity to take the Pact apart piece by piece. But its ultimate passage is a foregone conclusion. That it will receive bi-partisan support was emphasized again this week... in almost fervid words...by the man who carries the ball for the Republicans on foreign policy, Senator Vandenberg. What are the implications of this Pact as he sees it -

TC #22B VANDENBERG: "It means that if another armed aggressor threatens any or all of us with world war three, God save the Mark, all of us will forthwith unite to stop the aggression before it becomes universal and to defeat it before it becomes a universal conquest. All of us must take that pledge in good faith or it were better that we do not take it at all...I reassert that this is the greatest war deterrent ever devised. No itching conqueror will lightly view such odds. Yet no other nation on the face of this earth needs spend one sleepless night over any sort of menace from this pact unless it is plotting armed aggression against neighbors whose only aspiration is peace with justice and honor in a free world of free men."

kk

MURROW: There is another - equally compelling viewpoint on this important subject. And in the interests of stimulating discussion, I've asked one of the most persistent and able critics of the North Atlantic Pact to be with us. He's James P. Warburg, former banker and expert on international affairs. Jimmy, what's the real essence of your alternative plan -

TC #23B WARBURG: "I propose that we make the clearest commitment we can within the Constitutional process to go to war against the Soviet Union if it attacks any country in Europe outside the Soviet orbit. But I also propose that we make it completely clear that this is a commitment to avenge, to try to liberate, but not necessarily to defend Western Europe against invasion."

kk

MURROW: Then you feel that the real threat to the free nations of Europe is political, rather than military.

TC #24B WARBURG: "Whereas our government's proposal demands as a quid pro quo that the Western European nations shall rearm themselves, my suggestion is that we demand precisely the opposite, namely that the Western European nations shall maintain only such military forces as are necessary to preserve internal order; and shall concentrate their entire resources and efforts on building their political defenses, that is, on achieving economic recovery and political stability."

TC #25A MUSIC RESOLVE

kk

MURROW: When Louis Budenz, no stranger to Communists or Communism, walked into Judge Medina's Courtroom... in the Federal Court house on Foley Square... the eleven Communist defendants smiled. But when Budenz started testifying , the smiles on their faces changed. And the jury... the 14 men and women... turned casually to inspect the first new face they had seen since they took their places in the jury-box. Mr.Budenz talked in clipped accents... he was full of information... he quoted dates and places and names with the ease of one who has been over this time and again. The judge, Harold Medina, was busy as usual, scribbling his own notes. Once he looked down at Mr.Budenz as if he were perhaps a courtroom clerk, about to testify that the grand jury had actually charged the defendants with conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of our government by force and violence. But the calm did not last long. U.S.Attorney General McGooey asked a question... Defence lawyer Harry Sacher objected. Judge Medina said the line of questioning could be taken for granted. Then Sacher, in his best court-room manner, made a typical objection. "Your honor, he said, "nothing this witness says can be taken for granted. McGooey jumped up. "I object," he said," I ask that be striken from the record."

(MORE)

mf

MURROW
CONT'D: The Judge started to say: "Now, what I want to know... "But at this moment one of McGooey's assistants had turned in his swivel chair and said something to Sacher who immediately exploded." I will not be intimidated, " he screamed in a deep voice," I will not be terrorized. That man pointed his finger at me. He told me to shut up and sit down. I will not stand for it. I will not be intimated and terrorized in an American court of Justice." McGooey's assistant shouted back: " I never said or did that." All eyes turned to the bench. In a calm, quiet voice, Judge Medina said: "Mr.Sacher no one is terrorizing you. No one even heard what was said. For nine weeks you have been pointing your finger at me and raising your voice at me. I don't feel you are terrorizing me. I dislike shouting and disorder. Please let these little incidents evaporate." Calm returned to the courtroom. The Jury readjusted itself. The defendants sat back. And the questioning of Louis Budenz went on. It will continue tomorrow.

mf

MURROW: "The age-old struggle, the argument about the individual's relation to the state, his loyalty to the established form of government, continues. There's nothing new about all this...it's as old as history. Subversive activity has at various times engaged the attention of every recorded government. You will find it in the writings of the early Chinese, the Romans and all the rest. The current dilemma that confronts us - how to protect the state and at the same time preserve the constitutional rights of the citizen - this dilemma has an unusual air of urgency about it. (SNEAK MUSIC - TC #26) We live in a perpetual state of crisis these days. Nonetheless many thoughtful and honest people are deeply concerned about finding some formula which will control, or contain potential if not actual traitors, without at the same time placing unnecessary and intolerable restraints upon traditional freedoms. The problem then is how to control Communism without endangering the right of dissent. The primary difficulty arises from the essentially secret and conspiratorial character of the Communist Party. Part of the remedy at least then should lie in exposure - not only the exposure of Party membership lists (coupled with heavy penalties for failure or faking), but also exposure of sources of financial support, plus a detailed accounting of expenditures.

- more -

kk

MURROW: (CTD) If the Party membership were known, if it were a matter of public record, is it likely that any Party member would receive a permit to carry a gun or be allowed employment in government or critical industries? Since the Communists practice secret warfare against this state and society and openly threaten treason in the event of war, it would seem reasonable to require through wholly legal and constitutional means that they identify themselves and the sources of their financial support so that we may recognize them. Even in this present period of mild mass hysteria, we have the time, the security and the stability to seek a sound solution to a difficult problem. No Western Democracy has found the answer. It represents a fundamental problem for American statesmanship."

TC #26A MUSIC UP TO FINISH (PAUSE) THEN SEGUES TO MOOD MUSIC WHICH IS FADED FOR:

kk

MURROW: At headquarters in the 21st Precinct Police Station in New York, there is a half-century old high-ceilinged drably painted room. Through windows, masked by bars, the lights of the city begin to twinkle. Through a rusty oak door, you can see Jim McLeod, Detective First Class, sitting at his desk. He was there yesterday. He's there now. He'll be there tomorrow. McLeod despises the law because it so often favors the criminal. He believes in the quicker justice of club and fist. And it is only his extraordinary intelligence, his incorruptibility, his devotion to duty that saves him from his superiors. McLeod is the central figure in a new and dramatic play which opened this week... Sidney Kingsley's Detective Story. It's an extremely provocative play, as you'll gather from this brief scene- (MUSIC OUT)

mf.

TC #27B GIRL: "Lieutenant, I'd like to give him another chance."

McLEOD: To rob someone else?

GIRL: I wouldn't want this on my conscience.

McLEOD: I know how you feel. But supposing he commits a worse crime. What about your conscience then, Mrs. Bommel?

GIRL: I'll gamble. I'm a gambler. I've bet on horses. Once I'll bet on a human being.

McLEOD: The odds are really against you. Stick to horses.

GIRL: But (he's) going to return the money. And if I'm willing to withdraw the complaint, what difference does it make to you?

McLEOD: It isn't as easy as that. This is a criminal action, not a civil one. Look, we have a very difficult job. We're here to protect the decent orderly citizens like yourself. But we can't get anywhere unless you help us.

GIRL: I thought... give him a break.

McLEOD: I appreciate these human impulses. I'm not a machine... I'm not a bloodhound - I'm human too. But I am a specialist. And I know whereof I speak. When you're dealing with the criminal mind... sentimentality is dangerous, Mrs. Bommel. Dangerous.

GIRL: But if it's a first offense?

(MORE)

McLEOD: How do you know it is. Maybe it's just the first time he's been caught. No. He wouldn't be here at all if it weren't in him... like a disease.

GIRL: Diseases can be cured.

McLEOD: Not this kind, Not by sentimentality anyway.

GIRL: Why are you so vicious?

McLEOD: I'm not vicious lady. I didn't steal your money. He did. You see, Mrs. Bommel here's our problem. We know this is a war - they know it. But you don't. This society we live in is sentimental and soft...soft... and that makes our job here almost impossible. Everything is against us. The law itself is against us. The law itself..strange as that may seem..the law itself. In a hundred ways. And the people? If you knew how we had to massage the average complaintant into doing his simple duty. Most civilians are too lazy or too selfish or too scared or just too indifferent to even want to appear in court and see the thing through. That makes us street cleaners. They have uniforms; we have uniforms. They have a stick, sweep out the streets; we have a stick, sweep out the human garbage; they pile it in wagons, dump it in the East River we pile it in wagons, dump it into the tombs. And what happens? The next day.. all back again. Do you see how hopeless it gets. Look at this sheet, ... long as your arm... I'm sorry Mrs. Bommel...excuse me...I have to get back to work.

TC #28-A MUSIC: BIG FINISH

le

(MURROW'S OPEN LETTER TO COME)

TC #29A THEME: UP FULL AND FADE FOR

ANNCR: You've been listening to Sunday With Murrow... an informal half hour of thoughts and impressions recorded over the course of a week between the pages of a reporter's note book... Round about this time next week, try to be with us again... on your calendar we hope you'll write: Sunday With Murrow.

TC #29A THEME: UP FULL AND FADE FOR

ANNCR: This is CBS... the COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

TC #29A THEME: UP AND OUT.

mf

SHALLMAR, MARYLAND BROADCAST

December 13, 1949

Responses to a broadcast plea for economic help for a small mining town, Shallmar, Maryland, which had become destitute. Some letters from poor people with $1 and $2 contributions, with heartfelt letters - human interest material. List shows total of $953 collected. Grateful letters from "the people of Shallmar," February 6, 1950, written by J. Paul Andrick, Principal, Shallmar Elementary School. Some donors suggest sending Campbell Soup products as Campbell Soup was the sponsor for Murrow's programs.

Copy

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR SHALLMAR RECEIVED AT EDWARD R. MURROW'S OFFICE

Contributor	Address	Amount
~~Cash and checks made out to E.R.Murrow~~		
Elsie G. Richardson	25 Lennox St., Brookline, Mass.	$ 5
Mabel Burkham	31 Easterly Ave., Auburn, N. Y.	5
Mrs. Lewis A. Burtch	1220 Park Dr., Bakersfield, California	10
Clara F. Wadleigh	122 Pleasant St., Arlington 74, Mass.	5
W. M. Doulin	Barbison Plaza Hotel, 101 W.58th St.,N.Y.	10
Josephine Dunn	650 Bucklin, La Salle, Illinois	10
James Weber	40 Fullerton Pky, Chicago 14, Ill.	5
Mrs. James H. McNulty	121 Chapin Parkway, Buffalo 9, N. Y.	100
Harry Klingler	1625 East Washington Lane, Phil., 38, Pa.	5
Frieda Brize	518 Broad Ave., Ridgefield, N. J.	5
John N.C. Cameron	DuPont's, 4141 Dennis St., Houston4,Texas	5
Mrs. Horace Myers	St. Lukes Hospital, Boise, Idaho	5
F. L. Creegan	728 South Eddy, Fort Scott, Kans.	5
James Musson	178 Fairview Avenue, Westwood, N.J.	10
Lacy R. Jackson	491 East Gravers Lane,Chestnut Hill,Phil.8 Penna.	5
Maurice Bower Saul	Saul, Ewing, Remick & Saul, 2301-17 Packard Building, Phil. 2, Penna.	100
Mrs. George W. Lane	5062 Waterman Ave., St. Louis 8, Mo.	200
Mrs. Wesley C. Gilchrist	461 N. Maryland Ave., Atlantic City, N.J.	2
Mr. George K. Warner	Engineered Lighting Sales Company, 2422 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, O.	10
Sam Sklar	3401 E. Bermuda, Tucson, Arizona	10
Nogano Nishimoto	606 W. 115th St., N. Y. 25, N. Y.	5
Miss Marion Satterlee	136 E. 36th Street, N.Y. 16, N. Y.	5
Mrs. R. C. Schumacher	17009 Madison Avenue, Lakewood, Ohio	15
	Total, Page 1	$537

Contributor	Address	Amount
Page 1 Total Carried Over		$ 537
Mrs. A. W. Paull	Woodsdale, Wheeling, W.Va.	25
Dexter R. Hopf	Christmas Lake, Excelsior, Minn.	10
Virginia M. Odell	127 Lakewood Ave., Roosevelt, N.Y.	2
R. A. Townsend	R.A.Townsend Coal Co., Alpena, Mich.	2
Dr. Arthur Zentler	Cherryknoll, R.D.2, Coraopolis Heights, Pa.	2
Mrs. M. D. Brice	43 Dell Place, Minneapolis 3, Minn.	5
John E. Olson	P. O. Box 1592, Ft. Benning, Ga.	5
Mr.& Mrs.C.A.Betteridge	5449 Chicago Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.	5
Mrs. Estelle E. Bekoff	919 N. Sixth St., Phil. 23, Pa.	30
Mr.&Mrs. Clyde R. Bacher, Jr.	1020 Hillsboro St. Pittsburgh, 4, Pa.	5
Mrs. David Tilden Sanders	280 Linden Park Pl., Highland Park, Ill.	10
Renee T. Levin	4901 Spruce St.Apt.B-307, Phil., 39, Pa.	5
Colorado City Jr.Chamber of Commerce	by Beeman Dockrey, President	25
Robert R. Joyce	127 S. 5th St., Phil. 6, Pa.	5
George Barbiani	306 E. Main St., Patchogue, N.Y.	1
L. F. Rhoads	Ithan Mill Farm, Bryn Mawr, Pa.	10
Enid Crosby	No address given	25
F. R. Kattenberg	160 South Middle Neck Rd. Great Neck, N.Y.	5
Henry P. Widrich	18676 Griggs, Detroit 21, Mich.	10
Mrs. Edmund W.Miller, Jr.	Inverness, Palatine, Ill.	5
Frank B. Morris	88 Park St., Portland 3, Me.	2
Mildred S. Wolfert	66 W. Fourth St., Oswego, N.Y.	5
Mabel A.MacKinney Smith	Hotel Gramercy Park, 52Gram.Park North, N.Y.	5
Elvira J. Slack	" " " " " " " "	5
Mr.&Mrs. Robert Begg	Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg,Va.	10
	Total, Page 2	$756

Contributor	Address	Amount
Page 2 Total Carried Over		$ 756
Mrs. F. A. Faust	5049 Lindenwood Pl., St. Louis 9, Mo.	1
Mrs. Georgia Carpenter	Desert Trailer Village, 432 East Andreas Rd., Palm Springs, Calif.	2
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Hood	108 W. 8th St., Kannapolis, N. C.	2
Lula B. Pearrell	Box 72, Martinsburg, W. Va. R #1	1
Mrs. David A. Berger	2447 Lee Rd., Cleveland Heights 18, Ohio	2
Mrs. Henry P. Drake	3136 Niagara Avenue, Wayne, Mich.	2
James F. Shea	255 West 88th St., New York 24, N. Y.	10
Carmelo Poiia	132 Franklin St., Rumford, Me.	1
Mrs. Mabel Whitty	Miriam Osborn House, Harrison, N. Y.	1
Tony Silvestri	26 Kimball St., Providence, R. I.	1
Eliza A. Hawkesworth	308 Third Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.	1
Sophie Perkins	118 - 7th St., McKeesport, Pa.	5
Augustus J. P. Gallagher	1106 Commonwealth Bldg., 1201 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.	5
Edwin & Jean Thomas	No Address	2
Mr. & Mrs. Prescott Cleveland	5025 Russell Ave., So., Minneapolis, Minn.	5
Mrs. Robinson White	Oak Grove, Va.	5
Mrs. Nellie Day	3722 Lowell Avenue, Chicago 41, Ill.	5
C. E. Feigel	Rapid City, S. D.	5
Mrs. John J. McNabb	476 Scarsdale Road, Crestwood, Tuckahoe 7, N.Y.	2
L. A. Stern	745 Buena, Chicago, Ill.	2
Mrs. Janet Taylor	8050 W. Alameda Pkway, Denver 14, Colo. Rt 7 Box 592	1
Ellis Deen	835 N. Watkins, Memphis, Tenn.	5
Mrs. Robert Calvin	Glenburn Road, Clark's Green, Pa.	2
Mrs. Alice M. Brautigam	Route 4, Mercer, Pa.	1
Arch Carson	1213 Seelbach Avenue, Louisville, Ky.	1
	Total, Page 3	$826

Contributor	Address	Amount
Page 3 Total Carried Over		$826
Mrs. Marriet Lichtenstein	4 Johnson Place, Norwich, Conn.	5
B. Morrison Damon	Pleasant Valley Road, Friendship, N.Y.	1
Mrs. David H. Terrell	433 Thames St., Newport, R. I.	1
	No Address	1
R. C. Abbott	335 No. 33 St., Lincoln 3, Neb.	1
Anonymous		22
Checks made out to J. P. Andrick		
Mrs. Lee J. Stuchlik	Box 42, Colon, Nebraska	2
Fred Friendly	370 First Ave., New York 10, N. Y.	10
Mrs. Hans Zinsser	236 E. 72 St., New York 21, N.Y. Apt. B	10
Mrs. Aaron Bodenweiser	5459 Everett Ave., Chicago 15, Ill.	2
Robert Mathes	639 Hampshire St., Quincy, Ill.	10
Joseph M. Boland	Hotel Statler, Buffalo, N. Y.	5
Beth & Dick Koff	110-34 -- 73 Road, Forest Hills, N.Y.	5
Harry L. Williams	5621 N. Post St., Spokane 12, Wash.	2
John A. Lemly	248 E. 49th St., New York, N. Y.	5
Grace E. Leland	1746 N. Orange Dr., Hollywood 28, Calif.	5
R. E. Kennedy	511 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.	25
Chris J. Walbran	Golden Rule Farm, Box 39, Reeds Ferry, N.H.	5
Mrs. John F. O'Walley	P.O. Box 333, Wauneta, Nebraska	5
Jeremiah Burke	5158 Carrollton Avenue, Indianapolis 5, Ind.	5

TOTAL AMOUNT RECEIVED $953

Form

LETTER OF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT TO GO TO THOSE CONTRIBUTING MONEY FOR SHALLMAR

I am happy to acknowledge receipt of your generous contribution of $— to the people of Shallmar, Maryland. Your gift is being forwarded to Mr. J. P. Andrick, Principal of the school at Shallmar, who is in charge of distributing all such gifts. We have been in touch with Mr. Andrick, and he has asked us to express to you the heartfelt thanks of the people of Shallmar. He is planning to write to you personally in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

DECEMBER 14, 1949

Shallmar, Md., Island of Poverty in the World's Wealthiest Nation.

THIS IS THE MAIN STREET of Shallmar, Md., a village of fifty-four families which sprang up around a coal mine that has not operated in nearly nine months. The desperate plight of the community came to general attention after a schoolteacher dismissed classes because of the lack of food and warm clothing for the children. Townspeople depend for income entirely on the mine, which is not operating because its inferior coal cannot compete with better grades more cheaply produced elsewhere. Gifts of food and clothing poured into the village when the story of Shallmar's poverty plight got into the newspapers—(Wirephoto).

ONE LITTLE G
clothing was distribu
2-year-old Jean Ann
from, she can't
omitted in entior

$1 cash ✓ 1/16/50

Nov 13-49

Mr Edward R Murrel

Dear Sir I Listen To your Program Every night I have a taught in mind To help Thos Pore Pepel at Shalmyre Wold it Be asking To much not of you To tell Everyone on the air To send you 5 cents as a Dol nation to see That those Pore Pepel have a Xmas Let not Disapoint thos Kids All Dol nations Be sent To you To send To them This is America Let Dont Let them Down here is 100 To start it off With I new of no one Else to ask a Listner Arch Carson Carson Jeffersville 1213 Seelbach ave Ky

1/9/50 ✓

25 LENOX STREET
BROOKLINE, MASSACHUSETTS

December 12-49

Dear Lee Morrow
This Small check is
the result of your Broad. Cast
tonight –
Sincerely
Elsie G. Richardson

Check #5

✓ 1/10/50

Tues eve
Dec 13-49

Mr Ed Murrow

Dear Sir

Am enclosing a mite for a mite in Shallman Md. Thank God for people like you who bring to us knowledge of a condition of which we should be ashamed.

Wish I could send more

Gratefully
Mrs David A Berger
2447 Lee Rd
Cleveland Heights 18 Ohio

Cash $2.00

No address / Dec. 13-1949

Dear Sir:

Enclosing just a couple of dollars which I hope will buy just a little food for a hungry child. cash $2

Also enclosing a promise of prayer to help the situation in Thelmar, Md.

Yours truly,

Edwin & Jean Thomas

Chicago, Ill.

1/10/50

Miriam Osborn Home, Harrison, N.Y.

December 13, 1949

Cash $1

Dear Mr. Murrow,

[redacted]

to insert the school master's [redacted]

enclosed letter and forward it after reading and sealing it. Sorry to trouble you but, being old, I did not clearly hear the name when you gave the address this evening.

Thank you for this service and also for the daily pleasure of your broadcasts.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mabel Whitty

Please correct the address if incorrect

Miriam Osborn House, Harrison, N. Y.
December 13, 1949

To the Schoolmaster
Shallmar, Maryland

Dear Sir,

I enclose one dollar as a small contribution toward the Christmas fund of which Mr. Edward R. Murrow, the radio newscaster, spoke this evening.

Being an elderly woman, living in a Home for aged women, my hearing is somewhat dull and I did not hear your name clearly when Mr. Murrow gave the address, so I am sending ~~it~~ my bit to him to forward to you. I hope it will help to bring pleasure to the children of your school.

Sincerely yours,
(Mrs.) Mabel Whitty

• Please Address Your Reply To . . .

HARRY KLINGLER
1625 EAST WASHINGTON LANE
PHILADELPHIA 38, PA.
EAST GERMANTOWN POST OFFICE

PHONE: LIVINGSTON 9-4050

1/9/50

12/13/49

Check $5

Mr. Edw R. Murrow
New York. N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed please find check for $5.00 which I would appreciate you using towards buying some food for the folks in Maryland.

Very Truly yours

Harry Klingler

1950

518 Broad Ave.
Ridgefield, N.J.

Check #5-

Dear Mr. Murrow:

This is a small contribution towards some Christmas cheer for the distressed citizens of the American city mentioned in your broadcast tonight. I did not know how else to send it and feel sure you will receive many others to forward to Shalamar(?).

With appreciation for your fine news-casts, and Holiday Greetings,

Sincerely,
Freda Brige

December 13, 1949

✓ 1/10/50

255 West 88th St
New York N.Y.
Dec 13th — 49 —

Cash

Dear Mr Murrow —

Please accept one $10

use the enclosed $10.00 to buy some Campbell Soups for the Miners at Shadman, Maryland —

Your assistance in the matter is most greatfully appreciated by

Very truly Yours
James J McShea

1/9/50

St Luke's Hospital
Boise Idaho
December 13-1949

Mr Edward Murrow.
Columbia Broadcasting Co
New York City.

check
5.

Dear Sir.

Will you please pass on the enclosed check to the little town you told about in your broadcast this evening. I did not get the address as you broadcast it but feel sure you can pass it on.

Sincerely
Ruth G. Myers.
(Mrs Horace)

Henry P. Widrich
18676 Griggs
Detroit 21, Mich.

1/10/50

December 13, 1949

check
$10

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Just heard your broadcast over WJR in Detroit regarding the community in Maryland. Unfortunately I did not have a pencil handy to write the exact adress down, would you please be kind enough to forward this check to the community to buy some fresh milk for the children.

Sorry to have troubled you, I remain,

Very truly yours,

Henry P. Widrich

Henry P.Widrich

1/9/50

For the people of Shallimar.

C.B.S. Broadcast. Dec. 13/49

Check $.

MRS. LEWIS A. BURTCH
~~ROUTE 6 BOX 175~~
BAKERSFIELD, CALIFORNIA
1220 Park Dr.

✓

122 Pleasant St.
Arlington 74, Mass.

1/9/50

Dear Mr. Burrows -

In your broadcast Tuesday evening, we failed to hear correctly, the name of the school-master at Shalmar - so have to send our bit of help, through you. (Wish we could make it 5000.!) Had hoped you would tell us again, last evening - Perhaps you will report again, some time? We always listen with great interest to your fifteen minutes.

Very sincerely
Clara F. Tadleigh

Arlington, Massachusetts
December 18

Check $5

1/10/50

13 Dec 1949

Edward R Murrow.

Check #5

Dear Sir:

My two boys Mike & Doug would like you to forward this gift to help make a happy Christmas for their friends in Shalmar Md.

Michael & Douglas Miller

Mrs. Edmund Welch Miller, Jr.
Inverness
Palatine, Illinois

PARTY BOATS

Phone ~~5-1029~~ 59905

ESSO MARINE GAS

1/11/50

GILCHRIST'S
FISHING CENTER
BAIT - FISHING TACKLE

461 N. Maryland Avenue
Atlantic City, N. J.

Dec 13 - 49

Dear Mr Morrow,

Enclosed is check for $200 for the town of Shallmar.
a little help towards a Xmas dinner for
those little children. And I also have a
beautiful green coat to fit a 12 yr old girl. Please
let me know if they could use it & I will
send it to some child for Xmas.

Sincerely yours.

(Mrs) Wesley C. Gilchrist

461 N Maryland Ave
Atlantic City NJ

1/11/50

3401 E. Bermuda
Tucson, Arizona
Dec. 13, 1949.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
C. B. S.
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Your story of the plight of the miners in Shallmar, Maryland must have gripped the hearts of all who heard you, and I am sure that many will want to help.

Enclosed you will please find my check for Ten Dollars ($10) which is my contribution toward the ~~help of these unfortunate~~ fellow citizens.

But in my humble opinion, charity alone will not be the solution for this situation. After the money, food and clothing has been used up, then what?

I know you must be a very busy individual, but ~~you~~ should you find time to give consideration to the administration of a fund that may be raised, may I suggest that thot be given to the factors of Relief, Rehabilitation and Resettlement?

Yours very truly,

Sam Sklar

Sam Sklar

"SHELL OUT FOR SHALLMAR"

1/10/50

Tuesday
Dec. 13 '49

$1.

Dear Mr. Murrow, Cash

Enclosed please find $1.00 - Will you see that it goes to buy milk for some of the youngsters of Shallmar, Maryland.

My own two boys are 20 months & three months old. Their little bodies are so strong and straight -

terrible situation in Shallmar - a town in the U. S. - Not somewhere in Europe or Asia where most of us are inclined to think of starving people.

I wish this bill could be much greater, but perhaps if we all help a little the children & grownups of Shallmar will

because they get plenty of good food. The baby has been eating strained meats since he was two months old. We know that we are very lucky to have healthy children, and to be able to give them the milk, vitamins and foods that they need for growth.

Thank you for telling us, your listeners, of the

have enough food
for the winter.

Your presentation
of the news is so
clear concise and
interesting.

Yours sincerely
Gertrude G. Faust

Mrs. F. A. Faust
5049 Lindenwood Pl.
St. Louis 9. Mo.

1 Dec 13 1949 1/11/50

Mining Town in Peru

Cash

Dear Sir;

I was so hurt #5
to know that in
the United States
they allow people
to starve.
Will you please
forward this
money to these
poor miserable
people as I did
not get the name
of the School Teacher
from that area

over

perhaps other fami-
-lies will share
five dollars from
Xmas presents for
these poor people
I am asking you
listeners to do it
now send five
dollars you will
never miss it
Here's mine
Sophie Perkins
118 - 7th St
McKeesport
Penn.

Re: Shallman

1/11/50 Check $30 ✓

TELEPHONE
MArket 7-6786

CABLE ADDRESS
BEKSIXFIL

E. E. BEKOFF, I. C.

Export & Import

919 N. SIXTH STREET, PHILADELPHIA 23, PA., U. S. A.

12/13/49

Dear Mr Munroe

Pardon pencil - I was in every day
confined to sick bed to call you
studies I hope Mr Jefferson understood
me I have cold + sore throat

Sending my little bit - Will
you please ask Mr Andrich - if
he can use Campbell Soup? I
think it's real a number of them to
donate their time to such a worthy
cause)

Please use the $30 to send
Campbell Soup or anything else
you designate and send me bill
for telephone calls to my apt + transportation charges
for food sent to Shallman & I'll remit.

Thank you for the privelege
of helping you help so worthy a
cause. I'm spreading the news
around + then back to bed
Kne: ck — Bless you

Sincerely, Estelle E Bekoff

1/11/50

43 Dell Place
Minneapolis 3, Minn.
Dec. 13, 1949

Check 45

My dear Mr. Murrow:
Enclosed is my check for $5.00. Will you please send it to the school teacher at Shallmar Maryland about whom you spoke on your broadcast tonight.
I did not get the man's name. That is why I am sending the check in your care.

Yours truly,
(Mrs M. D.) Pamelia W. Bruce

1/11/50

P.O. Box 1592
Ft. Benning, Ga.
13 December 1949.

Mr Edward R. Morrow
C.B.S.
New York, N.Y.

Check
$5.

Dear Mr Morrow,

I am enclosing a check for five dollars ($5.00) which will, I hope, bring a small measure of relief to the suffering in Shallmar, Md. Your reference to a diet of "cabbage soup and potatoes" brought poignantly, but not pleasantly to my mind the three and a half years of my life that I spent on a diet of turnip-top soup and rice as a "guest" of the Emperor of Japan after the fall of Bataan. I hate the thought of people in our country being reduced to such straits.

A favorite quotation of mine - one I found quite apropos when I was incarcerated is as follows:

"A warm cottage, a flickering open fire, a hot dough cake and other simple delicacies eaten in the com-

of real people who were living a normal family life - not a crowd of men who had been forced to live together by war; to a soldier who had loved his own home, this was true happiness."

I do not know the author - perhaps it is Blandings.

Very truly yours,
John E. Olson

Zimmerman Lith Cincinnati, O.

1/11/50

Hotel Carlton

EUROPEAN PLAN

NEW FIREPROOF

~~ROCHESTER, MINNESOTA~~

Christmas Lake
Excelsior, Minn
Dec 13. 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow:

Check
$10.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

This may not be the first but I hope its among the first for the cause of the people of Stalner.

This small amount plus a like amount from just a small percentage of your many listeners could make for a Merry Christmas for those people.

Yours very truly
Dexter R. Hoff

CAFETERIA — COFFEE SHOP — LOUNGE

1/11/50

Minneapolis, Minn.
Dec. 13, 1949

Mr. Edwin R. Murrow,
c/o Columbia Broadcasting Co.
New York, N.Y.

Check
$5

Dear Mr. Murrow,

Please find enclosed a check for five dollars from my wife and I, to be ~~used~~ added to other donations, which I am sure you will get for those poor destitute folks in Shellmar Md. which we heard you tell about on this evenings broadcast.

Cordially Yours

Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Betteridge
5449 Chicago Ave.
Mpls. Minn.

1/11/50

4901 Spruce Street (Apt.B-307)
Philadelphia 39, Pa.
December 13, 1949

Check $5.

Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasing System
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

(We feel that we can be so familiar because you have been a guest in our living room everynight for years. To say that we think you are the best newscaster in the business is irrelevant at this point.)

We were deeply touched by your description of the plight of the village of Shallmar, Maryland, in your broadcast tonight. Especially revolting was your sponsor's mouth-watering commercial announcement immediately following this. We would be very happy if you were able to announce on some future broadcast that the Campbell Soup Company was sending a suitable quantity of soup or other food to these unfortunate people. Surely they must have sizeable quantities of merchandise unsalable because of torn or misprinted labels, bent containers, etc., even though the foodstuffs therein are in perfect condition, and this merchandise should certainly be welcome in this hungry little town. We might also point out that Campbell's gives away countless cartons of soups or other foodstuffs to contestants on their daily radio quiz show, and we feel sure that these contestants are not exactly starving. A gesture of the kind we are hoping for would certainly net Campbell's a great deal more in good-will than it could possibly cost them in soup (and they won't be paying 15% to their agency!)

If you think this is a good idea, please pass it along. Enclosed is our small check for you to pass along to the proper person in the village.

Very sincerely yours,

Renée J. Levin

P.S. We do like your sponsor, their products, programs, and commercials, and are merely trying to be helpful.

1/16/50

MRS. LEE J. STUCHLIK
BOX 42
COLON, NEBRASKA

12/13/49

Check
$2

Edward R. Morrow
c/o Franco-American
Radio Program
C.B.S
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Morrow. —

I am sorry to bother you but I didn't catch the State where Shallmer is, the deathtrap coal town you spoke of Tuesday night on your marvelous program. Hence, I am sending this check to you for forwarding to the proper place. I don't suppose

you'll ever see this letter, as you are such a busy person, but I can't tell you how much I enjoy & benefit from your program. If we only had more persons of influence with your tolerance & understanding & intelligence — Thank you so very much for your helping any rebending the whirl of current events. Thanks too, for forwarding this check.

Sincerely

Phyllis F. Slinkskik
(Mrs L. J. Slinkskik)

December 13, 1949.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Will you be good enough to forward the enclosed cheque in the amount of $25 to the person in charge of relief for those miners in Maryland. I did not get the man's name and am not sure of the name of the town. I am sorry to put you to any bother. Enclosed is a stamped unaddressed envelope. I am omitting my address so that not one will feel impelled to write thanks.

My warmest thanks to you for all the broadcasts through all these years. If you ever say black is white I shall try to find a way to believe it.

Merry Christmas.

Bing Crosby

No address

$5 check 1/16/50

✓

3722 Lowell Ave.,
Chicago
December 13, 1949

Dear Mr. Murrow,

On your broadcast last night you told of a school principal in Maryland who needs help in making Christmas plans for the youngsters in his town. Will you see that he gets this, please? Thank you for that story.

Sincerely,

The Day Family

{ May we have the name of the principal and his address, please, also?

1/16/50

110-34 73rd Road
Forest Hills, N.Y.

December 13, 1949

Dear Mr. Murrow,

We are enclosing a check for $5.00 which we hope you will forward to the proper authorities in Shallmar, Md.

We are sending this to you in the hope that, if you receive enough money, you will be able to make arrangements with the Campbell Soup Co. for the town to purchase some of the Campbell products in wholesale quantities.

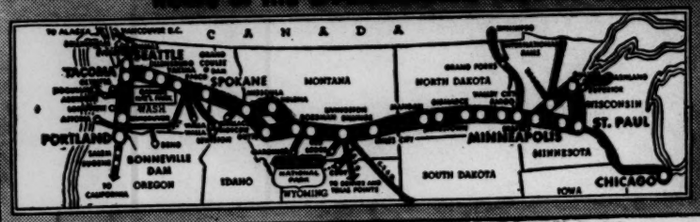
This way we feel every dollar will be used to its fullest advantage.

It is gratifying to know we can help people less fortunate than we. Thank you so much for this opportunity and for the fine work you are doing.

Sincerely,

Betty and Dick Kaff

NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY



HARRY L. WILLIAMS
5621 N. Post Street
SPOKANE 24, WASHINGTON
FAirfax 2-[illegible]

11/17/50

Andrick

Dear Mr Murray

Thank you for Postal Order

your Brand Cat 13th ult pls
fill in face of enclosed
Postal Note and forward to
proper person in Murray town
you refered to, I didn't
catch the address, wish I
could send let more. Thanks
for passing it on, I have never
met you. Cent Know Larry
well for many years
I wish you and he a Merry Xmas

Harry L Williams

SHIP AND TRAVEL NORTHERN PACIFIC

F-6860

Printed in U.S.A.

1/11/50

Pittsburgh, Pa
Dec 13, 1949

Check $5.

Mr Ed Murrow -
C.B.S -
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr Murrow

I listen regularly to your nightly news commentary, and enjoy it very much.

Last night I heard your story about the destitute town of Shallmar Maryland, & its plight. I didnt get the name of the school teacher quickly enough to write it down - so I am enclosing a check for $5.00 to you, & will appreciate it if you will forward it to him to use as he sees fit in his campaign of mercy.

I would like to stipulate that it be used to help give the kids a little something for Xmas as they feel it most at that time but I believe he will be able to use it in the way he sees best.

I wish I could send a hundred times as much, but just completed schooling under the G.I. bill a year ago. so times are still a bit rough for us. However - I dont believe I could enjoy my Christmas if I didnt make some little contribution to those more unfortunate.

Once more - thanks for your fine programs & thanks for publicizing the town of Shallmar so we can help.

Sincerely
Mr & Mrs Clyde R. Bacher Jr.

CLYDE R BACHER JR.
1020 Hillsboro St -
Pgh 4, PA.

Postal Note

$5-

127 S. 5TH St
Phila 6, Pa.

Dear Mr Merrow

Would you kindly forward this little donation to the town of Shallmar Md.

Respectfully
Robert H. Joyce

1/11/50

✓ 1/16/50 Andrick

12/13

Dear Mr Murrow

Thank Check

Please send this $5

small token to our

deserving friends

in Shaelman, Md -

Thank you,

John A. Lemly

248 E 49 - NYC

AIR MAIL

1/16/50

Dec 13-1949

Mr Ed Morrow
Columbia Radio Station
N.Y. City N.Y.

Andrick
Blank check
#5

Dear Mr Morrow:
I just listened to your broadcast about conditions in Shaftsmar - I couldn't find pencil in time to get address so I am enclosing a small check. Please send it on to that Party in Charge you spoke of.
I have no very little myself - in fact I don't know how I'll get up after 1st of year, but when you spoke of those babies getting a can of milk every other day it makes me positively ill to think of this wonderful land of Plenty. Some having so much, others so little, but out of my little maybe this check may bring a little Xmas to some of those babies
Sincerely
Grace E. Leland
1246 N Orange Dr. Hollywood 28 Cal.

MAURICE BOWER SAUL
WALTER BIDDLE SAUL
JOSEPH NEFF EWING
RAYMOND M. REMICK
JOSEPH A. LAMORELLE
EDWARD A. G. PORTER
FRANCIS H. BOHLEN, JR.
ALLEN S. OLMSTED, 2ND
EDMUND R. FINEGAN
THOMAS PRICE MIKELL
JOHN KENNEDY EWING, 3RD
WILLIAM H. S. WELLS
HARRY E. SPROGELL
F. A. VAN DENBERGH, JR.
HENRY C. REMICK
ROBERT W. SAYRE
GORDON W. GABELL
C. WALTER RANDALL, JR.
EDWARD M. DAVID
ANDERSON PAGE
WILLIAM C. ELLIOTT
WARD M. FRENCH

CABLE ADDRESS: BIDSAL
TELEPHONE: RITTENHOUSE 6-7777

LAW OFFICES OF

SAUL, EWING, REMICK & SAUL

2301-17 PACKARD BUILDING

PHILADELPHIA 2

WASHINGTON OFFICE
WARD M. FRENCH
SUTHERLAND G. TAYLOR
720 DUPONT CIRCLE BUILDING
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
HUDSON 6401

1/9/50

December 14, 1949.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
CBS,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am enclosing check for $100.00 as a contribution to help the citizens of Shallmar, Maryland, mentioned in your broadcast of last night. Will you kindly see that the money reaches the proper person?

Very truly yours,

Maurice Bower Saul

MBS C
Enclosure

1/16/50

Dr. Arthur Zentler
Cherryknoll
R. D. 2 Coraopolis Heights, Pa.
Coraopolis [redacted] 4-5891

Dec. 14-1949

Check

Dear Mr. Morrow:

I am sorry to have missed the exact name to whom the donations are to be sent for the schoolchildren in Rhodesia of which you spoke last night over the radio.—

May I trouble you to accept & forward my small enclosed contribution.—

Thanking you, I am

Sincerely Yours

Enc.—

AMF PINSPOTTERS INC.

511 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y. · MURRAY HILL 7-3100

1/16/50

Dec 14th 1949

Edw. R. Murrow
Box 10 NY 40 NY.

Andrew Black Check
$25

Dear Mr Murrow:—

I would like to contribute to the Chairman 3rd-school principle—who I gained from your talk was building up a fund for the deserving people of this entire village.

I did not catch the name of the school principle to whom any donations should be sent so, if you will fill in his name and forward my check—my thanks—May many New Yorkers who heard you send thus bits as these poor miners, poorly paid as they are should have a decent Christmas— Sincerely

1/11/50

Dec. 19. 1949.

Apartment B
236 East 72nd Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Kendrick:

This is a small contribution. We heard of the flight of your people through Mr. Murrow on C.B.S. last night.

Sincerely yours.
Mrs. Hans Zinsser.

Zinsser Check $10.

1/17/50

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL ENGINEERING
BLACKSBURG, VIRGINIA

December 14th 1949.

My dear Mr Murrow

I am enclosing my check for ten dollars.
Please use it to send milk to the children of Shellamers Md.
You mentioned them in your broadcast last night as being in such desperate need. If any acknowledgment of this contribution is made, please send it to our grandchildren Robert Burns Begg (8) and Elise Begg (5) of 39 Kilbourn Road Rochester 10, N.Y. in whose names we are giving it.
We have listened to your broadcasts for years, and hope to hear your son with you again this Christmas.
With best wishes for a Happy Christmas and New Year to you and yours.

Very sincerely
Robert and Adah Begg.

1/17/50

2 Check
$5 - from Mrs. Smith
$5 - from Elmer Davis

Hotel Gramercy Park
52 Gramercy Park North
New York

14/12/'49

Dear Mr Murrow:

I listening to your broadcast last Evening — as we always do with interest — we were particularly moved by your story of the

Exceptional need in the mining town — in West Virginia, was it?
We failed to record the name of the town & of the school man of whom you spoke. But we are sure that you will see that the small checks we enclose will reach there properly.

With thanks to you
for bringing the need to
your listeners' attention
& your courtesy in
forwarding the checks,
believe us, with all good
wishes for the season,

Faith Fuller

Elmer J. Slack

Mabel A. MacKinney
Smith

Mrs. Merrick Smith

1/17/50

Ed. R. Murrow
C.B.S. N.Y.

$1 Cash

132 Franklin St.
Rumford Me.
Dec. 14-49

Dear Mr. Murrow

Heard your broadcast last nite on the sad plight of people in Shallmar Md. but could not clearly hear the name of the school Principal who was helping get their case to this country's generous people of which I am happy to be part of.

Please forward this donation to him & may God Bless you in your efforts

Sincerely
Carmelo Polia

✓ Postal Note #5

5158 Carrollton Avenue
Indianapolis 5, Indiana
December 14, 1949

Made out
To Andrick

1/16/50

Dear Mr. Murrow,

Last evening I was listening to your broadcast & you mentioned some people in a small town being in destitute circumstances. As I am blind I could not write either the name of the town, or the person or persons to whom I should send it. [redacted] number of the boy, I am enclosing a postal note to you. Will you please forward it to whoever looks after the feeding of those people you mentioned a school teacher, I presume. he is the one!

2/ I will be very thankful to you if you will do this for me.

Sincerely yours
Jeremiah Burke

remember postage.

✓ 1/16/50

Joseph M. Boland

Check #5

Hotel Statler
Buffalo, New York
December 14, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

My dear Mr. Murrow:

Last night I heard your description of the pitiable plight, which I hope is only temporary, of the village of Shallmar, Maryland, and I am presuming on your kindness to see to it that the enclosed small contribution goes to the proper spot there.

I feel certain that your many listeners will line up in large numbers in this unsolicited appeal for suffering fellowmen which you so eloquently made last night.

Sincerely,

J. M. Boland

1/16/50

1

ROBERT MATHES STUDIOS

PHOTOGRAPHS • SUPPLIES • MOVIE FILMS AND ACCESSORIES

639 HAMPSHIRE ST. QUINCY, ILL. PHONE 1041

December 14,1949

Check $10

Mr. Edward Murrow,
New York,
N.Y.

Dear Mr.Murrow:-

I listened to you on your broadcast of last evening regarding those people of Shallmar, Md. I think it would be a pretty swell gesture on your part to start a Murrow Shallmar fund to help those people in even a small measure. I am sure there would be enough voluntary contributions to at least bring those people some happiness during the festive season.

I am inclosing a check which I would be grateful if you will direct to the proper authority at Shallmar, Md. I have know adversity but it should not happen to others now at Christmas.

Thank you Ed.Murrow, and a very Merry Christmas to you and your family.

Cordially yours,

R. J. Mathes

1/11/50

December 14th
1949

MISS MARION SATTERLEE
136 EAST 36TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY 16

Check $5

Dear Mr Murrow:

The enclosed small check seems an inadequate response to the restrained yet eloquent statement in your broadcast on Tuesday evening. but I shall be glad if it can be used by Mr Andrews (?) the superintendent of the school. to help make Christmas a little brighter

For the children of
Shallmar.—
With many thanks for
your fine broadcasts.
Yours sincerely
Marion Patterlee

1/11/50

AUGUSTUS J. P. GALLAGHER
Real Estate
1106 COMMONWEALTH BUILDING
1201 CHESTNUT STREET
PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.
SP. 4-7096

Cash $5.00

Dec 14 1949

My dear Mr Murrow

Your ope of condition that small Maryland running town in your sat night broadcast was heartrending. Here the old people took so pretty flat at the moment due to lack demands & charity drives" I fear that Dr. "Quick" may bring a few of the kids some little thing meanwhile & herewith. No acknowledgment is necessary. Forget that, but as I caught the name of that Schoolmaster or the town I'm imposing on your good nature & ask you to forward my "mite" to the proper person or address - I'm hoping that a lot of other people who heard the story will "chip in" It's only a stop gap but perhaps the State authorities will be spurred to investigate & try in some way to help these people - who God knows deserve help right now.

Thanks A. J. P. Gallagher

MEMBER OF PHILADELPHIA REAL ESTATE BOARD

$1 cash 14-12-49 No address or name

Dear Mr Mottel

Will you kindly pass the enclosed dollar on to the village of Shal-mall you spoke about last night (Tuesday).

My radio faded out on me before you came to the end of the story.

Wouldnt it be wonderful if all your listeners would send a quarter or 50 cents, then the childden would have a wonderful Christmas to remember, and surely there would be enough to help their parents start the New Year.

Why not appeal to your listeners I'm sure your get a wonderful response.

Happy Christmas

A Listener

1/11/50

ENGINEERED LIGHTING SALES COMPANY

Hal. (H. R.) Greene George K. Warner
REPRESENTING DAY-BRITE LIGHTING, INC.
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

Phone: MAin 8775
2422 Prospect Ave.
Cleveland 15, Ohio

December 14, 1949

Check $10

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Heard your broadcast last nite in which you mentioned the plight of the residents of Shallmar, Md. It seems impossible that this could happen in the United States, particularly at a time when we are pouring billions to other shores.

While it is not much, please forward the enclosed check to Shallmar, in the hope that this will be but one of many to go their way and lend assistance. I was in my car at the time and was not able to write down the name of the school principal you mentioned and am therefore asking that you forward this.

Yours very truly,

Geo. K. Warner

George K. Warner

GKW:rh
Encl.

All Quotations Subject to Approval of Day-Brite Lighting, Inc., St. Louis, Mo.

1/10/50

Check #2.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Care of Chs.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

88 Park St.,
Portland 3,Maine,
Dec.14,1949.

My dearMr. Murrow,

Having been much touched by your reference to the need in thetown of Shallmar, allow me enclose check trustin g it mightbe of some help to the unfortunate commutnity. In the event you are deluged with checks and letters and cannot handle this at a timethat would be extremely busy for you in an event, would you return check with, if possible, directtion asto send ng same amount to some other person who would care for the situation?

Yours very truly,

Frank B. Morris.

OR-6786

DU PONT
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.
ESTABLISHED 1802

E. I. DU PONT DE NEMOURS & COMPANY
INCORPORATED
4141 DENNIS STREET
HOUSTON 4, TEXAS

PETROLEUM CHEMICALS DIVISION
GULF COAST DISTRICT LABORATORY

1/9/50

December 14, 1949

Check - $5

Mr. Edward R. Morrow
P. O. Box 10
New York 46, New York

Dear Mr. Morrow:

In listening to your broadcast of Tuesday, December 13, my wife and I were very moved by your description of the hardships of the small mining community of Shallmar, and the effort that the school principal of that town was making to feed the children.

As parents of two children, we would like to share a little of our Christmas with the children of that mining town. Unfortunately, we are unable to remember the name of the school principal that you gave in the broadcast, so I have made out my personal check for five dollars in your favor, which I would like for you to forward to the school principal of Shallmar.

Yours very truly,

E. I. DU PONT DE NEMOURS & COMPANY

John N. C. Cameron

JOHN N. C. CAMERON, Manager
Gulf Coast District Laboratory

JNCC:hs
Attch.

1/9/50

Check $5

491 EAST GRAVERS LANE
CHESTNUT HILL
PHILADELPHIA 18, PA.

Will Mr Unwood
Kindly forward
this small check
to Skallmar, Md.
as Mrs. Jackson was
unable to take down
the name of the school-
teacher there he
mentioned on the air.

This may help a
bit toward giving food
or toys to the old &
young there who are in need.

Lacy R. Jackson

1/10/50

Kannapolis, N.C.
Dec. 14, 1949

Cash $2

Edward R. Murrow,
Box 10, N.Y. 46, N.Y.

Dear Mr Murrow:

Your brodcast last night(Tuesday) about that small mining town up in the mountians--and that scho boy fainting because he had had no breakfast touched our heart. I am old and poor, ever dollar that I get the Good Lord gives it to us--here's two that He has given us(One from my wife) Mr Murrow I could not remember the name or the town that you said-- Mr Murrow will you please send this $2 to the boy or his family of the boy who fainted in school--am sure that they need it. Will appreicate this Mr Murrow. Could not go to sleep last night untill I promised the Lord that I would send you a dollar for the boy (My wife said she was the same way) Got thinking about the scripture verse "Give even a cup of cold water in My Name" Well Mr Murrow we are giving this $2 in His Name(Wish it was a thousand) Mr Murrow we are thanking you in advance for doing us this favor, and may GOD BLESS YOU, and those poor people.

Gratefully yours,

Mr & Mrs Frank Hood,
108 West 8th Street,
Kannapolis, N.C.

1/11/50

Cash $1

308 third avenue Apt 2R
New York 10, N.Y.

December 14, 1949

Re: Appeal for Shallman, Md.

Dear Sir:

I always contend that there are people who are worse off than I. So once more I chastise myself for complaining.

Here's a mite.

Sincerely
Eliza A. Hawkesworth
(Miss)

✓
1/10/50

26 Kimball St.
Providence, R.I.

Good Cheer $1
AND Cash
WARM WISHES
FOR EVERY HAPPINESS
in the New Year

Please ~~[illegible]~~ forward the enclosed dollar to help relieve the distress in Shallman, Maryland

– Tony Silvestri
(a Providence listener)

1/16/50

Check #5

Dec 14 - 1949

Dear Mr. Merrell:

Kindly make use of proceeds of this very small check, to help, for a moment to brighten the face of some "shall near" person or persons - I am sending to you for I did not catch the name of the Supt. of school there - I need no acknowledgement - of its receipt, and would ask that my name be withheld - just a drop in a bucket. Thank you -

Yours sincerely

C. E. Steiger

Rapid City, S.D.

✓ 4 y check

Chicago, Dec. 14, 1949

1/16/50

Edward R. Murrow
Box 10
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

In reporting the news last night you mentioned the sad plight of the entire population of a small mining town in Maryland. Would you kindly send the enclosed check to whoever is in charge of giving aid to these people.

Yours very truly,

L. A. Stern
745 Buena
Chicago, Ill.

Statue of Liberty, New York — V. Carleton

Nogano Nishimoto
600 W. 115th
N. Y. 25. N. Y.

December 194

A Merry Christmas to
And to Shallmon, Merry
a happier year to com

Nogano Nishimoto
Nogano Nishimoto
Money orde
$5

1/17/50

E. Morrison Damon,
Pleasant Valley Road,
Friendship, N. Y.

OLEAN
DEC 15
10 00 PM
1949
N. Y.

UNITED STATES POSTAGE
3 CENTS

Misc.

Edward R. Murrow,
Box 10, N.Y. 46,
New York City.

$1 cash
1/17/50

$1 - donation

249.

to you.

y lend

me.

oto

ler

R C Abbott
335 No 33 St
Lincoln 3
Nebr.

$1.00 cash

LINCOLN
DEC 15
4 30 PM
1945
NEBR.

Air Mail

Mr Edward R. Murrow
Box 10,
New York 44
N. Y.

Misc.

Murrow
Misc
Donations

1/14/50

Slight help for Shallman.

$1 cash

Now Christmas cards are
just like Folks
You meet along
life's way,
The Highbrow kind
are hard to take_
The Friendly kind...
O.K.!
Now that this card ain't highbrow
Will NEVER be denied...
But just like Folks, the thing that counts...

3/6/50 $1

IS THE
FRIENDLINESS
INSIDE!

Merry Christmas!

Mrs. Hannette Wolf

✓ $5 - cash

Merry Christmas to

Shallomar, Maryland

No name address

Listener - WIBX - Utica

Cash $5 -

No name or address

Shallomar

Please accept this small donation to help to cancer research, I hope.

Merry Christmas $1 cash

Mrs J. Mirley

AFTER FIVE DAYS RETURN TO

Mrs. Joe Michel

804 Ground

JOHNSTON CITY, ILL.

Acknowledged!

Mrs. R. C. Schumacher

17009 Madison Ave.

Lakewood, Ohio.

Mrs.

$15.00 for

Shalmar

Dear Mr. Murrow - The enclosed is a very small donation, but please see that it goes towards food for somebody at Shallmar - Md. It's at times like this I wish I had money. I don't have money - only faith.

Mrs. W. G. Brautigam

R.D. # Mercer Pa

1/17/50

Mrs. Alice M. Brautigam
Route 4
Mercer, Penna.

$1 cash

TO.....

FROM.....

1/10/50

F. R. Kattenburg

160 South Middle Neck Rd.
Great Neck, N.Y.

Check $5.

No letter

1/9/50

Check - $100

Mrs. James H. McNulty 121 Chapin Parkway Buffalo 9, New York

Mr Edward R. Murrow
New York

Dear Mr Murrow.

You have not mentioned in your broadcast where money could be sent for the relief of Chalmar Md. I called W.C.R here in Buffalo and They did not seem to know about it but thought I could send it direct to you. Would prefer not to have my name used but am glad

to be a little help to these people who are in such a desperate plight through no fault of their own.

Very truly
Mrs Harriet McCulty

Monday Dec 19-49

James We
4s 17 Mell
Chicago
Ill.

Weber
Ellerton Phy.
box 14

1/9/50

#5 check

Dear Mr. Murrow —

Here's a check for the Shalman, Maryland people. Sorry to trouble you to send it on but we didn't clearly hear the name of the school principal.

Seems incredible that we've been listening to you long enough for our children to have flown thru their teens — to have married — to have made us grand parents — and that we're still listening.

We'll even hear you Xmas day when I'm giving my husband the second album of the "I Can Hear It Now" series — plus the Lilienthal book — I guess we've come to trust your judgement —

The best of holidays to you in this most paradoxical of all possible worlds —

Sincerely
Dorothy Weber

12-19-49

$2 Cash Greetings from the Desert

1/10/50

Merry Christmas and a very Happy New Year

Dec. 16th 1949

Dear Mr. Morrow:

May I send you a little song for the dear people of whom you spoke the other afternoon (4.45 here) in their tiny town. who are left to undergo great hardships because of lack of work. And since I am unable to send any contribution except the enclosed two dollars - will you. if I am so fortunate as to win in any of your contests. send it also to these poorly nourished people. who are. and Christmas cheer for themselves and their children And if the children there and everywhere could only continue to believe in "Santa"!

We listen nearly every afternoon to your interesting broadcasts. which comes over CBS & KNX to this KCMJ station. to the one station out here.

This town - surrounded by mountains - is a

splendid place to recuperate for those who need it - and to live. The weather has been around 90° during the day, but after the cold in different parts of America dropped to 64°.

Please know also that here is in partly Indian land - in fact part of the rental for cabanas and trailers is paid to the Indians.

I believe if a story - a movie - could be written of their former living here and around this part of the country - and its growth - it would claim many thousands - for I am sure they all must have a real yearning to be helpful American citizens. Then there were many in the last two wars.

Do you not think it would be an interesting project? There are a have been - tons interesting "pictures" in this vicinity. compared showing

There is much to interest vacationers here.

several riding clubs - hot bathing establishments for those who need to work out their muscle-bound parts - Desert Museum - the folder of which I enclose - and hotels and night clubs - at one of which daughter Barbara works during the evenings - reading handwriting - which she has studied for years. This is the Doll House - owned by a splendid couple (who have three children -) and with a small Latin singing orchestra - and really fine food - is so well patronized. Mr. & Mrs Steele are the owners.

Then she does the same at Desert Inn. a very fine and conservative hotel - owned by Mr. & Mrs. Coffman and his mother - who is over 80 years of age.

We have only recently moved here - and have a tiny cabana in a trailer village - within walking distance to most necessary household needs. The people we believe are splendid - and sometimes it takes a fresh eye and ear to detect a town's goodness.

It is quite a horse town also - several riding academies are here - and riding clubs.

Also they have square dancing - as the interesting Western week parade. They had various events and "stunts" - also square dancing on horseback where "Red Ryder" the hero of all youngsters and oldsters - did numerous tricks on his wonder horse Thunder - a wonderful horse of sixteen years!

May I hope this lengthy letter is not too boring. but we do so enjoy your daily "talks" and your appeal for these poor struggling people in Maryland brought my wishful thinking into action.

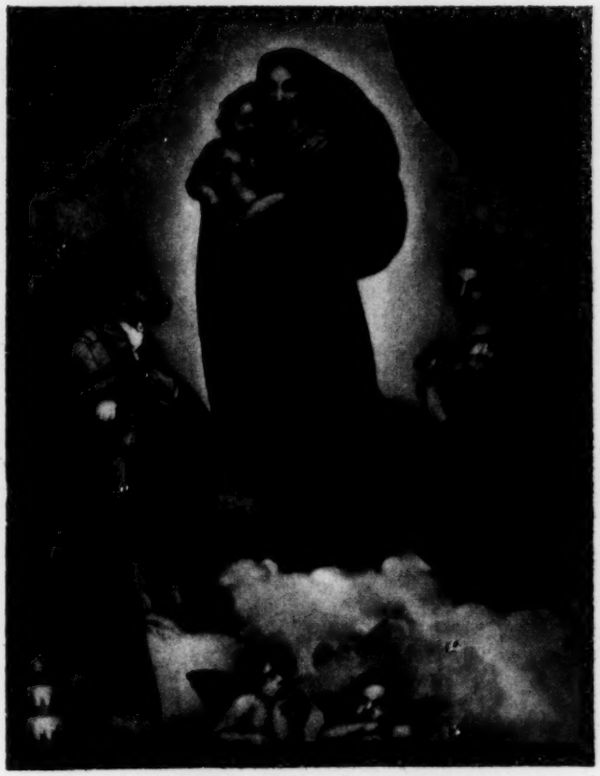
Daughter joins in best wishes to you and your family. and to all your staff - for the holidays and all thru the year.

I wish is true possible to send my little song direct to them - and if you found another appeal today will do so.

Cordially
(Mrs.) Georgia Carpenter

Desert Trailer Village
432 East Andreas Road
Palm Springs
California

P.S. May I ask if your kindness to address the envelope to the school teacher whose name I have forgotten. in that little Maryland town.



May the peace of
Christmas bring to you
all throughout this
New Year - a happiness
which only a belief in
God's goodness may
send -

With Best Wishes
for Christmas
and
the New Year.

Georgia Carpenter
and
Barbara C. MacDonald

Dec. 1949

Raphael: *"The Sistine Madonna"*

Clark's Green, PA.
Dec. 20th 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow.
Dear Sir:

Enclosed find two dollars for the Shallmar, Maryland fund, I did not hear the name of the person to send it to, would you kindly forward the money to him.

We enjoy your broadcast, also use all the Campell's products, think they are very fine.

Thanking you for this favor.

Enclosed find my motto, what is more timely at this "yule tide."

Wishing you a merry Xmas, a happy & prosperous New year.

Very truly
Mrs Robert Colvin

Glenburn Pa

1/16/50 $2 cash

1 cash 1/16/50

Dec 14, 1949.

Mr. Edward R Murrow,

Dear Sir:- I listen every night to your broadcast, as you are always so interesting and last night you mentioned the plight of those poor creatures in Sholmar, Md. Now I want

to contribute "The Widow's Mite"
and am sending you $1.00
and thought you might be
able to get 9 cans of milk
with it for these poor
babies. Borden's milk here
in Newport sells for 11¢ a can
but perhaps in N.Y. you
might get it for even less
I earned $1.25 selling Christ-
mas cards and I am giving
it all to charity otherwise
I would like to give you
more, but my husband does
not earn a large salary
and I do not like to use
his money for this as
it takes all he earns

to keep us in food and shelter.

Thank you Mr Murrow and God Bless you and keep you, Merry Christmas and best wishes and Good Luck. Mrs. David H. Terrell

433 Thames St.,
Newport, R.I.

12/1/49

Mr Edw R Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York. N.Y.

$10 Cash

Please see that this small contribution gets to the Parties you were telling about on the Radio tonight,

Thanks
one who God has greatly Blessed.

No name or address

✓ Nonsense address

DEC 15 1949

$2

W.H.E.C.
40 Franklin Street
City

Gentlemen,

I was shocked to hear the announcement by Morrill regarding the need for feeding children and their families at Shallmar. It is not a pleasant thought that in this great big country of plenty can have children starving.

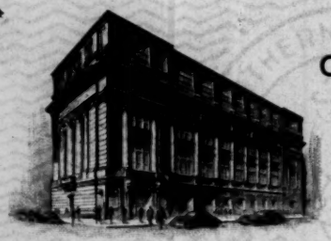
Enclosed please find one dollar, which please add to whatever gifts you have received to date. Trust that they will receive enough help in time.

Yours truly

No Name

Dear Mr. Murrow: I'm not sure but believe this donation should be sent on to you and hope you can forward it to the proper place.

Mrs. Madeline L. Klein, Traffic Mgr.
WHEC, Rochester, N.Y.



CHICAGO, Dec. 15 1949 No. 814

THE NORTHERN TRUST COMPANY 2-15/710

Northwest Corner La Salle and Monroe Streets

PAY TO THE ORDER OF The Mayor's Shallmar Fund $ 10.00

Ten 1/100 DOLLARS

Margaret B. Sanders.

F 410

$10
check

Mrs. David Tilden Sanders

To the Mayor of Shalkwar:-
I first learned
of your plight that

Mr. Murrow via the Radio.
Since then I see by the
newspapers that you have
received help. May I
add my bit for the
needy with the hope
that it will bring a
little Xmas cheer to a
few children in your
town.

Sincerely,
M.B.S.

My dear Mr. Murrow:- As you see, I tried! Maybe I am not too late to hope that the people of Shallman will have a Happier New year than the last.

Sincerely
M.B. Sanders.

1/10/50

1/11/50

R. A. TOWNSEND COAL CO.

Automatic Coal Stokers

TELEPHONE 35

ALPENA, MICHIGAN

December 15,
1 9 4 9

check ✓
$2.

Edward R. Murrow,
Box 10
New York N Y

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Please find enclosed $2.00 for the Shalmar, Maryland fund you spoke about over the radio the other night.

I failed to get the teacher's name so will you see that it gets into the proper hands.

Very truly yours,

R.A. Townsend
A lpena, Michigan

T*t

RA Townsend

1/9/50

December 15, 1949.

Check - $200

My dear Mr. Murrow,

Will you be good enough to see that this is put into the hands of someone who can use it to make a better Christmas for the unhappy people of Shallmar, Maryland, for me, please? Each year I give a thank-offering for the safe return of my son from World War II, and this year I would like to give it to those of the community of Shallmar.

All I request is that my name be NOT mentioned in regard to this in any way, please! It is my own private way of saying "Thank you!" to a kind Providence - and I prefer, very much indeed, to give it anonymously. (almost mis-spelled that!)

Could I find the name of the gentleman you mentioned over your broadcast, to whom the gift should be sent, I would not trouble you with this.; but I cannot find my NOTATION of IT and dare not hold it up any longer - for Christmas is coming upon us very fast! indeed.

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to use my gift in this way, Mr. Murrow!

Before I close, may I say I thoroughly enjoy your broadcasts, and, indeed, feel cheated when circumstances force me to miss one.

Wishing you a very Merry Christmas and a fine New Year,

sincerely, and thanking you for taking care of this for me, need I add, in great haste?,

Eileen Gleason Lane.

(Mrs. George W. Lane, 5062 "aterman Ave., St. Louis -8- Mo.)

1/11/50

127 Lakewood Ave
Roosevelt, N.Y.
Dec. 15, 1949

Check $2.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

We heard your broadcast about the unfortunate people of Shallmar, Maryland. We're sending this small check and hope you will see that it helps them out in some way.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Virginia M. Odell
(Mrs. E. U.)

Andrick ✓ 11/16/50

P.O. Box 333
Wauneta, Nebraska.
December 15, 1949.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City,
New York.

Blank Check $5.

My dear Mr. Murrow:

Enclosed you will find my meager check. It is not very much, but perhaps it will make some child happy. I am far from being a wealthy woman, but every little will help. I would appreciate it very much if you would fill in the school principal's name and forward it to him to be used where it is needed most.

It is hard to believe that in a country such as ours these conditions exist. What really "gets under my skin" is that it is so close to our Capital where money is passed everyday for the support of countries who periodically kill our fathers, sons and husbands, and would do it again at the drop of a hat. For Countries and leaders who are definitely "on the other side" or whose back-ground is so shady - just this morning I heard that soon we shall give Spain a loan - Has anyone been shadier than Franco? They say we need them on our side - Will a leopard change his spots? And everyone of them resent us and hold nothing but hatred for us. Why do we have to take milk from a baby and shelter from our own people?

I sincerely hope that with your help and the help of your sponsor something can be done for these folks. If it's too late for Xmas, let's give them a Happy New Year. We have "Marshall Plan". "Care" packages - How about "Aid for Shallman" or "Bundles for Shallman". Just a comment from you including <u>where</u> to send a bundle or financial assistance would bring remarkable results. "Charity begins at home!" As our beloved Will Rogers stated, "It's great to be great, but it's greater to be human." Let's take care of our own people for a change? Did anyone have help for us during the dark days of the early thirties?

I am faithful listener of yours and I can't help feeling you will do what you can. Thanking you most kindly, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) John F. O'Malley.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1220

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

EDWARD R MURROW, COMMENTATOR
CBS SYSTEM RADIO CITY

1/16/50

Mr U. Moran order $25

WITH REFERENCE TO YOUR BROADCAST DECEMBER 13 1949 PERTAINING TO THE GRAVE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF SHALLMAR MARYLAND WE AUTHORIZE YOU TO USE THIS CONTRIBUTION TO OPEN A DRIVE FOR FUNDS TO RELIEVE THIS CRITICAL SITUATION AT CHRISTMAS TIME IN OUR WEALTHY AND PROGRESSIVE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. CIVIC AND SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS ALL OVER OUR COUNTRY WORK DILIGENTLY TO PREVENT FAMILIES AND PARTICULARLY CHILDREN FROM EXPERIENCING THE YULETIDE SEASON IN SUCH ADVERSE CIRCUMSTANCES. OUR GRATITUDE TO YOU FOR BRINGING TO LIGHT SUCH A NEEDY SITUATION COLORADO CITY JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BY BEEMAN DOCKREY PRESIDENT=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Form 3300C

QUICK SERVICE

WESTERN UNION

LOW RATES

MONEY ORDER MESSAGE

Money Sent by Telegraph and Cable to All the World

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

No. NA008 NBJ 36 EAST 52 STREET NY DEC 15 1949 19

OFFICE DATE

To EDW R MURROW , COMMENTATOR

MR., MRS. OR MISS

CBS RADIO CITY

ADDRESS

TRANSIT TIME OF THIS MONEY ORDER

MINUTES

The Money Order paid you herewith is from COLORADO CITY JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

at COLORADO CITY TEX and included the following message:

PLACE

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

Check
1/16/50

476 Scarsdale Road
Crestwood
Tuckahoe 7, New York

December 15, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Box 10, New York 46
New York

My dear Mr. Murrow:

We heard your broadcast about the Maryland town in such an unfortunate situation. We could not understand the name of the school principal to whom contributions should be sent, so we are mailing you a small sum; we hope there will be many, many such, larger ones, too.

Maryland is my home state, and my father was a school principal, in Baltimore. He was head of Baltimore City College, and afterwards first president of Baltimore University.

We enjoy your broadcasts. Much success to you.

Yours truly,
Margery J. McNabb
(Mrs. John J. McNabb)

$1 / check ✓ 1/16/50

8050 W. Alameda
Pkway
Denver 14, Colo.
RT 7 Box 592

Dear Mr. Murrow,

The Holy Supper is kept indeed,
In what so e'er we share with
another's need,
Its' not what we give, but what we share,
For the gift without the giver is bare.

from
The Vision of Sir Launfall - Jas. Russel Lowell.

And it is in that vein that I humbly donate the big little sum of one dollar to the fund for the relief of those unfortunate mining folk who live in Shallmar.

We, the Taylors, are a family of five, struggling to get along on $200 a month, fifty-two dollars of which we use to pay rent. You may be sure that the coming Yuletide season has set us to scheming and planning to meet the demand of toys that our three little

elves are hopefully praying for. I am making sock dolls for our two little girls, Judy ~~three~~, and Gretchen ten months. And Daddy is making a block board for little Tommy age seven, who has just started school and loves to draw.

But sharing with these folk has made us happier because it has given us all a feeling that money can't buy - You get a lift from sharing with others less fortunate than yourself that can not be put into words. I think the Good Book describes it best when it says - "It is more blessed to give, than to receive."

And so Mr. Sparrow if you should deem the quotation from the Vision of Sir Launfall worthy of one of the one hundred dollar prizes may I respectfully suggest that you pass it on to the Shallmar folk. Would you however send ten dollars of it to Boys Ranch at Amarillo Texas and ten dollars to Father Flanagan's Home for Boys at Boystown Nebraska. The remaining eighty dollars would help some to feed some family at Shallmar.

We usually send two dollars to each of the orphanages but this year finds us unable to do so at this time. We feel very badly too.

Again Mr Murrow may I thank you for letting me help in this very small way - may God bless and prosper you in your work, and may Divine Love surround you and yours and keep you safe from all harm.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Janet Taylor.

Dear Mr. Murrow.

I hear you every Evening + enjoy it so much. I could not get your appeal for the poor children in Md. I am sending you my little chick + I know you will see that it gets to them. How I wish it could be more. Keep up your good

work.

Merry Xmas + a
Happy New year.

Sincerely-
(Mrs.) Donald P. White.
Oak Grove, Va

$5 check

MRS. ROBINSON WHITE

$5 check

Mr. & Mrs. Prescott Cleveland
5025 Russell Ave. So.
Minneapolis 10,
Minn.

11/16/50

1/10/50 Check $5 —

Dear Mr. Murrow

Have just heard your broadcast about the plight of children in town of Shallmar, Md. Unfortunately I was not able to catch the name of the principal who is doing what he can to help —

Will you please see that the enclosed be sent him — for use for milk or food?

Very sincerely yours

Mildred A. Wolfert

66 W Fourth St
Oswego, N.Y.

Mr. C. K.

AQUATIC WARBLER ...
makes its home between Holland and the Mediterranean during the summer, and winters in northern Algeria. The plant on which these are perched is the Woody Nightshade.

"JOHN GOULD, the English Naturalist, was an artist of marked ability. The illustration on the cover is a miniature of one of his original folio prints, which are now extremely rare and highly valued by collectors."

A 11 E COPYRIGHT MCMXLVII
RUST CRAFT BOSTON, U. S. A.

AQUATIC WARBLER

$5 cash

Dec. 16, 1949

✓ 1/16/50

Mr. Murrow

Dear Sir;

Your report on the people in Shalmar, Maryland, is indeed worthy of consideration.

Will you please see that this small donation gets to someone there to help a Christmas basket.

Sincerely yours.

Mrs Marriet Lichtenstein
4 Johnson Place
Norwich
Conn.

1/9/50

Dec 16/49

Check #10

Mr Edward R Murrow:
% Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

May I impose upon your good nature & ask you to forward this small gift on to that teacher in Maryland for those kiddies you told us about. God bless you + yours + may the future hold for you better things than you can know or even think. Sincerely Yours

James Munson

178 Fairview Ave
Westwood N.J.

✓ 1/16/50

~~GOLDEN RULE FARM~~
~~RFD 2, Box 39~~
~~Reeds Ferry, N. H.~~

Check #5 -

December 16, 1949.

Dear Mr. Murrow:-

I would greatly appreciate your kindness if you will put the proper payees name in the enclosed check, so that it may be used by those in the village of Shallman Md. I neglected to jot down the name of the school-master at the occasion of your broadcast.

I am also enclosing a stamped envelope that may be used for forwarding my check to its destination.

Thank you.

Chas. J. Walbran.

Check #2

Mrs. Aaron Bodenweiser

5459 Everett Avenue Chicago 15, Illinois

11/16/50

December 16, 1949

Dear Ed Murrow:

As one colleague to another I take the liberty to address you as above.

Your eloquent appeal about the people of Shallmar, Md. has prompted me to send you the inclosed. I should not have troubled you about it but not being sure to whom to send it I decided you wouldn't mind filling in the name and sending it on its way. It will serve to buy a few bottles of milk.

Since this might serve as a timely reminder make sure that we do not miss that annual Christmas message of Casey Murrow. It has now become a tradition. Please don't fail us.

May I modestly and humbly join my name to those very discriminating folk who are agreed that you are the very tops in your field.--and Bob Dickson isn't so bad either. My very best wishes for a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

Beck Bodenweiser

(MRS. AARON BODENWEISER)

Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N. Y.

✓ 1/10/50

Mrs. Henry P. Drake
3136 Niagara Avenue
Wayne, Michigan

Dec. 16 cash

$2

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I didn't quite understand the name of that town you spoke of on your Tuesday night program! The one in Maryland where all the men are out of work.

Would you please forward my small contribution to someone there?

Thank you, Mr. Murrow

Sincerely,

Anna MacDrake

1/11/50

MRS. A. W. PAULL
WOODSDALE
WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA

Dec 16-49

Check $25

My dear Mr Immer,

Is it too much to ask that you send this along to Self Shaker?

Thank you for letting me a Merry Christmas to you. We always enjoy your Broadcast.

Sincerely

(Mrs A. W.) Sarah D. Paull

DON'T FORGET

PHONE 2105

F. L. CREEGAN

728 SOUTH EDDY

FORT SCOTT, KANS., 12-17-1949

TRADE MARK RICHARDS & CONOVER HARDWARE COMPANY SUPERIOR QUALITY FINEST FINISH TRADE RICH-CON MARK REGISTERED

Mr E. R. Murrow

Check $5.

Dear Sir

I have always tried to listen to you. I remember what a vivid picture you gave us broad casting from a plane during the war over Holland.

I wish we had more men like you. I lost my only son, K I A, in the 8th Air force to make this a land of freedom and plenty.

I heard you mention Shellman Md "My fathers home State" the other night. With the billions we are throwing around the world it seems a mortal sin on the part of our people to accord this.

We have our own problems here at home but I want those poor people to have something from me "5c worth of Campbell Soup" wanted beef kindly see that this 5c goes in action like our boys did in Europe in the last war yours sincerely F L Creegan

From Kansas I go to the Far East on a company Boat to Pick Cotton for the Peanuts

1/9/50

650 Bucklin
La Salle, Illinois
December 17, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
New York, N.Y.

Check
$10.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I am enclosing a check to help the children in Shallmar, Maryland, whose dire circumstances you described in your broadcast. I failed to get the name of the principal of the school so I have made out the check to you. I hope this will not be an inconvenience.

Sincerely
Josephine Dunn

1/9/50 ✓

31 EASTERLY AVENUE
AUBURN, NEW YORK December 17th, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
New York,

Check $5.

Dear Sir,

I enclose a small cheque for the town that is so poor that you have spoken of in your broadcast, Shalmar or something like that. I shall be very glad if you will forward this amount to the correct address which I did not get distinctly.

Yours truly

Mabel Burkham

My friend Esther Crowell joins me in this gift.

3/6/51 #5

372 West 12 Street
New York 27, N.Y.
Dec. 19, 1949

Dear Mr. Mutford.

Last week I heard your broadcast mentioning the town of Sharana. Although I missed the correct name and address, I am enclosing a postal note in contribution to that cause.

I do hope you will be so kind as to further it on to Mr. Anthony.

With it goes my sincere wishes for a Merry Christmas, a bright, prosperous and happy New Year for those people.

Sincerely
Miss Winifred Jackson

1/16/5

Dec 20, 1949

Postal Money Order $1.

Dear Mr. Murrow

I heard your broadcast about the people of Shallmar Maryland and their misfortune. I wish to donate this money toward helping them.

I hope that everything will improve for them as quickly as possibly. I wish them a Merry Christmas and a Happy & prosperous New Year.

Yours Truly
George Barbiani

G. BARBIANI
306 E. MAIN ST
PATCHOGUE
N.Y.

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS
EASTERN AREA
615 NORTH ST. ASAPH STREET
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

December 21, 1949

Mr. Edward Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Mr. George Connery asked me to send you a list of the supplies received in Shallmar, Maryland. We found the people in Shallmar very happy and very grateful for the assistance received. They all know that you played a very important part in getting the needed supplies for them.

We hope that the attached memorandum will give you a further understanding of the situation as it is at the present time. If we can be of additional help, please do not hesitate to call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Mae E. Chesney

(Miss) Mae E. Chesney
Disaster Field Representative

For: Ralph Bain
Director
Disaster Service

Shallmar Relief Program - Garrett County, Maryland
December 17, 1949

Supplies reported received by Mr. J. Paul Andrick, Principal, Shallmar elementary schools:

FOOD - adequate food to feed all needy families in Shallmar for three months. The food is of sufficient variety to serve well balanced meals; includes flour, vegetables, canned and fresh fruits, meat and sugar.

CLOTHING - adequate clothing for winter months; families now have more clothing than they have had in years, according to Miss Elva Dean, teacher.

SHOES - many boxes of used shoes in fairly good condition are being distributed. New Shoes are being purchased by the president of the Gunther Brewing Company, Baltimore, Maryland for all children. (school enrollment 50 children between 6 and 14 years)

TOYS - a whole truck load sent by Annapolis, Maryland radio station. More toys expected from the Save the Children Federation, New York. They will also send layettes and other needed articles.

CHRISTMAS PARTIES are planned for the children by the following:
Senior class of Ursuline College, Cumberland - fruit and candy.
Westernport local union of United Paper Workers - special treat.
Oakland Chamber of Commerce - candy and toys.

QUANTITY OF SUPPLIES - it is estimated that 15 tons of food and clothing have been moved into Shallmar by the Optimist Club of Cumberland. The Salvation Army has received donations of cash which they will use to purchase food for the families. Other organizations and corporations assisting are:
The Queen City and Cumberland Breweries, Cumberland, Maryland, sent food.
Lions Clubs - Oakland and Kittsmiller - food and clothing.
Churches at Mt. Lake, Deer Park and Cumberland.
AMVETS and American Legion.
Knights of Pythias.
Gunther Brewing Company - shoes.
Chamber of Commerce.
Steel workers of Baltimore.

Persons assisting Mr. Andrick with the distribution of food and clothing are:
members Kittsmiller Lions Club with A. S. Barrack, chairman (giving assistance from donated supplies to 20 families in Kittsmiller), Mr. Albert Males, chairman Miners' Union No. 4597; Miss Elva May Dean, teacher and Mrs. J. Paul Andrick.

BENEFITS FOR FAMILIES - Oakland AMVETS at the Manhattan Hotel December 22.

CASH GIFTS TO DATE - estimated at $2,500 - no cash distribution. The known gifts are; local Knights of Pythias - $25.00; County Commissioners - funds for hot lunches for children in school, no amount mentioned; Amici Corporation, Baltimore - $50.00; Milburn, New Jersey, Rotary - $54.00.

CORRESPONDENCE - About 750 letters have been received from all states in the United States, except New Hampshire and Vermont. One telephone call from the Daily London News, London, England, requesting a report on the situation and actual needs.

BARBIZON·PLAZA·HOTEL
101 west 58th street ··· central park south ·· new york

Check #10 12/31/49 1/9/50

Dear Mr Morrow—

I heard your story about the small town in Maryland (I believe) a few weeks ago—

Never heard again until to-night—

Hope this small check may help a little

Kindest regards

H. McDowell

cable address "barbplaza" . . . . telephone CIrcle 7-7000

$10

ITHAN MILL FARM
BRYN MAWR, PENNSYLVANIA

My dear Mr. Murrow: –

I enclose a small contribution for that little mining town you spoke of last night on the radio in Maryland.

Please endorse my check over to the School master whose name & address I did not catch. Please do not acknowledge the check. – You deserve a very happy Christmas for helping the little village. –

Very sincerely – L. F. Rhoads.

Dec. 21st

4 5 cash 1/16/50

Memphis Tenn
Dec. 22-1949

Edward R. Murrow
New York
% C. B. S. N. Y.

Dear Sir:-

I heard you broadcast Dec. 13 - about N. Y. water shorted + the big Christmas tree in the state of Washington but what touch me most was about the little mining town you spoke off where they had not had much work. You spoke of one lady who had three or four young cheldring + had not had any fresh milk for months

Will you please see that she gets this $5.00 to buy fresh Milk for her & fainly.

Your truly
A daily listener.

(Ellis Deen
835 N. Watkins
Memphis
Tenn)

P.S. Please do not used my name.

Thanks.

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 565-7/49

To Miss Sophie Hinze

From Dorothy McDonough

Station Secretary to Mr. Murrow

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

January 11, 1950

I am attaching checks, Postal money orders and cash amounting to $857.00 as follows:

Checks	$770
Money orders	6
Cash	81
TOTAL	$857

May we have a CBS check drawn in favor of Mr. J. P. Andrick for this amount.

If you will call me--Ext.620--when the check is ready I will pick it up and handle delivery of it. Many thanks.

NO. 19152

Date 1/12 1950

RECEIVED FROM Ed Murrow

Eight Hundred Fifty seven and no/100 Dollars

FOR Contributions to Gladwaney Mem. Fund

chks. 770.00 } Credit 31-B acct.
M.O. 6.00
cash 81.00

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

L. Hunt
Asst. Cashier

F 790-9/48

January 19, 1950

Dear Mr. Landreth:

I am enclosing herewith the check you sent to Mr. Murrow for the people of Shallmar. I regret that it must be returned to you, but as you will notice, you neglected to sign it.

You were indeed generous to respond as you did and if you would still like to send the contribution, I know it would be very much appreciated. The principal's name is J. Paul Andrick, his address, Shallmar, Maryland.

Thank you again for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy McDonough
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. A. E. Landreth
2104 Shore Drive
Portsmouth, Virginia

WE BUY AND SELL
MOTORS
BOILERS
AUTOMOBILE PARTS
TOOLS
MILL SUPPLIES

B. M. SCHWETZ
SAM LEVIN

VIRGINIA IRON & METAL CO.

DEALERS IN
ALL KINDS OF METAL

OFFICE AND RAILROAD YARD
COUNTY ST. AND BELT LINE R. R.
PORTSMOUTH, VA.

Check $,0

Edward R Merrill
Box 10
New York 46 N. Y.

Dear Sir;

I am enclosing small check for Sallmar. I wasn't sure was it was in Maryland or Pennsylvania;

Yours very truly

A. E. Landreth
2104 Shore Drive ;
Portsmouth Va.,

Check not signed

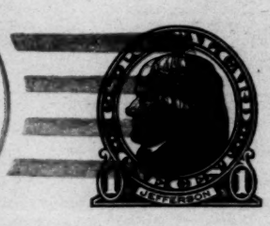
Shallmar, Md.
March 13, 1950

Dear Madam,
Your letter of March 3rd. was received and I have sent acknowledgements to each contributor.
Thank you and Mr. Marrow.

Sincerely yours,
J. Paul Andrick

SHALLMAR
MAR
16
1950
MD.

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



Dorothy McDonough
485 Madison Ave.
New York 22
N. Y.

17

3/31

March 3, 1950

Dear Mr. Andrick:

Your letter of February 6th was received just before Mr. Murrow left for London and he has asked me to thank you for writing him as you did.

In his absence, I am sending on to you the enclosed $7 which has been received since we last wrote you. It breakdown as follows:

Miss Winifred Jackson $5
372 West 127th St. N.Y. 27

Mrs. Jennie Shoecraft $1
1388 R. 1, Monroe, Michigan

Harriette Wolf $1
2522 N. 74th Ave., Elmwood Pk, Ill.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy McDonough
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. J. Paul Andrick
Shallmar, Maryland

3/50 Total amount sent
$960

Shallmar, Maryland
February 6, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The people of Shallmar wish to express their sincere appreciation for your December 21st broadcast and the concrete result it produced. Acknowledgments have been sent to all contributors, including the contributors of the $953 you sent. Copy of acknowledgment is enclosed.

My estimation of all contributions would be $35,000. The fund will likely reach $7000 at the rate contributions are still being sent. About $8000 in clothing, food, toys, and candy were sent to other places for distribution.

Three members were elected to the Shallmar Relief Council to handle the fund and distributions. Fifty elementary and 20 high school children are receiving free school lunches. At the last distribution 21 families received food baskets.

Several of the men have work at other mines now. A few of the others are on county relief work.

Thanking you, I remain

Sincerely yours,

J. Paul Andrick

Shallmar, Maryland
January 20, 1950

Dear Contributor:

We wish to express our sincere appreciation for your contribution which was forwarded to us by Edward R. Murrow, CBS. It will be used to relieve our greatest needs.

Sincerely yours,

J. Paul Andrick

J. Paul Andrick

Copy

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Enid Crosby

No address given

January 17, 1950

Dear Mr. Andrick:

As a result of my December 21st broadcast we have received to date $953 for Shallmar which I am sending you herewith.

I enclose $96 in checks made out to you by contributors themselves and a Columbia Broadcasting System check for the remaining $857 which was received in cash and in checks made out to me.

I am also enclosing a list giving the name, address and donation of each contributor. We have sent out acknowledgments and shall expect that you will do the same.

I am indeed happy that my small effort produced such a heartwarming response and wish the best of luck to you and the people of Shallmar.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. J. Paul Andrick
Shallmar, Maryland

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR SHALLMAR RECEIVED AT EDWARD R. MURROW'S OFFICE

Contributor	Address	Amount
Cash and checks made out to E.R.Murrow		
Elsie G. Richardson	25 Lennox St., Brookline, Mass.	$ 5
Mabel Burkham	31 Easterly Ave., Auburn, N. Y.	5
Mrs. Lewis A. Burtch	1220 Park Dr., Bakersfield, California	10
Clara F. Wadleigh	122 Pleasant St., Arlington 74, Mass.	5
W. M. Doulin	Barbison Plaza Hotel, 101 W.58th St.,N.Y.	10
Josephine Dunn	650 Bucklin, La Salle, Illinois	10
James Weber	40 Fullerton Pky, Chicago 14, Ill.	5
Mrs. James H. McNulty	121 Chapin Parkway, Buffalo 9, N. Y.	100
Harry Klingler	1625 East Washington Lane, Phil., 38, Pa.	5
Frieda Brize	518 Broad Ave., Ridgefield, N. J.	5
John N.C. Cameron	DuPont's, 4141 Dennis St., Houston4,Texas	5
Mrs. Horace Myers	St. Lukes Hospital, Boise, Idaho	5
F. L. Creegan	728 South Eddy, Fort Scott, Kans.	5
James Musson	178 Fairview Avenue, Westwood, N.J.	10
Lacy R. Jackson	491 East Gravers Lane,Chestnut Hill,Phil.8 Penna.	5
Maurice Bower Saul	Saul, Ewing, Remick & Saul, 2301-17 Packard Building, Phil. 2, Penna.	100
Mrs. George W. Lane	5062 Waterman Ave., St. Louis 8, Mo.	200
Mrs. Wesley C. Gilchrist	461 N. Maryland Ave., Atlantic City, N.J.	2
Mr. George K. Warner	Engineered Lighting Sales Company, 2422 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, O.	10
Sam Sklar	3401 E. Bermuda, Tucson, Arizona	10
Nogano Nishimoto	606 W. 115th St., N. Y. 25, N. Y.	5
Miss Marion Satterlee	136 E. 36th Street, N.Y. 16, N. Y.	5
Mrs. R. C. Schumacher	17009 Madison Avenue, Lakewood, Ohio	15
	Total, Page 1	$537

Contributor	Address	Amount
Page 1 Total Carried Over		$ 537
Mrs. A. W. Paull	Woodsdale, Wheeling, W.Va.	25
Dexter R. Hopf	Christmas Lake, Excelsior, Minn.	10
Virginia M. Odell	127 Lakewood Ave., Roosevelt, N.Y.	2
R. A. Townsend	R.A.Townsend Coal Co., Alpena, Mich.	2
Dr. Arthur Zentler	Cherryknoll, R.D.2, Coraopolis Heights, Pa.	2
Mrs. M. D. Brice	43 Dell Place, Minneapolis 3, Minn.	5
John E. Olson	P. O. Box 1592, Ft. Benning, Ga.	5
Mr.& Mrs.C.A.Betteridge	5449 Chicago Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.	5
Mrs. Estelle E. Bekoff	919 N. Sixth St., Phil. 23, Pa.	30
Mr.&Mrs. Clyde R. Bacher, Jr.	1020 Hillsboro St. Pittsburgh, 4, Pa.	5
Mrs. David Tilden Sanders	280 Linden Park Pl., Highland Park, Ill.	10
Renee T. Levin	4901 Spruce St.Apt.B-307, Phil., 39, Pa.	5
Colorado City Jr.Chamber of Commerce	by Beeman Dockrey, President	25
Robert R. Joyce	127 S. 5th St., Phil. 6, Pa.	5
George Barbiani	306 E. Main St., Patchogue, N.Y.	1
L. F. Rhoads	Ithan Mill Farm, Bryn Mawr, Pa.	10
Enid Crosby	No address given	25
F. R. Kattenberg	160 South Middle Neck Rd. Great Neck, N.Y.	5
Henry P. Widrich	18676 Griggs, Detroit 21, Mich.	10
Mrs. Edmund W.Miller, Jr.	Inverness, Palatine, Ill.	5
Frank B. Morris	88 Park St., Portland 3, Me.	2
Mildred S. Wolfert	66 W. Fourth St., Oswego, N.Y.	5
Mabel A.MacKinney Smith	Hotel Gramercy Park, 52Gram.Park North, N.Y.	5
Elvira J. Slack	" " " " " " " "	5
Mr.&Mrs. Robert Begg	Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Va.	10
	Total, Page 2	$756

Contributor	Address	Amount
Page 2 Total Carried Over		$ 756
Mrs. F. A. Faust	5049 Lindenwood Pl., St. Louis 9, Mo.	1
Mrs. Georgia Carpenter	Desert Trailer Village, 432 East Andreas Rd., Palm Springs, Calif.	2
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Hood	108 W. 8th St., Kannapolis, N. C.	2
Lula B. Pearrell	Box 72, Martinsburg, W. Va. R #1	1
Mrs. David A. Berger	2447 Lee Rd., Cleveland Heights 18, Ohio	2
Mrs. Henry P. Drake	3136 Niagara Avenue, Wayne, Mich.	2
James F. Shea	255 West 88th St., New York 24, N. Y.	10
Carmelo Poiia	132 Franklin St., Rumford, Me.	1
Mrs. Mabel Whitty	Miriam Osborn House, Harrison, N. Y.	1
Tony Silvestri	26 Kimball St., Providence, R. I.	1
Eliza A. Hawkesworth	308 Third Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.	1
Sophie Perkins	118 - 7th St., McKeesport, Pa.	5
Augustus J. P. Gallagher	1106 Commonwealth Bldg., 1201 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.	5
Edwin & Jean Thomas	No Address	2
Mr. & Mrs. Prescott Cleveland	5025 Russell Ave., So., Minneapolis, Minn.	5
Mrs. Robinson White	Oak Grove, Va.	5
Mrs. Nellie Day	3722 Lowell Avenue, Chicago 41, Ill.	5
C. E. Feigel	Rapid City, S. D.	5
Mrs. John J. McNabb	476 Scarsdale Road, Crestwood, Tuckahoe 7, N.Y.	2
L. A. Stern	745 Buena, Chicago, Ill.	2
Mrs. Janet Taylor	8050 W. Alameda Pkway, Denver 14, Colo. Rt 7 Box 592	1
Ellis Deen	835 N. Watkins, Memphis, Tenn.	5
Mrs. Robert Calvin	Glenburn Road, Clark's Green, Pa.	2
Mrs. Alice M. Brautigam	Route 4, Mercer, Pa.	1
Arch Carson	1213 Seelbach Avenue, Louisville, Ky.	1
	Total, Page 3	$826

Contributor	Address	Amount
Page 3 Total Carried Over		$826
Mrs. Marriet Lichtenstein	4 Johnson Place, Norwich, Conn.	5
B. Morrison Damon	Pleasant Valley Road, Friendship, N.Y.	1
Mrs. David H. Terrell	433 Thames St., Newport, R. I.	1
	No Address	1
R. C. Abbott	335 No. 33 St., Lincoln 3, Neb.	1
Anonymous		22
Checks made out to J. P. Andrick		
Mrs. Lee J. Stuchlik	Box 42, Colon, Nebraska	2
Fred Friendly	370 First Ave., New York 10, N. Y.	10
Mrs. Hans Zinsser	236 E. 72 St., New York 21, N.Y. Apt. B	10
Mrs. Aaron Bodenweiser	5459 Everett Ave., Chicago 15, Ill.	2
Robert Mathes	639 Hampshire St., Quincy, Ill.	10
Joseph M. Boland	Hotel Statler, Buffalo, N. Y.	5
Beth & Dick Koff	110-34 -- 73 Road, Forest Hills, N.Y.	5
Harry L. Williams	5621 N. Post St., Spokane 12, Wash.	2
John A. Lemly	248 E. 49th St., New York, N. Y.	5
Grace E. Leland	1746 N. Orange Dr., Hollywood 28, Calif.	5
R. E. Kennedy	511 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.	25
Chris J. Walbran	Golden Rule Farm, Box 39, Reeds Ferry, N.H.	5
Mrs. John F. O'Walley	P.O. Box 333, Wauneta, Nebraska	5
Jeremiah Burke	5158 Carrollton Avenue, Indianapolis 5, Ind.	5
	TOTAL AMOUNT RECEIVED	$953

March 27, 1950

Dear Mrs. Micheli:

I am enclosing herewith the $1.00 you sent to Mr. Murrow in December as a contribution for cancer research. Since Mr. Murrow is in no way connected with any cancer fund campaign, we are returning it so that you may direct it to your own local campaign committee.

We regret that it is being returned so belatedly, but your letter was directed to Mr. Murrow's contest mailing address and therefore delayed in reaching us at this office.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy McDonough
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mrs. Joe Micheli
804 Grand Avenue
Johnston City, Illinois

"MIDCENTURY REPORT"

January 1, 1950

Murrow led a round-table discussion on the last 50 years and evaluated prospective global trends in the next 50 years with the following correspondents: Sevareid, Lesueur, Smith, Downs, Schoenbrun, Burdett, and Costello. Letters of appreciation for the broadcast included. Copy of the Congressional Record in which text of the program was inserted on pages A269 - A273 is attached.

Sent 1/14/50

1-1-50
6028 Drexel Ave
Chicago 37 Ill.

Chevrolet Program.
Edward R Murrow.

Dear Sirs,

Thank you for your sponsorship of the most excellent news broadcasts by your round table of experts - Jan 1. We enjoyed their sincerity & intelligence.

Yours truly

Mr & Mrs R J. Graedinger, Jr.

Sent 1/4/50

552 West 188 Street
New York 33, N. Y.
1 January 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
WCBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

For many years I have been convinced that the finest news presentation in this area of the country is provided by CBS. The Mid-Century Report, over which you presided this afternoon, was a most excellent analysis, superbly conceived, and impressive in its integrity. As a senior high school history teacher, I have recommended Mr. Sevareid's daily newscasts, Mr. Smith's Sunday World Affairs Reports, and Mr. Lesueur's UN In Action programs to my students with the knowledge that they would gain from these the best information about the world in which they live. The magnificent broadcast this afternoon reaffirmed that belief, and I wish to extend my congratulations to you and to your colleagues for a job well done.

Cordially yours,

Edwin I. Marienhoff

EIM:hs

Sent 1/14/50

January 1 1950
504 Grand St
N.Y. 2 N.Y.

WCBS - TV
Mr Edward Murrow

Dear Sir

Please accept my thanks for your forum "The World at Mid century". It was highly informative and educational. I do however want to emphasize one point, which in my estimation accounts for the failure of our policy in Europe and in Asia. Namely -, we are so intensely bent on defeating communism, that we are ready to ally ourselves and support any government, as long as they are anticommunist. Basically, communism takes root only when conditions of the peoples are hopeless and full of misery. The previous chinese government cared not for the lot of the people and therefore our help was of no benefit. I do not believe, that the present chinese government is communistic, but rather nationalistic and more concerned with the lot of the people., and that is the reason for their victories. Unless our help becomes less political, and more humane, we will create greater problems and bring war much nearer.

Very truly Yours
B Rothman

sent 7/4/50 MC

I

Geneva
July 1/50.

Mr. Ekirl P. Morrison
New York.

Dear Sir,

I listened to your forum and must say that you had a very fine company of intelligent men before you, men with a very wide outlook both of the U.S. and the world at-larg.

you finished with a powerful summary.

My opinion is that the best of them are at a loss to come to a reliable solution of the whole questio

2/. There were none of them that relied wholeheartedly upon the aims and purposes of the U.N. my opinion is that the U.N. is a lighthouse without a light and is doomed to failure like unto the League of Nations I really think that we will see some very unusually out of the common moves take place in the Economic phase of the world that will take place during the present year, things have almost come to a dead-end and must look for a solution away from man.

Let us hope that a supreme Being will come to help us, we have so far left Him out of the question.

"one with God is a majority"

Respy
D. R. August

371 W. Main St

Sent 1/4/50

Middlebury. Vt.
Jan. 1st 1950.

Mr Edward Murrow
C. B. S.
New York City.

Dear Mr Murrow:—

You, with your Colleagues have just completed your Mid-Century broadcast. I lost Howard K. Smith's personal background while I hunted for a pad of paper to use for notes, to read to my husband when he comes in from Chores.

I was born four years before the century began, and. I'll always count this my richest Sunday as I shall combine a morning sermon based on portions of remarks made by Albert Switzer, Winston Churchill and Pandit Nehru, with

what these fine men of C.B.S. news service gave to the U.S.A today. I sincerely hope all our nation could hear them.

I hope and pray that today my ears have heard from pulpit and radio a trend in the direction we would all love to follow, thinking of man above wealth, machines and territory.

During the war I followed you all, as far as I could, in your broadcasts, and recall Chas. Collingwood, with clarity; I hope he is still of the C.B.S. family.

I've heard Bill Down's voice described as "cracked ice", yet I could have shed tears when he gave that brief last comment.

Thank you and your helpers for the daily job done so well.

Margaret S. Cornwall.

(Mrs E. B)

W 370 Sheridan
Saginaw, Michigan
Jan 1 - 1950

Mr. E. Merrill
New York N.Y.

Dear Mr. Merrill -

Just just been listening to the Reports from the Correspondents which were very interesting -

A lot of what people say, could or will do - But why not a word about a Higher Power - who controls all our Actions,

Seems to me, - a few words of prayer or praise for our Creator, could be spoken so no one could be offended

Yours sincerely
Mrs. C. H. Whitman

Sent 1/3/50

1230 Spaffard Ave.
Bronx 59, N.Y.
Jan. 1, 1950

My dear Mr. Murrow:

The broadcast of CBS foreign correspondents under your chairmanship was one of the finest presentations I have ever listened to over the radio. You have done a genuine public service.

Unfortunately such a broadcast, being so transitory in nature, is quickly forgotten by many who have heard it and so its value diminishes with the passage of time. It should be heard again and again.

May I suggest that your sponsor for this specific broadcast follow through by having copies of the broadcast made available to the public. As a schoolteacher I feel that copies should be placed in the hands of every social studies teacher and in classroom in the land. If a recording was made I, personally, should be happy to send you a check for a disc.

Again, thank you for a most enjoyable and instructive forty-five minutes.

Truly yours,
Jacob J. Freedman

Sent 1/18/50

MRS. JOHN L. MAHONEY
87 GLENDALE ROAD
QUINCY, MASSACHUSETTS

January 1, 1950
5:43 P.M.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

We are just two ordinary American citizens, who, tonight want to shake your hand in appreciation for the vision which we are so sure was yours in bringing to us the broadcast which we have just heard.

All through the recent world conflict we followed you in your top-notch reporting - and still do - but tonight your planning and your organization of this new century

MRS. JOHN L. MAHONEY
87 GLENDALE ROAD
QUINCY, MASSACHUSETTS

program impressed us deeply.

In thanking you we are not forgetting the reporters assembled. Each and every one did a superior and thoughtful – not disturbing bit of reporting. Yes – each one – from Bill Downes with his sincere feeling of shame to Ed Murrow with his always-apt comment that much wisdom was spoken in thirty seconds.

Congratulations and thanks, Mr. Murrow, for this outstanding and inspiring broadcast which came into our living room like a tocsin bidding all Americans to grow up nationally and make up internationally. Sincerely and gratefully,

John and Eleanor Mahoney

Sent 1/13/50

RALPH W. HARWOOD
521 MAIN STREET
HINGHAM, MASSACHUSETTS

Jan 1 1950

Edward R Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:—

I have just listened to your splendid broadcast of the half century and am moved to write you something I have felt before.

You and your associates in my opinion do an outstanding job of statesmanship in addition to courageous reporting. Our country will grow and will be safe as long as men like you speak the truth as they see it. May you all continue you great work.

R W Harwood

New Year's Day, 1950

sent 1/18/50

MISS MARIAN CLARKE NICHOLS
57 MOUNT VERNON STREET
BOSTON 8, MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

In listening to the various speakers in your Mid Century broadcast this afternoon I was disturbed by the failure of the C. B. S. correspondents to stress the most important issue - the economic and civil revolution that has brought about the socialistic changes which are outlined in the "Communist Manifesto" of 1948.

For an elderly woman like myself who has seen the poverty of the masses in England, France, Italy, ~~Belgium~~, Spain - with socialized Germany the only exception, in the nineties, and has followed the gradual improvement of the conditions due to the change from property rights to human rights, I realize the debt we owe to the long and difficult struggle on the part of those who had vision enough to join in the arduous and unpopular fight.

As I read the autobiographies of the Englishmen who were aroused to action by the London horrors which made an indelible impression on my youthful sensibilities, I feel glad of the wonderful achievements of the Labour Party though I have no desire for such extreme measures in the United States.

On the contrary my nearly fifty years fight for improved standards for our public service makes me feel that we are singularly unfitted for further extension of Nationalistic bureaucracy too often hampered by the webs of the patronage and spoils system.

Since I have been likewise an active participant in many of the civic, industrial and other progressive movements of this half century, I know the obstacles which have faced every attempt to bring about the standards of better living for the working classes.

My deepest concern at the present time is the glamour given to our international program which makes it possible for us to fool ourselves but does not conceal the ~~the~~ self-centeredness and conflict of our global aims to more sophisticated peoples.

For instance Senator Taft whom I have just heard over the radio proclaim his liberal democratic views seems to see nothing imperialistic in announcing his belief that we must give all-out naval aid to Nationalistic China so as to save Formosa as a naval base for the United States with no pretense at considering the will of the Formosans.

The knowledge that Russia has the atomic bomb has lessened our belligerency. But our whole foreign policy is weakened by short time expediency instead of long range vision.

Though we have temporarily bolstered up Western Europe and given a set back to Communism there, the big stick dictating terms to the recipients of American help arouses animosity as pointed out by all your correspondents. At least they spoke of the animosity but were too considerate of their audience to mention the big stick.

The American public at large is not being informed -except by Churchill- of the far reaching effects of the Communistic revolution by parliamentary methods in England. As Laski has said England has followed the Marxian ideals more closely than Russia.

Here is the ultimate goal as expressed by Tom Braddock, Socialist member of Parliament from Mitcham:

"The workers of this country have agreed that they want for themselves ALL they produce, ALL the wealth of the country, All the food, ALL the housing, ALL the clothing. Their legitimate needs can only be satisfied by all; there is no surplus for the cultured few, for the royal and noble few, for the wealthy few. All these must be stripped of their rents, of their interest, of their profit and of their inflated salaries and expense accounts."

"County Clarion" July, 1949
Quoted in the "National Review" September, 1949

The fact that we are combatting Russian expansion rather than Russian atheistic communism is shown by our support of Tito, the avowed believer in communism.

Though American capitalism is for the moment in ascedency there must be fundamental adjustments if we are to preserve our form of democracy.

Nothing is more dangerous that our present complacent desire to run the world while we still fall so far short of reaching our own goals.

Since the Columbia Broadcasting System brings us more closely in touch with foreign affairs than the other broadcasting companies, I listen to its reports with interest and appreciation.

Yours sincerely,

Mariau Clarke Nichols

Though I have read many books and articles about Socialism and Communism, my only knowledge of Marx's writings is the "Communist Manifesto" which I read for the first time two years ago. It seems mild in comparison with earlier American writers.

Sent 7/13/50

JOSEPH BORGHI, JR.
414 TWELFTH STREET
UNION CITY, N. J.

Jan 1, 1950

Mr. Edward R Morrow
CBS-TV
"The World at Mid-Century"

Dear Sir:

I have just risen from my seat in front of my television set to write and tell you how much I enjoyed your program this evening.

I found it wonderful to listen to the intelligent, informed discussions of your

reporters. I wish we could have many more programs such as this.

Sincerely,

Eda P. Borghi

Housewife & mother

Thank Franco American Spaghetti for their sponsorship of your program.

Sent 1/8/50

1229 Ohio St.,
Lawrence, Kansas.
January 1, 1950.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
c/o Columbia Broadcasting Co.,
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I have long been a listener of your news programs and when the other evening I heard you speak of the "Mid Century" broadcast which you planned for to-day I determined not to miss it. It is just over, and I am writing to tell you how very much I have enjoyed it. I have heard all of these men on news broadcasts since, and during the war and always like their presentation of the news. I always listen to Mr. Howard K. Smith's Sunday morning news from London - and hear the others at times but not regularly. Thanks again for this afternoon's broadcast - it was very fine. As you said ~~as~~ perhaps I should not quote you - so I will just say - that I think they talked a lot of sense. I wish you a happy New Year - Yours truly, Mrs. Sadie V. Wilson

Sent 1/8/50

H. E. BUTLER
4105 MONTGOMERY STREET
OAKLAND 11, CALIFORNIA

and Prompt

January 1,1950

I

Mr.Edward R. Murre,
C/O Columbia Broadcasting System,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Thanks for the very fine program today Mid-Century Report, heard over KCBS,S.F. 2 PM PST.

Most unfortunately I missed much of the first part, but very lucky to have heard the summaries of opinion, ~~by~~ respective;y,by those most able world-wide reporters. They were very fine indeed and accurate,in my opinion.

However,I heard no mention of what I think the most important-and dangerous- feeling toward the United States today, Whroughout the world, Nationally and individually in ALL countries (except possibly Canada) is JEALOUSY. It is a case of Have and Have Nots. It is human nature.

Take right here in our own beloved country: half our people are jealous of the other half, Most would smite his neighbor who has more than he and take away from him if he could -- comparative, always, of course.

Jealousy is the cause of the "cold War." We showed the Russian delegates to the San Francisco United Nations assembly in 1946 too much. Germany's "industrialists" touring U.S. before Wrold War II- personally conducted by our willing people, took back more than what they ostensibiy came for, and reported what they saw. We are in position where all nations want ~~take~~ away from us if ever powerful enough, and hoping to reach that point.

Going further, the rpesent national administration in our country- and the next immediate chief executive preceding - fanned this human nature trait of jealousy throughout our land-for votes. A senseless situation but dangerous.

Perhaps your great staff of expert reporters we heard today will look into and discover to what extent pure jealousy is influencing other countries today even while we try to assist them. What will be the ultimate outcome?

Yours most truly,

H. E. Butler

H E Butler

Retired farmer-businessman

sent 1/8/50

DONALD A. NEWMAN
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW
WEST FOURTH STREET AT CUTTER
CINCINNATI 3, OHIO

January 1st 1950

Dear Mr. Murrow —

Your "Mid-Century" news analysis for Chevrolet this afternoon was a milestone in public service broadcasts and certainly strengthens C.B.S.' hold at the top of the world events coverage ladder.

With continued success in the new year, I remain

Sincerely

Donald A. Newman

Sent 1/8/50

I

January 1 -

DOROTHY H. NEEDHAM 1909 MILITARY STREET PORT HURON, MICHIGAN

My dear Mr. Murrow - Tonight's broadcast with all of your foreign correspondents in New York was a heart warming experience for my husband and me.

We have listened to you from our former home in Princeton since the beginning of the war. Your broadcasts from London were masterpieces. Have these ever been published?

To have all of the men home was a real thrill for we feel that we know them all personally - and what you said, collectively, made such good sense.

The one thing that must alarm all thinking people in our country is that, in seeing

our responsibilities, we Americans are wasting our best brains - They are not in the government. If they were we could surely meet our destiny with confidence. Can you start a one man crusade on this subject?

We did miss - among our old friends - Bill Shirer. We should have been with you all tonight.

Our thanks for the years of excellent, objective reporting - and our best wishes to you and yours for happy days in 1950.

Sincerely -

Dorothy H. Needham.

Air Mail

Sent 1/22/50

Monday. Jan. 2nd, 1950
323. N.W. 5th
Pendleton, Oregon -

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
C.B.S. New York City

Dear Sir:

Thanks to you - thanks to Chevrolet - Thanks to all the correspondents on your program yesterday - It was so different - I am a mighty gullible person - if what you men said - is not what you really felt and came from your hearts - I believe it anyway.- To be sure I have followed most of you since the beginning of World War II. especially - You - Ed Murrow - Sevareid - Lesueur - Downs - (also Collingwood) I can't help but feel I know you fairly well - and I have been really concerned about you many times - when the going has been rough. I'll have to mention Lowell Thomas too, especially on his last trip - and I'll

Air Mail

have to admit that a coin went into my Thank Offering box. when he arrived safely home — Now you know I have followed you C.B.S. men —

I am a most thankful Mother — for my son returned from the European invasion in as normal condition as any of them could. but I am hoping he doesn't have to go again — or my grandson who will be eighteen in another eight years —

There are times when I think too much war is talked — by radio + papers — all the time — Who wouldn't be scared to death of us?

After all that was said over the radio during Christmas week — when our chief topic was the Christ child — and Peace on Earth. — could it be — that didn't have any effect?

When each one of your men — on Sunday told how the different countries disliked us because of their being on the receiving end only — why can't we better

Air Mail

understand that - we know it to be true as individuals - Can't we get away from a lot of our cockyness? I mean as a Country -

While I am writing I want to ask another question - for you know by now that I have a great deal of respect for C.B.S.. but why so many "Give away Programs" How can our young people - as well as the older ones - be taught what it means to ones inner self - to earn what one gets -

Now again I will say Thank You - from the bottom of my heart for your New Years program - I hope your listeners were legion and it will cause enough thinking to bring into action something constructive where it will do the most good.

The best of New Years Greetings to you and your family Ed. Murrow - I like the way your mind works -

Yours truly
(Mrs) Elsie A. Lasater -

Sent 1/13/50

eleanore goetz
15 rugby road
buffalo 16, new york

January 2, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
New York N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

It is not often that I write a letter about a radio program (this is my third) but I feel that I must express my appreciation for Mid Century which I heard on New Years day. While I hear you and Mr. LeSueur regularly it was a fine thing to hear Columbia's other men and while they all were presenting a varied view of our world today and tomorrow it seemed to me that the significant thing was that they all felt that essentially we all wanted the same thing. It

made me feel that such a program should be given more often. I hope it had a large audience.

My thanks to you - the broadcasting company your sponsor Chevrolet and all the men of goodwill who were in the discussion. Columbia is to be congratulated on their correspondents - I feel there are none better

Yours sincerely.

Eleanore Goetz

4526 Weitzel Av.
Baltimore 14, Md.
1/10/50

Dear Sir:

I shall get no peace of mind until I have told you how much I enjoyed your New Year's broadcast. That was one of the most profitable of all the broadcasts with which you have been connected. Many of the things which were said helped me to piece together my gleanings of international affairs. But, being concerned with the democratic element, I cherish the gem, "People are more important then institutions." I am particularly aware of the possibilities in the orient. I heard a professor on the University of Chicago Round Table say to Jahwaharlal Nehru, "You have the possibility of world leadership in India." Nehru plead infancy. I have hopes in the new world.

Sincerely,
Matthew Turnbull

Dear Mr. Murrow,

Congratulations on the panel conducted by yourself on Sunday, Jan. 1, 1950. It was far-and-away the first panel I have ever heard on any subject. Further you & your associates treated your most difficult subject matter with a liberality & honesty which is so often lacking today in the medium of news presentation.

Carry on your excellent work!

F. B. Lipton

Congratulations on your excellent Sunday program on world politics. But why did none of your reporters say one word about the cause of these deplorable conditions: namely over production by the incubators of the various European and Asiatic cabalists. Italy with her 5th columnists has furnished millions the can't feed or care for running only one Russia seems to be the only nation at present. Excepting France which is trying to solve this basic problem Education & birth control is the answer.

MRS. JOHN SANDERSON 580 FIFTH AVE. NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

NEW YORK, N.Y. JAN 9 9 30 AM 1950

MAIL STATION

Sent 7/7/50

Jan. 9

Thank you for the splendid program at 10 last night. One really worth staying home for. Perhaps your correspondents and you could give us this year next Jan. 1 -

Sincerely
John and Marion N. Sanderson

[say note, not letter]

Sent 7/7/50

Mrs. Clinton Barr
4819 Vincent Avenue
Los Angeles 41, Calif.

Dear Edward R. Murrow: I wish to thank you for the most intelligent, remarkable Broadcast I ever heard on New Year's day. All the commentators are ardent friends of theirs. We owe much to C.B.S for its service to all of us. However we miss Bill Shirer he was always top we think. Will he be on the air again? Thanks again for one of your helpful talks.

Inez B. Barr

KATHARINE SCOTT 360 EAST 50TH STREET NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Sent 7/7/50

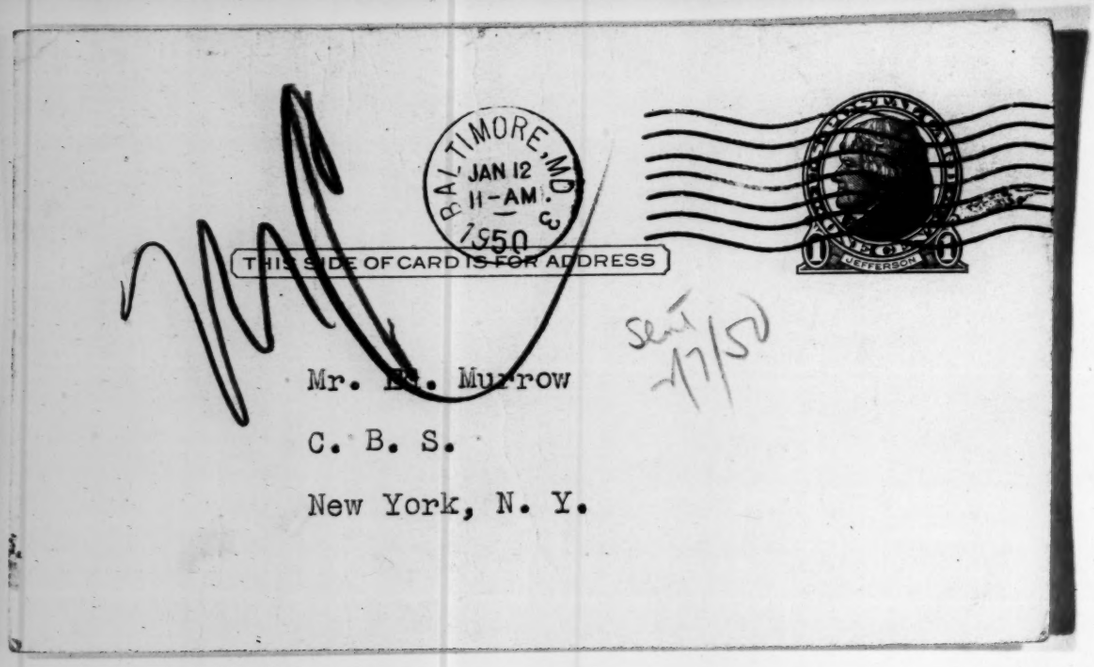
Jan. 4. 1950.

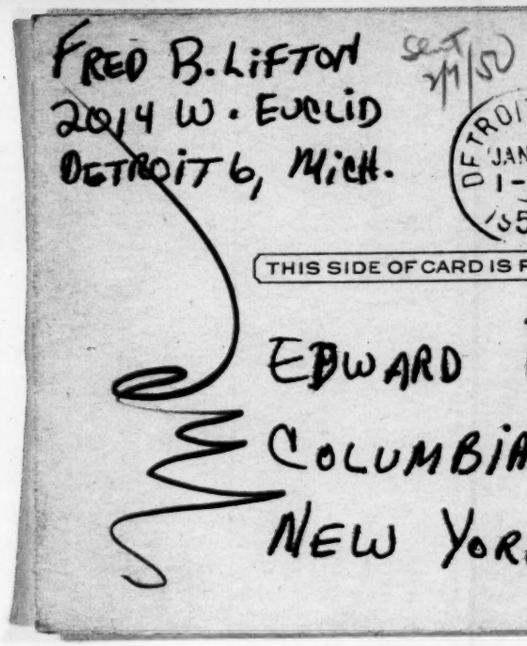
Mr. Edward Murrow
CBS.

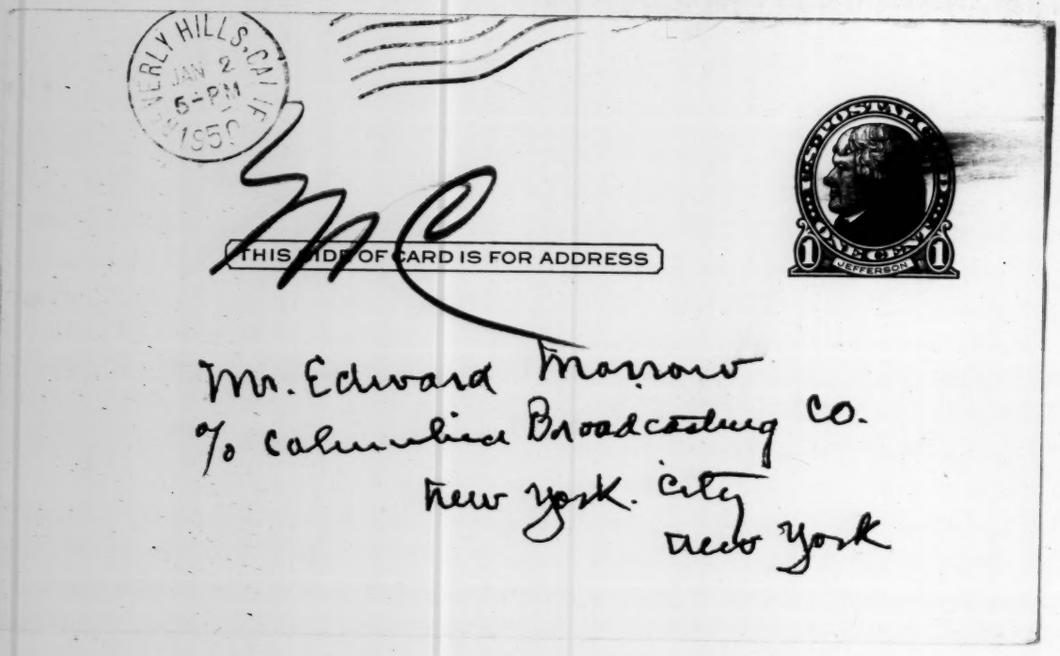
My dear Mr. Murrow

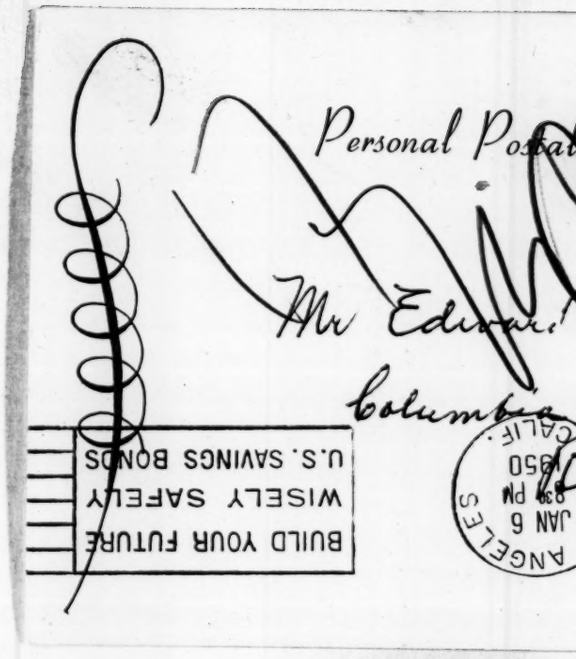
The remaining members of this household join in expressing appreciation for the excellent joint broadcast on New Years afternoon. Short of visiting & seeing the faces of those whom we hear each morning (having no television as yet) it was 100%. Objective, mature, right and wise reporting. Congratulations.

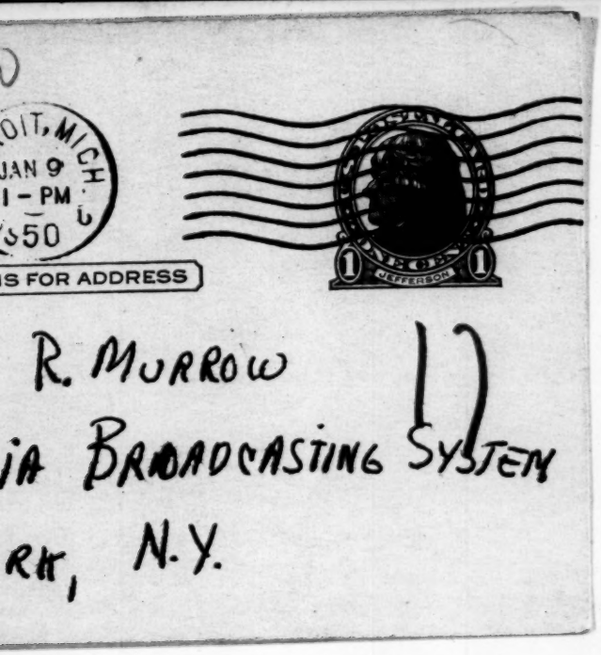
Yours
K. Scott.

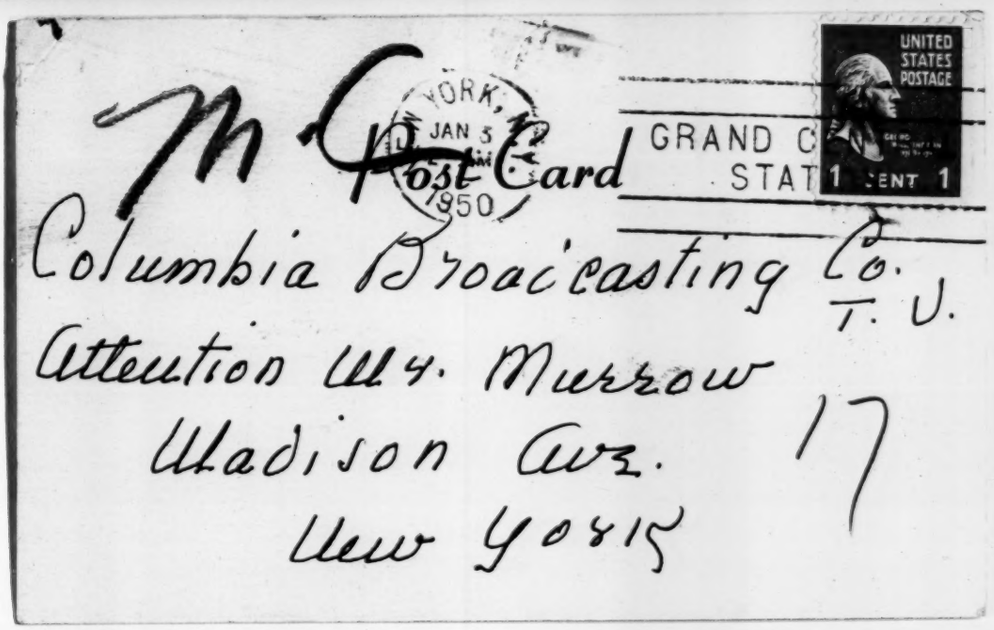

BALTIMORE, MD.
JAN 12
11-AM
1950
THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS
Mr. E. Murrow
C. B. S.
New York, N. Y.
Sent 1/7/50

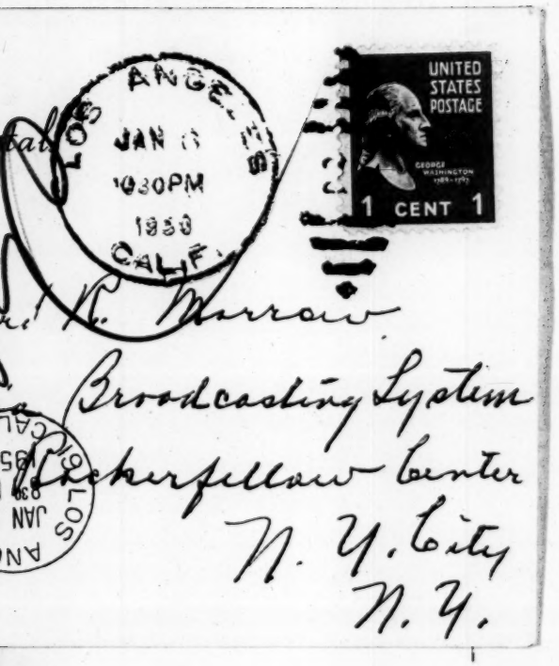

FRED B. LIFTON
2014 W. EUCLID
DETROIT 6, MICH.
Sent 1/11/50
THIS SIDE OF CARD IS F
EDWARD
COLUMBIA
NEW YOR


BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.
JAN 2
5-PM
1950
THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS
Mr. Edward Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting Co.
New York City
New York


Personal Postal
Mr Edward
Columbia
BUILD YOUR FUTURE
WISELY SAFELY
U.S. SAVINGS BONDS
LOS ANGELES
JAN 6
1950
CALIF.


DETROIT, MICH.
JAN 9
1-PM
1950
IS FOR ADDRESS
R. MURROW
IA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
RK, N.Y.


Post Card
YORK, N.Y.
JAN 3
1950
GRAND C
STAT
UNITED STATES POSTAGE
1 CENT 1
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
T. V.
Attention Mr. Murrow
Madison Ave.
New York


LOS ANGELES
JAN 13
1950
CALIF.
UNITED STATES POSTAGE
1 CENT 1
Broadcasting System
Rockefeller Center
N. Y. City
N. Y.

GRAND CENTRAL
ST
THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS
Mr. Edward Murrow
C. B. S.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

sent 2/14/50

Yelm Wash #238
January 2/50

Dear Mr Murrow

A few years ago it was my honor to serve the Churches of the Blanchard circuit and also my pleasure & privilege to spend an afternoon at the home of your parents in Bellingham - that was shortly before World War II. Naturally I felt a special interest in the broadcasts "This Is London" - and now "This Is the News." And I was greatly pleased to hear your testimony to your good father in a recent broadcast -

This by way of introduction.

What I particularly wished to say was a very hearty Thank You for the special broadcast last Sunday evening - bringing those men home from the various capital cities of the world was really capital business. Our country owes you a vote of thanks.

And what I liked most heartily was the forward looking attitude of those men - their recognition of the fact that change is the order of the day - and we cannot stop it. Our own country must move forward to a more cooperative society - blocking that will only mean a blow-up later on.

If I were to send in a quotation for that $100 award it would be one from Wm Howard Taft - when President or Supreme Court Justice - I'm not sure which. "There are too many of us who don't care what happens to the rest of us so long as it doesn't happen to us." — That is only too true — and it brings a trail of woe.

As I see the over-all picture of this blessed country of ours, the two greatest threats to our American freedoms are monopolistic controls, by either capital or Labor. And the political ambitions of the Vatican - these are far more serious for us than Communism. No outside party can hurt us if we will but be true to the principles upon which our civilization is founded.

My severest criticism of the present administration is that it has been playing in with the Roman Catholic hierarchy far too deeply. I'm not in the least prejudiced on the score of religion - but the Vatican has been the foe of the liberties of men for centuries and still is. It has an insatiable appetite for power privilege property We ought to be thankful that the Kremlin has challenged it dominance.

The same goes for China - if Chiang had carried out the policies of Sun Yat-sen and given the people a chance to breathe and eat, they'd be on our side to-day As it is, not only the Chinese, but all the Orientals and the Blacks of Africa are weary of our exploitation + their poverty & squalor.

I wish you well all through 1950

By the way, are the reports of your fellow workers last Sunday evening in print.

Sincerely & with utmost respect Will Richards

sent 2/1/50

Monday
Jan. 2, 1950.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

This is the third draft of a short note of appreciation for the consistently fine news coverage of the CBS staff. The first two rather stuffy letters were not at all what we intended to convey... our idea being just to tritely say "thanks" and "keep up the good work".

Of course, in theory it shouldn't be even necessary to consider thanking professional newscasters for doing a good job. However, in practice, all too many times news from various sources is tinged with the viewpoints of economic and/or pressure groups.

So, here for what it's worth is our pat on the back and hope that you continue to keep your finger in the dike and resist the swirling pressures of distortion and self-interest.

Sincerely,

Phyllis and Marvin Madeson

P.S. Last night's television resumé of the past fifty years is the motivation for this letter. It was interesting to see the voices we have listened to for lo these many years --- even more interesting to hear what they had to say!

Sent 7/14/50

Akron Ohio
Jan 2 50

Mr Ed Murrow
Dear Sir:-

Thanks for that 5 O'clock Broadcast.
I hope F.M. had no influence.

The general tone that hand-outs with strings attached are not welcome carries another idea - that when our spending stops all hell may break loose in Western Europe -

Likewise, for these good correspondents to say as much over the air might create something of a monetary panic here.

A little christianity has never been tried, nor do I think anyone is interested now.

Hope is still in the dictionary

Respectfully
Louis Wolf
186 So Maple

Sent 2/8/50

Lehi City, Utah.
January 2, 1950.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City, New York.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I feel I should write and tell you how much I enjoyed the Broadcast that you and the other C.B.S. Correspondents gave New Year's night.

I am grateful for the service you men are rendering for the cause of peace in the world.

For many years I have listened and enjoyed the broadcasts that have been given over C.B.S. World News, and although I have never met you men personally, I feel I have known each of you for a long time.

I appreciate your views and understanding of world conditions, for I realize you are the historians of the world today and much credit is due each and every one of you.

I believe you men may be instrumental in ushering in an era of peace and understanding among the people of the world, for which they have long been looking.

Please extend my kindest regards to all the correspondents who participated with you in the broadcast. May God bless you all in the work you are called to do!

With best wishes for the New Year, I am

Sincerely,

Val E. Johnson

VJ:bj

LAFAYETTE 5880

MOSES GELLMAN, M. D.
DAVID L. FILTZER, M. D.
1411 EUTAW PLACE
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

Sent 1/4/50

January 2, 1950.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I cannot start to tell you how striking your Mid-Century presentation was last evening. The manner of delivery, the verbiage, the voices of you and your colleagues left me with the impression that never before have I heard such a literate discussion of such provocative topics.

Two factors stirred me to such a degree that my sleep was troubled. First, can we in America meet satisfactorily the challenge and responsibility that have been thrust upon us? Second, can we dissipate - and by what means - the spectre of war?

What is there about Man that he cannot eradicate this miserable martial trait?

With many thanks to you and your associates, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Moses Gellman M.D.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York.

Sent 1/7/50

66 adelaide
Detroit 1, Mich
Jany 2d, 1950

Edward R. Murrow:

Congratulations on your Midcentury Report. You and your men were wonderful.

In the last few minutes

allotted to each
correspondent,
Bill Downs
showed fine
& take a bow.
It was so
human.
again, congratula-
tions to you, your
men & Local
Chevrolet

dealers, who
made it possible.

Mrs Minnie Kountz

Sent 1/8/50

Mrs. Morton H. Hoffman
7145 Cyril Court
Chicago 49, Illinois

Dear Mr. Monow:

This letter should have been written a good deal sooner.

My husband and I want you to know how much we enjoyed your broadcast on New Year's day - It was one of the most stimulating and informative radio programs we have heard for too long a time -

We have always admired the correspondents who have the thankless job of writing news which all the time is not always acceptable to the public and many times to the publisher -

Since the time of the League of Nations I have felt our foreign correspondents were the giants of this

world - They understood the issues and what was at stake. Our tragedy was that they were so seldom heeded. I honestly feel if they had been - our history would be a great deal pleasanter to record -

I hope you and your colleagues will continue to be that voice in the wilderness until at least such a time when we shall have started to cultivate it -

Seriously
(Mrs Morton) Mayhel Hoffman

sent 1/14/50

Asheville N C
January 3, 1950

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia B'casting Co.
New York, N.Y.

I

My dear Mr. Murrow,

I wish to express my appreciation for the Mid Century Broadcast so ably presented by you and your co-workers. My family agreed we would have felt better had they gone to Washington for informal discussions with those in the State dept.

And our thanks to you and for Carey's Christmas broadcast!

Yours sincerely,
Margaret Lantz
Orchard Apts.

cent 1/8/50

Flint Public Schools

Flint, Michigan

Administration Building
January 3, 1950

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Please accept my sincere appreciation for an excellent New Years Day broadcast. I hope that a recording of this broadcast, featuring newsmen from all parts of the world, will be available for use in radio workshops throughout the country.

Perhaps this is also a good time to tell you how much we, who work in educational radio, appreciate the contributions which you have made to broadcasting through the years. We admire your fair treatment of the news, your sympathy for humankind and your integrity. It is good to know that each day we may hear a person in whom we can place our confidence. The New Years Day broadcast was handled exceptionally well and it merits the appreciation of our people. I was glad that the program came from CBS, my favorite news source, and proud that a great industry from our home city sponsored the broadcast.

Very sincerely yours,

Ola B. Hiller

(Miss) Ola B. Hiller
Director of Radio Education

OBH:hs

Sent 1/10/50

WSBT CBS AFFILIATE

THE SOUTH BEND TRIBUNE STATION · SOUTH BEND 26 INDIANA

COVERING THE NORTHERN INDIANA — SOUTHERN MICHIGAN AREA

January 3, 1950

T

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am writing you out of appreciation of the "Mid-Century" program that you so capably handled last Sunday.

My sincere gratitude goes to you, and the generous men who traveled so far to make the program possible. I am sure many will share my feelings that for a tired world, and a still more confused America, the sayings were food for thought. It was like a shot in the arm.....yet how ironical will the impressions so ably spoken be so readily forgotten. It is indeed fortunate to have men like you and your colleagues to tell America where it is going.

Good luck and God's blessing to you all.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Mazar

James R. Mazar

JRM:EJW

Sent 2/13/50

7018 Euclid Avenue
Syracuse 10, New York
January 2nd, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
New York City

Mr. Murrow: - Please accept my thanks for the very fine and unique program which you sponsored last Sunday afternoon.

It was thrilling to think of C.B.S. calling in its reporters from the far corners of the earth evidently just for that program, to think of their boarding their planes for their jaunts of thousands of miles about as nonchalantly as one would take a bus downtown.

Their introductions of themselves, their reports on certain conditions in their own neck of the woods, with their own reactions and their opinions on future developments

in the years ahead, especially on our relations with Russia, was most enlightening and interesting. I wish I could remember all they said. It made one better realize in what great and crucial times we are living.

I like to remember, in the midst of all this turmoil, something our minister said several years ago, "In the final analysis, God is going to have the last words."

Cordially yours
Mrs. Elizabeth Mason

Sent 1/14/50

Fifth Avenue Church

(CONGREGATIONAL)
Regent 6752
MINNEAPOLIS 8, MINNESOTA

Minister:
HORACE H. GOODELL, B. D.
3240 Fifth Ave. So.
Pleasant 8834

Jan. 3, 1950

Columbia Broadcasting Co.,
New York, N. Y.

Attention: Ed. Murrow or
Program Director

Gentlemen:

It is seldom -- not more than four or five times in 20 yrs. -- that I have taken the trouble to comment on a radio broadcast. But I must say a word of special commendation for the New Year's symposium by fourteen of your correspondents on the world situation. It was cryptic, clear, and forthright. It surely prodded the thinking of America -- perhaps even the State Department!

Why can't we have more of such discussions and reports which get below the current stereotypes and labels? Why can't someone be found who can make demographic and sociological facts clear? Why must we always be told that we are a superior people with a superior economic system and a pure democracy? Is there anything but good to come from facing facts about advantages of geographical location, natural resources, limitation of immigration, avoidance of war devastation (in fact, a profit from the war on a short-run view), and the moral effect of the concentration of the world's wealth in the U.S.? Come again soon on that same level.

If records are being made of that symposium, I would be very interested in getting one (L.P.) in order to use it with groups who did not hear it and who might be stimulated to discuss some phase of foreign policy. Your audience was not too alert, probably, and I find that not many people who should have heard it were even listening.

Yours for responsible radio,

H. H. Goodell

Berea Ky
Jan 3, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
New York City.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The Turn Of The Century surely turned on an all time high and we feel indebted to the assembled reporters ... whom we have long, long, since learned to follow with confidence.

It may be a questionable commentary on radio reporting that when it comes on this level, it crowds in too fast to be fully assimilated and we find ourselves grappling with memory.

It is at this point that we seek the printed word and so enclose stamps hoping that a copy of this broadcast is available for study.

If we find radio reporting a bit fast we also find it progressively personal and so out here in the air waves there was great anticipation on Sunday, like

unto that of the family gathering.

Radio reporters have wonderful possibilities and powerful responsibilities.

A very good year to them!

(Mrs.) Mary S. McAllister
Box 1302
Berea College.

sent 1/8/50

January 3, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Your broadcast of The World at Mid-Century was one of the very best programs that my friends and myself have listened to in a long time. It would be very enlightening to us if you could conduct a series of commentators every few weeks.

It was very informative -- all my guests enjoyed it and if they were not too lazy they too would probably write you.

I believe you should consider this for the future, as television in my estimation is the crux of information to adults as well as children.

Hoping you have the time to reply to the above, I remain

Cordially yours,

Dorothy Bernstein
128 High Avenue
Nyack, N. Y.

DARTMOUTH

Sent 1/8/50

Theta Delta Chi
Hanover , N. H.
January 5, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York Cutty, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Undoubtedly I have been anticipated by a good many interested viewers of WCBS-TV and the other Columbia video stations, but I do want to add my congratulations and thanks for a really worthwhile program you put on last Sunday evening with your cohorts from the capitals of the owrld. It was comprehensive, enlightening and extremely interesting to hear their views of the troubles of the world, past and present.

While you were probably busy preparing that program, the station televised " Carmen " in another entertaining show, and while I lean much more towards Louis Armstrong than M. Bizet, I thought it was very fine too. Perhaps college life is giving me some culture. At any rate, thanks to you and CBS for many enjoyable hours during vacations. Keep it up.

Sincerely,

Scott Olin

No address

Washington, D.C.
January 5, 1960

Dear Mr. Murrow —

Just a note to compliment you on the Sunday 5:00 broadcast featuring your worldwide staff. It showed fast ability on their part, plus excellent creative thinking and analysis. I do hope you'll have similar round tables more often.

A word of praise, too, for Winston Burdett's profile of Pope Pius last Sunday — beautifully appraised, unbiased too.

I do wish the 11:00 a.m. Sunday news broadcast could be longer — it seems merely to headline the news. Though perhaps it's just a local WTOP broadcast —

Sincerely,

Frances Munn

Jan 5 - 1950

Dear Mr. Murrow

Your special broadcast last Sunday was most interesting - But I, and others with whom I have talked, regret that so many comments were made on the subject of racial equality - The speaker who said he was ashamed of his white skin really did shock us - He would have a difficult time convincing the majority of those who heard him, that he was sincere in making such a statement.

Really, Mr. Murrow, we out here in radio-land are becoming terribly tired of hearing a sermon on brotherly love, each time we turn on our radios - Even the commercials have taken on a black, white and yellow hue - We see no need of all this - Our nation is spending herself into the poor house to help the unfortunate of all races - And no where can we find any indication of religious persecution in our land - Unless we might find a hint in a significant news paper statement by Bishop Oxnam, last year - He was advocating

that the Jews and the Protestants organize against the Catholics — — The real question in our minds is how your fellow newsmen and you have failed to recognize the source of all this subtle and agitating propaganda.

You have heard newsmen from distant countries tell what they think this and the next few years may bring to us. You have heard the President say "that the State of the Union continues to be good" etc — And you of course have formed your own conclusions on the subject — But do you know what the students of Bible prophecy believe may come to pass? — Events, that will no doubt seem fantastic and unbelievable to you but for which millions of Christians have been waiting and watching, are now about to take place — First — total destruction of our present economic system — Becoming discernible in April with final collapse in August — This is for 1950 — Need a new car Mr. Munson? — Buy one! — And how about some extra shoes for young Mr —

Murrow? You may laugh now but you can't say I did not warn you - Second — the Russians will move into the Holy lands in the future of helping the Jewish State - True Israel will return to Palestine via Tanganyika and Kenya - This may begin in 1950 - Then there will be the earthquake that will let the waters of the Mediterranean flow into the Dead Sea and on out there the Gulf of Aqaba making Jerusalem, future capital of the world, a great port - True Israel must drive from the land, those of Edom - Esau (Israeli) who have survived Russian slaughter - Russian armies to be destroyed by act of God - True Israel will present himself a living sacrifice unto God and be accepted by Him - He will then identify Anglo-Saxondom to the world as His chosen - His servant nation - All these events - including the "Marriage Supper of the Lamb" will come to pass by August 1953. And then? — Righteous Israel will bring

all the heathen nations into the Kingdom and so the last half of the twentieth century will end The Age of Adam and 2001 will usher in the Age of Righteousness - more often called the Millennium - We will have World Government in a short time but Christ and not man shall rule -

I pray that you will give thought to the things I have written - No power could shake my faith in the Bible prophecies - With my own eyes I have seen too many of them come to pass and I long for the day when our Lord shall take control of the governments of the world + peace and happiness shall at long last come to all people -

God take care of you and yours in the coming year -

Sincerely
Thelma Cathey

208 - E. Woodrow Ave
Kingsville 18 - Texas.

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY
MISSOULA

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
JAMES L. C. FORD, *Dean*

sent 1/8/50

January 6, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Congratulations on your superb New Years Day roundtable. Such men as Sevareid, Costello, Downs, Burdett, Smith, Lesueur give the lie to the common charge that radio news is superficial. Such men and such performances make us all proud to be associated with the profession of journalism.

Yours sincerely,

O. J. Bue
Professor of Journalism

P.S. I have asked our local CBS station, KGVO, to get a recording of the program for use in classes.

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY IS A UNIT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA. THE OTHER COMPONENT INSTITUTIONS OF WHICH ARE MONTANA STATE COLLEGE AT BOZEMAN, MONTANA SCHOOL OF MINES AT BUTTE, MONTANA STATE NORMAL COLLEGE AT DILLON, EASTERN MONTANA STATE NORMAL SCHOOL AT BILLINGS, AND NORTHERN MONTANA COLLEGE AT HAVRE.

MRS. F. CHARLES ADLER

LONGLOOK - GANSEVOORT, N. Y.
TEL. SARATOGA 739-W2

Sent 1/27/50

January 6, 1950

Dear Mr Unwin,

We were so interested and so moved by Columbia's round table on New Year's afternoon that I feel I must write and say so. It was a superb program -

All during the War years and since, we have followed your broadcasts - partly in the beginning because I remembered you as a person from the days of that first International Student Service Conference in the U.S.A - and later because we have admired both your manner and the content of your reporting. However Sunday's was one of the best of its kind I

have ever listened to.

We hear from Walter Hotsching occassionally - though geography as well as the world's affairs keep us from seeing much of him. I have heard of you through him from time to time.

The real point is however that it was a swell job and we'd like to say so -

Very sincerely yours

Hannah Moriarta Adler

Jan. 6, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
C.B.S.
New York City.

Sent 1/8/50

Dear Sir—

I heard your Sunday P.M. broadcast along with the C.B.S. commentators and was mind interested. Being confined, I listen to a great many of the different commentators on all the chains—and of course hear a constant repetition of the news of the moment in order to get the different viewpoints.

Some personal impressions:

That there appears to be a hush-hush attitude on the part of most commentators on the granting to any one nation of veto of the beliefs of the other member nations in the U.N.

Lack of comment or any criticism of the complete form reversal of the President in the red herring charges. All through the '48 campaign he waved aside all the investigations of the Red or Communist infiltrations in the U.S. Govt. by charges that opponents were drawing "a red herring across the trail in order to

belittle his campaign." Well, he eventually must have caught up with the herring and stepped on his tail, because during the past year the President made a complete reversal of his campaign charges-and by executive order or "special bulletin" ordered more strict checks by executive departments of government information from unauthorized sources. This without much comment from the various "commentators."

A pertinent question:

How can the U.N. ever attain a permanent settlement of German peace with the country split down the middle-over through the middle of the principal city-with unified control by Russia of the east sector, and a divided control by the rest of the Big Five, with possibilities of different viewpoints, of the Western sector?

A new situation, the desertion of our North Atlantic supporters to the side of Britain and Russia in the case of China would require a very lengthy letter, so I'll refrain.

Sincerely yours,
"Interested."

Wm. D. Mackenzie
33½ Elmwood Ave.
Providence, R.I.

Sent 1/13/50

15 Waverly Ave.
Highland Park 3, Mich.
Jan. 6, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison
New York 22, New York

I-ena. script (I have it)

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I heard that one of the speakers on your program at five P.M. Jan. 1st, stated something about being ashamed of having a white skin, regarding racial discrimination.

Would you please send me the name of the speaker and tell me what he said and also give me his address?

Years ago I was chairman of the Women's Committee in Detroit to raise our quota for the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. Last Spring I contacted all the founders in Detroit as well as the late Justice Frank Murphy and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Each one of us wrote to the Board of Directors nominating Dr. Ralph Bunche for this year's award. In December I received a reply which I am quoting in part: "The question of the Award was discussed at the annual meeting of the Board of Directors, May 19, 1949 and for various reasons, it was decided not to present any award this year."

Last Spring, Charles Wade, a very brilliant young negro, was among a group of Wayne University students who attended the U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference in Cleveland. He found out that Africa was not getting a square deal, so that was his major project. He succeeded in getting into the minutes of the meeting: "That the program for interchange of students and teachers be re-examined in terms of placement, time allotment, assignment, etc. and that students from Africa be recognized on the same basis as those from other countries." Also this is in the United States National Commission for U.N.E.S.C.O. Journal, Cleveland, Public Auditorium, Saturday noon, April 2, 1949, page 6, article 7.

It would be splendid if you could say a few words about Negro History Week, February 12-19, 1950.

Sincerely yours,

G. Maud Lovell

(Mrs.) G. Maud Lovell

Sent 2/8/50

Apartment B
236 East 72nd Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Jan. 7. 1950

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Your "Mid Century" broadcast was a remarkable performance.

I think that Mr. Dawes's broadcast, made the biggest impression on me. He was so sensitive & European

conditions.
It was the sort of report that we need, in this country, to keep us awake, to world conditions.
I rarely miss one of your broadcasts, and listened to them all through the war.
Sincerely yours.
Mrs. Hacco Zinsser.

ant 1/12/50

MISS FRANCES ARCHBOLD INSLEE
PARKERSBURG, WEST VIRGINIA

January 11,1950.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I would like to tell you how very wonderful I thought your one hour program by your news commentators on the half century mark for Chevrolet, was. I have seldom been so impressed and your work, and that of your men, is certainly unequalled today.

This broadcast, and your regular news broadcasts, too, make me very proud to be connected, in the small way I am, with CBS.

The entire broadcast was deep, and very, very significant.

Sincerely,

Frances Inslee.

Radio Station WPAR,
Parkersburg, West Virginia.

Box 1126

SIDNEY R. YATES
9TH DIST., ILLINOIS

COMMITTEE:
APPROPRIATIONS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

January 11, 1950

Feb 7 1950
I ans.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I have never heard anything finer than your January 1st broadcast in which your foreign correspondents were called back to the United States. I hope it will be possible for you to have such a program again in the near future or at least make it a regular year end affair.

Sincerely,

Sidney R. Yates

SIDNEY R. YATES
Member of Congress

SRY:srs

Sent 2/12/50

January 13, 1950

Mr. Edw. R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

This is in the nature of a compliment to you and also to the members of Columbia Broadcasting System's far flung foreign newscasters. CBS, long my favorite network, was particularly clever and helpful in presenting the recent round-up of foreign newscasters in New York for a round table discussion of the world and its future hopes. In particular I would like to express my highest regard to Howard K. Smith and his excellent broadcasts from abroad. In addition I have just read his book, "The State of Europe" and can only state that rarely have I read such a well written, well informed, and honest presentation of current history. In the current hysteria and mad rush to get aboard the "scare"bandwagon, it is a marvelous feeling to read a book that sees issues clearly and is not afraid to give the good and bad points of both sides of an issue.

I would also like to say that I like your 7:45 newscasts daily and hope you continue in this spot.

I would appreciate it if you would convey my comments to Mr. Smith as I do not know his whereabouts in England, and also my appreciation to CBS for its great job of doing an intelligent, adult presentation of todays news.

Sincerely yours,

Robert G. Bach

Robert G. Bach

21 W. Mosholu Pkwy.
New York 67, N.Y.

WALTER K. GRANGER, M.C.
1ST DISTRICT OF UTAH

SECRETARY:
MRS. ELVA WILKINSON BELL

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE
NUMBER THREE

COMMITTEE ON THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

January 27, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am enclosing eight copies of the Congressional Record of January 16, 1950, in which issue I had inserted "Midcentury." I would appreciate your forwarding copies to the foreign correspondents and to Mr. Sevareid and Mr. Lesueur who participated with you in the broadcast. Envelopes for this purpose are also enclosed.

This broadcast was of such importance that I felt it essential to make it available to the public generally and hope that you approve.

Sincerely yours,

W. K. Granger

W. K. GRANGER
Member of Congress

pp- A-269 - A-273

WKG/o

Enclosures

February 1st, 1950

Dear Mr. Granger:

Being a regular reader of the Congressional Record, I was aware that you had inserted in it our broadcast MID-CENTURY and had meant earlier to send you my thanks.

I am enormously pleased that the effort met with your approval. I shall, with the greatest pleasure, send the copies on to the boys overseas and to Mr. Sevareid and to Mr. Lesueur.

Sincerely yours,

Hon. Walter K. Granger
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

See Pages 41

Congressi

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF

Vol. 96 WASHINGTON, MONDAY

Sena

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be he

House of Repr

MONDAY, JANUARY

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty! Heaven and earth are full of Thy goodness; glory be to Thy holy name. We praise Thee that Thy love and mercy are over all, and blessed for evermore.

In the spirit of gratitude we come to Thee, with faith and confidence in those great virtues that make for righteousness in man and stability in government. O make us strong with Thy strength, make us wise with Thy wisdom, and make us better with the sense of Thy goodness. As instruments in Thy hands, help us to be diligent in all good works, and thus bring honor to our country and our God. We pray in the Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, January 12, 1950, was read and approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Hawks, one of his secretaries.

CALENDAR WEDNESDAY

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that business in order on Calendar Wednesday of this week be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. McCORMACK (at the request of Mr. PRIEST) was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a newspaper article.

Mr. MANSFIELD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address by Vice President ALBEN W. BARK
monial dinner for Willia
Kansas City, Mo., on Sept

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois
given permission to exte
in the RECORD and inclu
article.

Mr. DOYLE asked and
mission to extend his r
RECORD in three instances
therein some appropriate

SPECIAL ORDER G

Mr. WICKERSHAM a
given permission to add
for 15 minutes today foll
position of business on
desk and the conclusion o
heretofore granted.

PERMISSION TO ADDRES

Mr. WICKERSHAM.
ask unanimous consent
House for 1 minute and re
my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is the
the request of the gentlem
homa?

There was no objection

COTTON-ACREAGE AL

Mr. WICKERSHAM.
is important that we giv
sideration to remedying t
age allotments.

At the time the bill wa
ered, prior to its passage,
fore the House Agricultu
and offered several amen
would have relieved the i
we now face.

Our State and county
and committeemen are n
our present predicament.

Later, I offered several a
the floor of the House du
on the measure, and war
bership that the accep
amendments was imperat
the amendments were no

3 + A 269

sional Record

OF THE 81st CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

AY, JANUARY 16, 1950 *No. 10*

ate

be held on Tuesday, January 17, 1950, at 11 a. m.

presentatives

JARY 16, 1950

BARKLEY at a testi-
William L. Boyle at
September 29, 1949.
nois asked and was
extend his remarks
include a newspaper

and was given per-
his remarks in the
nces and to include
iate printed matter.

ER GRANTED

M asked and was
address the House
following the dis-
on the Speaker's
on of special orders

DRESS THE HOUSE

M. Mr. Speaker, I
ent to address the
d revise and extend

s there objection to
tleman from Okla-

tion.

E ALLOTMENTS

M. Mr. Speaker, it
e give careful con-
ng the cotton-acre-

l was being consid-
age, I appeared be-
cultural Committee
amendments which
he inequities which

unty PMA officials
re not to blame for
ent.

ral amendments on
e during the debate
warned the mem-
cceptance of my
perative. However,
e not accepted.

Last week I appeared before the House Agricultural Committee and urged the adoption of certain other amendments which I submitted. The adoption of the Cooley amendment will not be sufficient to remedy the inequities. We must make a provision that an individual farmer be allowed to plant at least 70 percent of the average acreage planted to cotton or war crops, combined, in the years 1941 to 1948, inclusive, or at least 50 percent of any of those years, including 1949, whichever is the greater acreage. It will also be necessary that we provide for reallocation of acreage within the county and State in order that those who do not desire to plant may release the unused or frozen acreage to those who need it. This would be done through the county committees. One-half of the acreage should be reallocated by the county committee, and the remainder by the State PMA.

Many farmers, including thousands of veterans, have purchased farms in 1948 and 1949 with the expressed intention of raising cotton, and should be considered, and the minimum should be adopted which would provide a specified separate allotment for irrigated areas like the Lugert-Altus, Okla., area, which would not take away any of the acreage from dry-land farmers.

There should be a provision adopted which would grant an appeal from BAE acreage figures.

We should also adopt an amendment which would allow any cotton farmer to vote, not just those who raised cotton in 1948.

We should likewise adopt my amendment which would provide for the swapping of wheat and cotton acreage allotments at the county and State levels, just so the acreage did not exceed our county and State allotments.

The act should have been based on the historical basis instead of tillable-acreage basis.

gram, and clubwomen of America have made a wise selection. Mrs. Sally Baker, of my own State of Kentucky, and from my own congressional district, is a worthy ambassador of good will. She represents the type of womanhood that makes up eastern Kentucky.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

THE PENNY POSTAL CARD

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I was interested in the remarks of the gentleman from New York [Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL] about the proposed increase in rates on the penny postal card. I would like to call his attention to the fact that we subsidize business in a big way through the present penny postal card. It costs about 2.6 cents to deliver each penny postal card, and 90 percent of them are used by business firms in the solicitation of business or in the conduct of their business. This is a hidden subsidy that the Government is paying them. It is to wipe out a part of this subsidy that the bill I have mentioned was introduced.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of California. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS. This is just another attempt to wipe out a part of that deficit that the gentleman and his party have been talking about so much?

Mr. MILLER of California. That is right.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of California. I yield.

Mr. RICH. Why do you not bring a bill in here to raise the penny post card, and why do you not raise the price of parcel post, and a lot of things, and let them try to pay their own way? You will get a vote over here on that.

Mr. MILLER of California. I will tell the gentleman there is a bill, H. R. 2945, that is presently before the Rules Committee, that has been reported, and we hope to get it before the House shortly, which raises the penny postal card. It also serves notice on the people who receive these postal subsidies that we are going to end them. At the present time many businesses predicate that business on the subsidies they receive from the Government in the form of special treatment. We hope in time to end this practice and eliminate the so-called postal deficit.

Mr. RICH. Will the gentleman's bill pay its way?

Mr. MILLER of California. Yes; part of it, not all of it.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HUBER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a newspaper article.

Mr. GRANGER asked and was given

permission to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio broadcast, notwithstanding the fact that it exceeds the limit established by the Joint Committee on Printing and will cost $328.

Mr. HOLIFIELD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include extraneous material.

Mr. CLEMENTE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the story of the development of the typographical union.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

Mr. THOMPSON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. COLMER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD in two separate instances and include extraneous matter.

Mr. DINGELL asked and was given permission to insert in the RECORD a speech by the Honorable M. W. Szymczak, a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, notwithstanding the fact that it exceeds the limit prescribed by the Joint Committee on Printing and will cost $191.34.

Mr. ANGELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial on pensions and general welfare, written by E. B. Clark, of his district.

Mr. STEFAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made earlier today.

Mr. CANFIELD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include extraneous material.

SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 20 minutes on Wednesday next, or if there be no session of the House that day, then on the following day, at the conclusion of the legislative business of the day and any special orders heretofore entered, on the subject Those Are Your Tax Laws.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

EDITORIAL ABILITY

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, on last Wednesday my local paper, the Akron Beacon-Journal, which is one of a chain having papers in Detroit, Miami, and Chicago, sponsored a high-school day and allowed high-school students to edit the paper. Two of the students, Shirley Schley, of St. Vincent High School, and Joe Cooper, of West High School, wrote editorials on the so-called welfare state.

While we may or may not agree with their thinking, I am sure we will all agree that their freshness of thought is most inspiring. In view of the soggy drivel which most of our country's newspapers inflict upon the reading public, I would suggest that many of them should recruit high-school students to write all of their editorials.

No doubt some editorial writers may reply that we should elect high-school students to Congress, and to that I would have no objection.

Reporters by and large get out and learn the facts, but too many editorial writers grind out the same old tunes, with never a new thought or idea. So I commend the editorials of these young people to the attention of the Members:

TWO VIEWS ON THE WELFARE STATE

As the 1950 campaign opens, both Democrat and Republican leaders are vigorously engaged in shaping party platforms. Already the welfare state, that much used and much abused term, has entered the controversy.

Philip Willkie, Republican representative to the Indiana State Legislature, substituted for this term one which better describes the goal of many Republicans. Mr. Willkie appeals for the opportunity state. In essence, his plan might be summed up as public welfare through private funds.

Liberal Republicans are quite willing to agree that during the past 20 years the American concept of a democratic form of government has changed. Members of Congress are now charged not only with the responsibility of guarding the present welfare of the public, but with obtaining better conditions for more people. Besides the basic freedoms, many workers of today are asking for security.

There has been an increasing tendency to obtain this security at the price of destroying individuality. A person is not regarded as capable of thought and action, but rather as a statistic, an automaton that pays income tax and receives social security.

Incentive was the spark that kindled early American democracy. Why not put this powerful force to work again?

A few experiments along this line have been made in the past and proved successful. The New York Port Authority, with the cooperation of both New York and New Jersey, has succeeded in building and maintaining airports, bridges, and tunnels. These, while used by the public, have been financed exclusively with private funds. Similar action by New York City has made possible the building of modern low-cost housing by private concerns.

When the Roosevelt administration took office, there was little private capital available for this type of development. Now that the situation has almost reversed itself, it is time to take advantage of it.

It remains for America to take advantage of the ingenuity and incentive that has made her great.

SHIRLEY SCHLEY,
St. Vincent High School.

We have been progressing toward a welfare state from time immemorial. Each century has seen a more intelligent man, a more progressive man, and a man willing to do more for himself and for humanity. The trend through the ages has been toward a more liberal form of government.

The Government of the United States has followed the trend. We have had a type of welfare state ever since the first tariff was levied, ever since the Government started subsidizing groups in the country, and ever since there has been a United States Post Office Department.

have learned that each race and creed can learn something from every other race and creed. It is in this interchange of values among its citizens that the United States is becoming the most vital and progressive Nation on earth and a model of human fellowship.

The individuality born of a long and splendid civilization is one of your greatest assets.

Through membership in the Sons of Italy you are preserving and extending that precious heritage.

This is encouraging to all Americans.

For belief in the dignity of the individual is the vigilant faith that will protect us from the encroachment of tyranny in any form.

I will rejoice with you on this thirtieth anniversary of United Lodge 889. And I wish for your organization an even greater future for years without end.

Taxes—The Lady Pays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1950

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, David Camelon, writing in the American Weekly of January 15, has a very revealing article about the extent to which the American people are taxed. He explains in a very interesting manner that from the moment the people wake up, they are surrounded by taxes—taxes in everything they touch, in everything they look at. Some are so-called luxury taxes. Some are just plain nuisances. Mr. Camelon's article follows:

President Truman says he needs more taxes.

"Taxes?"

The lady shrugged her dainty shoulders in distaste. She wrinkled her pretty nose (pancake makeup tax, 20 percent) and repeated:

"Taxes? I don't worry about them. My husband pays them all."

Sister, how wrong can you be?

From the instant you woke up this morning, you were surrounded by taxes. Taxes in everything you touched. Taxes everywhere you looked. Dozens of taxes. Hundreds of them. Thousands.

Some were hidden taxes. Some were not so hidden. Some were "luxury" taxes. Some just plain nuisances. But whatever you call them—sister, you paid them. And you keep on paying—and so does your hubby.

Your day started when your alarm clock went off. (Price $6; tax $1.20.)

You yawned, stretched, and threw off the covers. (Sales taxes on them most places, of course.) You climbed out of bed. (Annual personal property tax, say, 75 cents.)

You looked at your husband (marriage license, $2) who was still gently snoring, and toddled into the kitchen. You flicked on the kitchen radio to get the news (electric current, tax 33 cents on a monthly bill of $10. Radio, cost $30, tax $1.80), and turned on the kitchen light. (Cost of bulb, 20 cents, tax 1 cent.)

Seven taxes—and you haven't even started breakfast.

But breakfast is coming—and so are the taxes. The Tax Foundation—a private research organization whose business is to figure such things out—has them listed for you.

You turn on the electric toaster (cost $16, tax 96 cents) and cut a few slices off a loaf of bread.

Let's stop a moment, and look at that loaf of bread. It doesn't seem big enough for them all—but the truth is that, without half trying, the Tax Foundation found at least 151 taxes hidden in it.

Tax Foundation took a loaf of bread sold by a grocer in Indianapolis. The grocer paid four Federal taxes—individual income tax, 15-percent telephone tax, 3 percent tax on transportation of property, and 20-percent tax on a safety deposit box. Not to mention taxes on light bulbs, refrigerators, and other equipment.

The baker who made the bread paid eight Federal taxes—corporation income tax, stamp tax on transfer of investments securities, telephone tax, telegram tax of 25 percent, transportation tax of 15 percent for salesmen and others on company business, transportation of property tax, safe deposit tax, 1-percent pay roll social security tax.

The baker and the grocer between them paid some 15 State taxes. The mill in Kansas City that made the flour paid seven Federal and eight Missouri State taxes. The railroad that hauled the flour to Indianapolis paid at least five Federal taxes, and State taxes in each State through which it passed—Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana.

The sugar came from a refining concern in New Orleans, which paid—but you get the idea.

So the bread (with the taxes) is in the toaster. The coffee goes on the gas stove (price, $190, tax $8.55) and the fruit juice comes out of the refrigerator (price $300, tax $13.50).

Time to scramble the eggs—and a hundred or so taxes along with them.

The Tax Foundation took an egg sold by a grocer on Pulaski Road in Chicago. The foundation found at least a hundred taxes inside its shell.

It started with the retailer. He accounted for 14 Federal, State, and local taxes. The trucker who delivered the egg to the grocer reckoned he paid 20. The wholesaler added about 17. Then there were the farmer, and the man he bought chicken feed from up in Minnesota, and all of those taxes enter indirectly into the price you paid for the egg.

Getting tired of taxes by now?

Shucks, sister, we've hardly started. Breakfast is barely over. The whole day is before you. You're going to pay, sister—you're going to pay.

Hubby's started for the train (15-percent tax on his ticket to the office). You light a cigarette (cost per pack, 8 cents; Federal tax, 7 cents; State taxes in addition) with a match (tax 5½ cents per thousand) and start to relax when a wail from junior reminds you that baby (birth registration, $1) has to be taken care of.

You talcum him (luxury tax 25 percent) and soothe his tender skin with baby oil (luxury tax again 20 percent). You wonder why such essentials for baby's health and well-being are called luxuries.

There's a shopping trip coming up. You get out the family car (cost $1,600, total taxes, $128, direct or indirect) and stop at the filling station for gas (national average State and Federal taxes, about 5.5 cents a gallon).

And you said you didn't worry about taxes?

This is going to be a special trip. The new fall suit you just have to have. And luxuries, the fur coat hubby at last consented to.

But first there are a few toilet articles you simply must get. Things like new shampoo oil; and shaving cream for hubby. Bath salts and foamy bubble bath. Face creams, lotions, and powders. The lipstick of that perfectly fascinating new shade. Rouge, cologne, a hair rinse, and that home permanent wave solution.

Sure, they're essentials to you. But you pay a luxury tax of 20 percent on all of them just the same.

Don't think that you'll escape those taxes by going to a beauty parlor. The law says that the proprietor of a beauty parlor is considered as buying those goods at retail, and must pay retail taxes on them—taxes, of course, which she considers as part of the cost of doing business, and passes on to you.

Now for that suit. The Tax Foundation found at least 116 taxes woven into hubby's suit—and yours won't be far from that. There's the retailer, and the manufacturer, the transportation of the suit, the railroad, the cotton grower, the wool grower, the weaver. * * *

You get tired of it, after a while. But the tax collector doesn't. Of course—you have to have a new hat to go with the suit. That's another 150 hidden taxes—so the Tax Foundation found out. It took an Easter bonnet sold in a New Canaan, Conn., store, and traced it back through its various processors.

It started with a ribbon maker in New Jersey, who paid a Federal corporation tax, and a Federal telephone tax, among many others.

Next your new fur coat.

No matter what the price, you pay a Federal excise tax of 20 percent. Then, of course, there are the taxes paid by the trapper, and the man who carried the fur to market, and the man who processed the furs, and the man who cut them, and the man who made them into a coat, and the man who carried the coat to a wholesaler, and the wholesaler, and the man who carried it to the retailer, and the retailer, and a few other people along the way.

The only one who doesn't seem to have paid a tax on it was the rabbit himself. But, of course, it was his skin.

Well, with a new suit and a new bonnet and a new coat, you've simply got to have some new jewelry. Dig up 20 percent again, sister.

Taxes on jewelry brought Uncle Sam $210,688,165 in the year ending June 30, 1949. Taxes on furs brought $61,946,247; taxes on cosmetics and toilet goods, $93,969,241; and taxes on luggage brought $82,607,133.

On the way home you remember to get a bottle of liquor for the party tonight. Uncle Sam gets an excise tax of $9 a gallon on distilled spirits; $2.25 a quart on bonded whiskey. On blended whiskey the gallonage taxes will run about $1.55 a fifth, plus another 5 cents as a tax on rectifiers who blend whiskey with grain neutrals spirits, and a cent for the stamp that tops the bottle.

State taxes will average about 29 cents a bottle—a total of $1.90 in Federal, State, and local taxes.

Regardless of that, hubby's ready for a nip when he comes home at the end of a hard day. This, it seems, is a red-letter day. He's been talking to the architect, about that new house you'd love to build.

Of course, there are a few taxes to think of—a thousand or more, of which the Tax Foundation has counted some 700, without doing much more than skimming the surface.

There's the bank, and the title insurance company, and the fire insurance company, and the builder, and the real-estate agent, and the architect.

All of them pay some, or all, of such Federal taxes as individual or corporate income taxes, stamp on security transfers, telephone and telegraph, taxes for the transportation of salesmen, officials, and such, taxes on the transportation of property, taxes on the lease of safe-deposit boxes, manufacturer's excise taxes, and pay-roll taxes.

They also pay some, or all, of such State taxes as corporation-organization fees, corporation-income tax, bank-income tax, insurance gross premiums tax, real-estate franchise tax, real-estate yearly dividends tax, unincorporated tax, motor-vehicle registration tax, mortgage tax, general property taxes, miscellaneous license taxes and inspection

fee, unemployment-compensation taxes, and such local taxes as property taxes and recording fees.

That's for the purchase, financing, and development of your home.

But that's only the beginning.

Involved in its construction are the subcontractor, dealers and jobbers, railroads that transport materials, and various manufacturers, including plumbing and heating, masonry, insulation, linoleum, roofing wallboard, electrical supplies and electrical fixtures, hardware, paint, steel, flooring, and millwork.

They each pay some, or all, of all the taxes we named above—and in a few cases some others. Then there are other manufacturers who supply the manufacturers who supplied material for your house. And they paid taxes.

True, most of those taxes are not charged directly to you. But they are part of the cost of doing business for the firms that contribute to your house. And, one way or the other, the bulk of them find their way into the total cost of your house.

Let's suppose the lady listened to her husband for a while, enumerating those taxes, her head in an increasing whirl. At last she interrupted:

"Darling," she said, "with all those taxes, we just can't afford a house. Let's just look for a new apartment where we won't have to pay them."

Sister, again, how wrong can you be?

Somebody had to build the apartment house. If it is a small house, up to six apartments, the list of taxes is roughly the same as those above. They became part of the cost of building the place.

And who pays many of them in the end?

The tenant, of course—through his monthly rents. That's true in a big multiapartment building, too. The details may change, but the taxes don't.

They go on forever.

Canadians pay taxes, too. But across the border in Canada the finance minister, D. C. Abbott, believes that taxes should cause as little harm and irritation as possible.

Midcentury Broadcast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER K. GRANGER

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1950

Mr. GRANGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting in the RECORD a radio broadcast entitled "Midcentury" to which I listened—and I assume millions of others did—that seemed to me to be of great historic importance. This broadcast brought together on the Columbia Broadcasting System, Sunday, January 1, 1950, Columbia's foreign correspondents as well as three others who are presently broadcasting in the United States. It follows:

MIDCENTURY

(Foreign correspondents for the Columbia Broadcasting System, flown to New York from major outposts of the world, participated in a special 45-minute round-table titled "Midcentury," Sunday, January 1, 5–5:45 p. m., eastern standard time. Edward R. Murrow, who broadcasts nightly over CBS, was chairman. The foreign correspondents were: Howard K. Smith, CBS European chief; Bill Downs, CBS correspondent in Germany; David Schoenbrun, CBS correspondent in France; Winston Burdett, CBS correspondent in Italy; Bill Costello, CBS news chief in the Far East, Tokyo. For the domestic portion of the program the participants were Eric Sevareid, chief CBS Washington correspondent, and Larry Lesueur, CBS United Nations correspondent. Mr. Murrow led the correspondents in an informal discussion of the last 50 years and in an evaluation of prospective global trends in the next 50 years.)

Mr. MURROW. I should like some friends of mine to introduce themselves to you.

Mr. SMITH. I am Howard K. Smith, born and reared in New Orleans, La., but in Europe for the past decade, covering all points between Manchester, England, and Moscow, U. S. S. R., from Bergen, Norway, down to Belgrade in Yugoslavia. Present address: 84 Hallam Street, London, England.

Mr. SEVAREID. My name is Eric Sevareid. I grew up in North Dakota and Minnesota, worked in France, England, various war fronts, South America, and the Orient, and now make home and headquarters in Washington on the Potomac.

Mr. DOWNS. Bill Downs, home town, Kansas City, Kans. Assignments: London blitz, Moscow, D-day to Berlin, Japanese surrender, Tokyo and Far East, Bikini, Akron Soap-Box Derby, Detroit, Washington. Present address: 20 Lindenthaler Allee, American sector, Berlin.

Mr. SCHOENBRUN. I'm David Schoenbrun. That's an Austrian name, but I'm a native New Yorker, and I'm stationed in Paris. These past 6 years I've been overseas, reporting from Casablanca to Warsaw. It's good to be back home today.

Mr. BURDETT. I'm Winston Burdett. My home is Brattleboro, Vt. Present assignment and address: Rome, Italy, by way of the Balkans and the Middle East; India, Cairo, the desert campaign, north Africa, Anzio, the Fifth Army, and Washington, D. C.

Mr. COSTELLO. I'm Bill Costello. St. Paul is what Asiatics call my native place, but it's hard now to say just where my home town is. I started newspapering in Minneapolis, while still at the University of Minnesota. And since then my stops in newspaper and radio reporting have included Honolulu, Omaha, Chicago, Washington, and Los Angeles. While I'm roving through Asia, my mailing address is APO 500, Tokyo, Japan.

Mr. LESUEUR. I'm Larry Lesueur, the CBS United Nations correspondent. Born in New York, reared in the Midwest, the son and grandson of newspapermen. My first assignment was the Lindbergh case; reported the war from Dunkerque to Stalingrad; landed with the American troops on D-day. Since then it's been my duty and pleasure to cover the United Nations.

Mr. MURROW. It is our purpose to examine briefly this afternoon, without benefit of statistics, without nominating any men of the year or men of the half century, to examine briefly where we've been, in an effort to see where we're going. No man around this table was alive when the century began. All are reporters, historians of the moment. Let's first examine briefly a few of the great pivots on which history has turned in the past 50 years. What are the big footprints in our own history, Sevareid?

Mr. SEVAREID. Well, Ed, for Americans 1900 ended the age of the great barbecue, and 1950 begins the great age of anxiety. We conquered our continent, we saw our absolute physical security and, therefore, our political isolation disappear. We flirted with imperialism, gave it up because we really didn't care for it. We fought two World Wars, took the initiative for world government with the League, gave it up, took the initiative a second time, and now find ourselves, rather unwillingly, one of only two great powers in a bisected world. And upon our shoulders is the terrible responsibility of preserving the free civilization that western man has developed through laborious centuries. We may not succeed at that, but no one else can. In these 50 years we avowed the policy toward the Orient, restored a reasonable relationship with Latin America, and, finally, understood Europe as our indispensable bastion and partner, instead of a coming competitor.

We saw our broken South start to mend; we began to conserve our wasted natural resources; we saw the rise and decline of organized crime, the rise of organized labor; we saw government teach that preeminent rugged individualist, the farmer, to expect guaranties against failure. We built mammoth corporations protected by property laws that the founding fathers had intended for individuals and then tried, rather vainly, to break them up. We learned to produce goods magnificently, to share them cut rather badly and thus failed to quiet our fears of unemployment. We saw the businessman decline as the idol of society and the power in politics and the partial decline, at least, of riches as our personal Holy Grail. Our art forms and literary language became American and not pseudo-European. We felt what the American way of life is, but found ourselves unable to really express it to others.

We believed in the eternity of our social ideals, but at the first warm breath of an alien philosophy many of us panicked, accused people without proof, hunted witches, and became political peeping Toms, until our native good sense rallied again.

All in all, Ed, I think we have used our new world power with uncertainty but with a gentleness which is without precedent in history.

Mr. MURROW. Howard Smith, could you sketch the big turnings in the road for Europe in the first half of the century?

Mr. SMITH. Well, the story of Europe these 50 years can be quickly told. Europe declined. After ruling the world with no competition for about 400 years and giving us our still-prevalent world culture, inventing modern industrialism and spreading it through the world, Europe's situation began to change radically around the year 1900. What caused the change, I believe, was two things: First, the social problems of industrial economy, like maldistribution of wealth, unemployment, and so on, caused the nations to divide within themselves. Second, the advance of science made Europe too small a space for thirty-odd-nation states to exist side by side, with no international order above them. In 1914 the frictions exploded in the first modern total war. The war, World War I, decided very little. It left the people disillusioned and defeatist in attitude, and it created the first Communist state, in Russia. Adolf Hitler was able to exploit both of those factors—the people's defeatism and their fear of communism—and he won his positions to launch World War II. By the skin of our teeth, we of the democracies won both world wars, but the cost was terrific to Europe. Once the seat of all the world powers, there is not a single big power left in western Europe. Communism has advanced to the verge of the west, fascism lies not very far at all below the surface.

The explosive problems that started it all are still there—the internal social problems, the international problem of some kind of world government. At mid-century, this is Europe's third, and probably last, chance to solve them.

Mr. MURROW. Well, most of us have ignored Asia in the past and most of us know that we can't do so in the future. Bill Costello knows more about that part of the world than any of the rest of us.

Mr. COSTELLO. Well, Ed, in these last 50 years Asia has roused itself like a sleeping giant and rubbed from its eyes the crusted

traditions of centuries. In the long view of history, the transformation has been so swift as to be magical. The first major turning point came in 1905, when Japan emerged as victor in the Russo-Japanese War. That victory had three vital consequences: First, it challenged the nineteenth-century myth of white supremacy and paved the way for the decline and fall of western imperialism, for it demonstrated that Asiatic guns were as good as or better than western guns; second, it planted the dream of Japanese imperialism as a bargain-counter substitute for European domination; third, it set fire to the tinderbox of native nationalism, to the struggle for self-respect, political independence, and freedom from economic exploitation.

In the years that followed we have seen the progressive evolution of these three trends. The Manchu dynasty of China collapsed in 1911 because it was too enfeebled, too morally bankrupt to fight for anything. The First World War weakened the economic power of the west and gave impetus to Japan's imperialist ambitions. In one long, difficult step, Asia then began the transition from the iron age to the machine age. In the midst of this struggle for power and wealth, imperialism suffered a mortal blow when in 1936 the United States Congress approved an act promising freedom to the Philippine Islands in 1946. That action raised the Nationalist hopes of millions in Asia. It focused the issue, and the Japanese answer was, first, the invasion of China, and, finally, the attack on Pearl Harbor. In the war that followed the imperialist cycle came to an end, both for Japan and for the European nations. There were quick grants of independence to the Philippines, India, Burma, and Indonesia. The unequal treaties were abolished in China. By coincidence, communism won acceptance in China as the only visible means of achieving order and stability. The immediate accent now is on freedom and self-government, and the ultimate target of every starving peasant is a better standard of living.

At the end of the half-century, Asia has come of age politically, has made a powerful assertion of national feeling. Now it embarks on the vastly more difficult task of preserving its personal liberties while the causes of economy security are being advanced.

Mr. MURROW. Perhaps one of the best ways of measuring our good fortune at this half-century is to examine what people in foreign lands regard as luxuries.

Mr. SMITH. Well, in Britain, darn near everything British-made is a luxury. Hats, textiles and, alas, Scotch whiskey are all for export only.

Mr. DOWNS. Well, in Germany, it's doorknobs with houses on the other end.

Mr. SCHOENBRUN. And in France, hot tap water or a cake of fat soap.

Mr. BURDETT. In Italy, an orange or a clean, unfrayed shirt. In the countryside, a luxury is an electric light, a telephone, a paved road.

Mr. COSTELLO. Don't think this is exaggeration, but for 1,000,000,000 people in Asia—that's half the world's population—anything more than a pound of rice a day borders on luxury.

Mr. LESUEUR. At the United Nations, I guess, the only luxury is just one kind word.

Mr. MURROW. Now there's a list of luxuries, which we in this country regard and accept as ordinary essentials. In a world with such vast economic and social inequalities, debate, decision and joint action is difficult, if not impossible. The major instrument through which nation speaks to nation was born with high hope and much publicity in San Francisco. The future of the United Nations is uncertain, but we may perhaps measure what it can do, by what it has done. Larry Lesueur has reported its doings from the beginning.

Mr. LESUEUR. Well, Ed, like the United Nations headquarters going upon New York's East River, peace can't be built in a day. Some of the sensational political squabbles at the United Nations have obscured its real achievements. We've heard a lot about the atomic energy control deadlock, the misuse of the veto, the disarmament impasse. It's too easy to remember the failures of the United Nations and to forget its successes. But remember, that when the Big Four couldn't decide what to do about the Italian colonies, they tossed it to the United Nations and that when the big powers were up a tree over Iran 3 years ago, the moral force of the United Nations, focused by the Security Council, culminated in a Russian withdrawal from Persia. It's true that the men of Israel forged their own state, but it was the United Nations that originally created it, and the war in the Middle East was kept from spreading.

The mediation of the UN helped contain the conflicts in the Balkans and Indonesia. The war is now over in Greece, and 75,000,000 people in Indonesia got their freedom this very week. I think it was the debates at the United Nations that unmasked the true nature of Russian propaganda. Those debates certainly helped to consolidate world public opinion. And while these discussions go on before the people of the world, in the background are the continuing efforts of the UN's specialized agencies. They're trying to get after the roots of war by making this a better world to live in. The World Health Organization is attacking scourges more deadly than even war: Malaria, tuberculosis, VD. The International Refugee Organization has already settled a million displaced persons. And the International Trade Organization is reducing trade barriers between nations. I think there's a common desire among the UN delegates not to disappoint the hopes of the ordinary men and women of the world. Of course, the UN can't settle problems like the division of Germany. That, the big powers have reserved for themselves.

Mr. MURROW. Or, Larry, it may be that the Germans themselves will decide which way they're going. How does it look from your post in Berlin, Downs?

Mr. DOWNS. Well, Murrow, I feel there's a distinct here-we-go-again atmosphere on this first day of the second half of the twentieth century. Many new things have been added politically and economically, but the problem that made Europe a battlefield shortly after the beginning of the century still exists. It is Germany and the 67,000,000 people who populate the heart of Europe. The German power potential that turned the continent into a battlefield the year I was born still exists. The revival of German power today once again is under consideration—not so much by the Germans this time, as by the super-nation groups now engaged in a cold war. The reason that no democratic internationalism, such as the United Nations, can solve the problem of their late unlamented enemy is that each of the two most powerful nation-states in the world is wooing Germany like a lovesick swain. Both Russia and the United States want to assure themselves that if Germany does not became an outright ally, at least the German economic and military power will not become a future enemy. This is the essence of the cold war in Germany. As you know, there are two Germanys, the West German Republic, based on Bonn and sponsored by the United States, Britain, and France; the East German State consists of the Soviet zone and is a Soviet satellite.

The Bonn government was chosen in free elections. The East German Government is the product of a Communist coup. But Germans are Germans before they're anything else. They are not Communists because the Kremlin says so; neither are they democrats—with a small "d"—just because we direct them to be democratic. The question of what happens in the world during the next 50 years will, to a large extent, fringe on what the German people will do when they eventually are united—as united they will be. Their spiritual home, their culture, and tradition are connected with the west, but their markets and their economy and their military opportunity will best serve them by joining with the east. Basically, the problem is: Will Germany finally follow the Red Star of the Kremlin or the freedom and promise of democracy? There are no answers apparent in Germany to these questions right now.

Mr. MURROW. Well, of course, it's not only in Germany where two philosophies, two ways of life are in conflict. In all nations, it seems to me, the fear of war, of the inevitability of conflict between these two great powers darkens men's minds. Do you think our policy of containment will work? Or, to put it another way, do you think war is inevitable? Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I can't believe that war is inevitable. The cold war is a peculiar kind of conflict. Material interests are not directly involved. The Russians haven't got anything we want, and we haven't got anything the Russians can't do without. The conflict seems to me to be psychological, a matter of suspicions and ideologies. It seems to me that if there could be a period of mutual sufferance, on however vile terms, and the world could recover somewhat, ideologies might be confounded and suspicions could be dissolved. We can have a very long period of peace—for nothing breeds peace like peace.

Mr. MURROW. Sevareid?

Mr. SEVAREID. Well, nothing is inevitable, Ed. But I think war is likely as long as Russia remains a tight dictatorship. Russia's been a tyranny of sorts for centuries, but not always an aggressively expanding one and never before a mechanized one. I just don't see how you can teach people, teach generations of very tough people that destiny has called them to remake the world in their image, and then not expect them to try to act according to their religion.

Mr. MURROW. Do you think war is inevitable, Downs?

Mr. DOWNS. Nations don't make 12-inch guns to shoot quail. They don't drop bombs in mid-Pacific lagoons to kill fish. War is inevitable until the time comes when nations give up their sovereign right to make war and learn to settle their problems peacefully.

Mr. MURROW. What do you say, Schoenbrun?

Mr. SCHOENBRUN. I'd say that the only inevitability is hatred for the nation that starts the war or drops the first atom bomb. As for the war itself, the Communists say they'll never fight against the Soviet Union. The anti-Communists in Europe say they will fight, if war comes, but only if Americans are in the battle lines with them from the start. As for the French, they say, "no more liberations, thank you, or you'll be rescuing a corpse."

Mr. MURROW. What do you say about the inevitability of war, Burdett?

Mr. BURDETT. Ed, you asked if containment will work. I certainly don't think that war is inevitable, but I don't think either that containment alone is going to prevent it. A straight military policy, designed to contain Russia, seems to me a negative thing. It can produce two armed camps, two civilizations arrayed against each other. It can never produce two worlds capable of living confidently and peacefully together. Europeans know this. I think they will be made to feel much more secure and confident by a solid recovery of their economies than by

any military alliance we can possibly give them.

Mr. MURROW. How does it look from Asia, Costello?

Mr. COSTELLO. In Asia the cold war is on every tongue, but nowhere except perhaps Japan, did I find any eagerness to fight aggressively against the expansion of communism. For that reason, few Asiatics think war would be inevitable. On the other hand, Stalinism is not much better off than we are. In China and India especially, the Russians are regarded as uncouth upstarts. In the ethical and moral sphere, these people feel better qualified to be leaders than followers. If there is to be Titoism in Asia, it will be a moral rather than a military defiance of Moscow.

Mr. MURROW. Well, this is a matter on which you might have something to say, Lesueur.

Mr. LESUEUR. That word "inevitable" has me stumped. If we cut it down to the foreseeable future I think that a final conflict between the United States and Russia doesn't have to take place. I think that Russia prefers political expansion and that the interests of the United States are certainly based on peace. But limited clashes between small allies are not only inevitable, they've already occurred. I think it's a question of hoping for the best, while we keep our powder dry.

Mr. MURROW. Well, this is an area where there is obvious disagreement as you've heard. But we can at least agree that even if it isn't an enduring peace it has endured a great deal already and there is still room for reasonable men to hope. We are agreed that no one can predict with certainty what the Russians are going to do so. So, let's examine for a minute the direction in which the non-Communist world is moving, right, left, or down the middle; what do you say, Schoenbrun?

Mr. SCHOENBRUN. I think to the right. The swing to socialism in Europe was sharply reversed in the last year. Socialists have been kicked out, sold out, bought out, or they've bowed out of governments throughout the west. In Belgium they're out of the government for the first time since the liberation. In Italy the Socialist Party divided itself like an amoeba—sterile cells warring on each other. In Germany a still strong Nazi undercurrent and an anti-Socialist majority.

And, in my own territory, France, I've watched the so-called third force—the democratic center—whittled away on both sides. The first half of this century looked for a moment like the golden age of socialism. Now it looks like the age of conflict—swirling tides running in all directions, and chances are that the currents of the next 50 years will depend on how the tides run in America and Asia, not Europe.

Mr. MURROW. Which way is the political tide running in Italy, Burdett?

Mr. BURDETT. In Italy there's a special phenomenon worth noting. At no time in this past half century has the Roman Catholic Church enjoyed such a florid period of prosperity and influence. This is not a religious phenomenon. It is not a spiritual revival. It is rather a sign of the remarkable political resurgence of catholicism. I think it's mainly due to the fact that after the wreck of fascism and the upheaval of war, the church emerged as the one intact and uncompromised symbol of stability and order. Conservatives rallied around it. Anxious people throughout western Europe turned toward Catholic leadership in their search for security. Right now in Italy the sharp political undercurrents are rightward. The left-running tide has ebbed. The floating mass of voters, the middle class, is again looking for security and right-wing leadership.

I think this is a deep trend, a long-term trend, and not a passing reaction.

Mr. MURROW. Costello, what would you say the general trend in politics is in Asia?

Mr. COSTELLO. Burdett's point raises an interesting contrast in Asia. People in the Orient are not drifting inexorably in any direction—either right or left. There's generally a sense of bewilderment and confusion. On the other hand Asia does have an asset which is conspicuously absent in Europe. There has been a kind of spiritual revival in this century. It's not in any sense a religious movement. It might be accurately compared with the humanist movement, which grew up in Europe during the latter Middle Ages. It consists mainly of a feeling of individual pride and self-respect. People no longer allow themselves to feel humiliated and degraded as the slavish property of some landlord or warlord or foreign overlord. The great symbol of their emancipation was Mahatma Gandhi, who emerged as the voice of Asia's conscience. Gandhi denounced the old moral law of fatalism and subservience, and, using nationalist feeling as a foundation, he created a new sense of personal worth and dignity, which today infuses the whole of Asia.

Mr. MURROW. Well, you fellows from overseas must remember that we have politics in this country too. Sevareid, what would you say the informed opinion is in Washington as to the direction in which we're going?

Mr. SEVAREID. My opinion, Ed—and I'm Washington today—is that there are some basic differences. Europe, of course, had an old encrusted class society and we did not. We are now trying to level out our inequities, not by the Socialist means of state proprietorship, as in Europe, but developing a so-called welfare state and distributing benefits is not really socialism. It's hardly leftism or rightism. But we certainly have changed the function of our Government and our society. First, our Government was to stay aloof from the economic forces and preserve only civil freedoms, then it was to be a balance wheel preventing any economic forces from overwhelming others, now it's to provide benefits, not for classes, but for groups: farmers, labor, veterans, the aged, and so on. America's original motto was "Equality for all—special privilege for none." And now to try to preserve a rough kind of equality it is special privilege for all.

Mr. MURROW. I suppose it is true that the only people who complain about special privileges are those who haven't got them: and viewed from the outside, it seems to me that we in this country have more of them than anyone else.

How does this country look from the outside, anyway? All of you fellows have spent years abroad. Tell us how we are, as others see us, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Well, the British have been the world's money lender long enough to know that nobody loves a money lender, and they should be sympathetic with us. But even the British can't suppress a natural resentment of accepting charity. It has been said, and, I think, truthfuly, that if either of the British political parties campaigned in the British elections on a policy of twisting Uncle Sam's coattails that party would probably win the elections. It's just human nature, I fear, and the resentment won't end until Europe recovers and can play the role of equal trade partner with us, rather than that of a poor relation with his hand outstretched.

Mr. MURROW. How do we appear to the Germans, Mr. Downs?

Mr. DOWNS. How we look to the Germans depends on which side of the dividing line your particular German lives. In the west we have the position of a stern and wealthy grandfather, meting out punishment and rewards at the same time. Some western Germans say behind our backs that we're a little foolish for being so good to them; while in Communist Germany the flood of antiwestern propaganda is beginning to have its effect. With little to counter the party line, we're coming more and more to be the capitalistic, monopolistic, war-mongering villains.

Mr. MURROW. How do we appear to the French, Mr. Schoenbrun?

Mr. SCHOENBRUN. Depends on which Frenchman is doing the looking. A French automobile manufacturer sees us as giants. But a Paris fashion magazine editor thinks we're a little flashy. Tens of thousands of French war orphans think that an American is Santa Claus. But to many a nervous French mother you're a trigger-tempered kid brother who may get the family into a brawl. We're stern uncles to French Government officials; we pay their debts but try to run their lives. We're loved and hated in France; feared and admired, sneered at, flattered, envied, but we're not ignored.

Mr. MURROW. And the Italians, Mr. Burdett, what do they think of us?

Mr. BURDETT. Italy and Europe, looking at America, not Americans, mind you, but America, is like a proud man who has suddenly developed an inferiority complex late in life. Psychologically, it is not easy at Europe's age to have to be grateful for charity, to see your position at the center of the world suddenly eclipsed and taken over by a newcomer. Europeans are painfully conscious that they cannot get along without us and that there's very little they can really do to help us, even though we call them our allies. So they are irritated by this unpleasant sense of dependence. I think there's only one solution to the dilemma. There'll be a healthy mental balance again when Europe feels she's once more carrying her own weight in the world, even though she cannot hope again to lead it.

Mr. MURROW. And what sort of view do the Asiatics take of us, Costello?

Mr. COSTELLO. Well, Murrow, it's my impression that Asiatics treat Americans sometimes with exaggerated courtesy because we have both money and military power. That doesn't mean they like us as a nation or that they respect our leadership and our morality. Many of them are frankly suspicious even when they ask our help. They think of us as being potentially the authors of a new twentieth-century imperialism. They resent our ignorance about far-eastern history and culture and civilization. They don't like our brusque and sometimes patronizing attitude. We need to send Asia a lot of students as well as money if we want to build a permanent reservoir of good will.

Mr. MURROW. Of course, there's a number of foreigners in this country who are getting a rather closer look at us; those who are stationed at the United Nations. What do they think of us Lesueur?

Mr. LESUEUR. Well, as you say, the United Nations has 59 members. Some of them look upon us as imperialists, others as their protectors. None of them likes to be pushed around. But all of them regard us with respect. And no one will deny that the United States is the strongest influence in the UN, and that influence is constantly increasing.

No discussions can take place in a vacuum. The very physical presence of the United Nations in New York has made a tremendous impact on these representatives from all the corners of the earth. The one time everyone listens is when the delegate of the United States speaks. He reflects the power, the prestige, and the money of the strongest nation on earth. I won't say that every decision goes in the direction that we want it to. Far from it. But when the chips are down there are mighty few things that the United States can't get done at the UN if it really wants them.

Mr. MURROW. Let's pursue this matter of the United Nations for a moment. Of course, it wasn't set up to make the peace, but rather to keep it. How's it doing, Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Contrary to most people, I have been greatly encouraged by the UN this last year and mainly by one incident. When it became a question of Yugoslavia getting a seat on the Security Council all the skepticism and cynicism about the uselessness of the UN suddenly dissolved and the powers fought tooth and nail over that seat. I believe that the UN can develop into something like the world's conscience, if not the world's government.

Mr. MURROW. What do you say, Sevareid?

Mr. SEVAREID. Ed, as you said, the United Nations was not designed to make the peace after this war; it was designed to keep it once it was made.

So perhaps the UN hasn't really yet had its chance and won't until the powers do make the peace. But, anyway, I have doubts about the UN, unless by some magic it gets real enforcement powers. It's caught between two great eras, the rise of the era of passionate nationalism in the east and the decline of that era in the west. This is one world all right, but only in space; it's two worlds in time.

Mr. MURROW. What do the Germans think of the UN, Downs?

Mr. DOWNS. One might say, Murrow, that the Germans have a kind of cynical respect for the United Nations organization. They're interested in joining. But they remember Versailles and they see the east-west struggle outside the UN as the real fight and one that the UN seems powerless to settle. I stick to my original contention that the UN or any other international organization will have little real effectiveness until the nations' states are willing to give up those parts of their sovereignty to settle their problems by war.

Mr. MURROW. How do the French feel about the UN, Schoenbrun?

Mr. SCHOENBRUN. Two out of three Frenchmen always say "no" to anything. It's essentially a negative country. But on the UN France is positive; support is strong. There's also a big following for world government movements there and lots of friends of world citizen Gary Davis. Frenchmen are often cynical and pessimistic. But the United Nations still looks like an ideal that even a cynic can buy.

Mr. MURROW. Burdett, how does it look to the Italians?

Mr. BURDETT. The Italians have centuries of power politics behind them. They take what I'd call a dispassionate and utterly disenchanted European view of the UN, namely, that the UN is a collection of sovereign nations that can do no more than mirror the world pattern of power politics. It can do the job if the nations which have the power are able, ready, and willing to make it work. And Italians are only too accutely aware that the nations in question are just two.

Mr. MURROW. What's the view of the UN in Asia, Costello?

Mr. COSTELLO. Well, Murrow, it's a little ironic that the United Nations achieved one of its outstanding successes in settling the Indonesian problems as Larry Lesueur pointed out a moment ago. It's ironic because most Asiatics appear to give the UN very little thought. Each country, each locality is too preoccupied with its own renaissance to concern itself with distant international maneuverings. There's a tendency to oversimplify all their foreign problems by looking primarily to the United States for help and guidance. One prominent Indian statesman admitted to me frankly that it is the United States which is preparing the world for eventual world government.

Mr. MURROW. Larry Lesueur, you spend most of your time out at the United Nations. Do you want to add anything to what you said earlier on the subject?

Mr. LESUEUR. Well, I think your original question was "Can the UN do the job?" Ed, and I wish I could answer that one with a simple "yes," but I can't. The United Nations can accomplish more than the member states put into it. It can't provide military security for the world, but it can and it does provide moral authority. Its great strength lies in its ability to focus world public opinion. I can say this, that if the UN fails and the world goes up in flames, the first thing the survivors will do is form another United Nations. Men just can't live without hope.

Mr. MURROW. Certainly no one can deny to the UN its record of achievement in settling disputes of a minor nature, or its usefulness as a meeting ground for conversations between the major powers. But it's also true that the major powers are attempting to use it as they did the League of Nations for the promotion of their own national interests. The fact is that in a power world the United Nations itself is sadly lacking in power. But it remains the most massive achievement in international organization in the first half of this century.

Well, fellows, let's stop talking about nations and organizations and juggling hemispheres. I'd like to put a very simple question to all of you. You've flown here from a half a dozen different capitals a total distance of about 22,000 miles, just for this program. Tomorrow you'll all be flying back. We have enough time left for each of you to take just half a minute to say just anything you feel like saying. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. One thing has struck me in my reporting in Europe since the war. Almost every time I start tracing some individual European problem to the possible source of remedy, the road leads almost every time not to some place in Europe but to the U. S. A.

It's clear to me that the fate of the world in the next half century will be decided nowhere but here and with the American people and their wisdom or—God save us—their lack of it.

Mr. MURROW. What do you want to say in 30 seconds, Sevareid?

Mr. SEVAREID. I agree with Howard Smith. It's up to America to demonstrate that men can remain free and secure in a mechanized society. But, we can't prove it to others till we prove it first to ourselves. We tend to forget our own ideals. But the tough thing is that there is a basic conflict within those ideals, the conflict between our drive for equality and personal freedom on the one side, our drive for personal aggrandizement on the other. And I think, Ed, that half the world is waiting to see if we can fit them together.

Mr. MURROW. Now, Bill Downs.

Mr. DOWNS. Well, during the past 10 years that I've been a foreign correspondent, the events that stick in my mind are those that make me ashamed. I was ashamed for being fat when a hungry woman in Amsterdam was so overcome by a can of beans that I'd given her that she cried. In Moscow, I was ashamed at being powerless when one of my friends was shipped to Siberia by the secret police just because he was my friend. In America, I've been ashamed of the color of my white skin when encountering racial prejudice.

On D-day when I saw the crumpled body of a young kid that could have been your brother, I was ashamed in a way to be still alive. During the next half century, the part that I'll live through, I'd like to see this kind of shame abolished from the earth.

Mr. MURROW. Schoenbrun?

Mr. SCHOENBRUN. It struck me that we Americans have one characteristic that distinguishes us from all other nations. We want to be loved. We're not content just to have allies, they've also got to be pals, buddies, with a Presidential system just like ours and perhaps a dash of ketchup on their hamburgers. We seem to wear our hearts on our sleeves and we're easily hurt. Maybe the trouble is that our pocketbooks are as open as our hearts and we're secretly afraid that we're loved only for our money. I wish we'd grow a thicker skin in the next 50 years.

Mr. MURROW. Now 30 seconds for you, Burdett.

Mr. BURDETT. Well, I think, Morrow, that this problem of western Europe, which is now ours, is the problem of an insecure civilization. It seems to me that one main reason why Russian pressure seems so formidable and threatening is that the old society of the west is so unsure of itself. If that is so, then our task is enormous.

We can never accomplish it by a purely negative policy dedicated to the idea that everything anti-Russian is good. We can only do it by helping to build a new society, by giving the west a new sense of independent strength, of help, of permanence. By helping Europe to create conditions, the moral and social conditions, for a stable democracy and so for an abiding faith in democracy.

Mr. MURROW. Now, a half minute for you, Bill Costello.

Mr. COSTELLO. I'd say this, gentlemen: Asia today is a keg of dynamite with a lighted fuse and most Americans just don't realize it. We've got to revise our thinking. The old legend of the white man's burden in Asia has been tossed into the limbo of history. The people of Asia today want partnership not patronage. They're willing to buy and sell. But they won't be bought and sold. They don't even want to be dominated by their own governments. They feel just as the Americans do—that people are more important than institutions. In this next half century we've got to extend something more than just material aid. They'd like our money, yes, but they insist on having our respect.

Mr. MURROW. Now, a half-minute for Larry Lesueur.

Mr. LESUEUR. I guess, Ed Murrow, that my chief concern is that the question of war and peace must dominate the rest of our lives. There'll be some very dangerous periods ahead, especially after Stalin dies. A new and insecure Russian leader could plunge that country into war in an effort to preserve his power. On the other hand, the whole Communist movement may break up within the next 50 years. Look at Tito. I think our best hope lies in patience and the cultivation of allies and that one of our great problems will be to erase feelings of racial superiority between ourselves and those allies of another color.

Mr. MURROW. Gentlemen, it occurs to me to suggest that a great deal of sense was talked in those 30-second efforts you just made. And it seems to me, listening to this conversation, that there's been a theme running through this whole discussion—and it is that the last 50 years is a record of unceasing conflict between the individual and the state. When dictators have risen to power, it has happened because the individual has abdicated his political and economic rights and assigned his responsibility as a citizen and as a human being to an individual or to a political party. When dictators have been overthrown, it has been the result of the determination of people to retain or to regain that freedom.

We seem to be agreed that the struggle will continue in all of its various forms. The search for security, both national security and individual security, will continue and it'll be intensified. It seems to me that this discussion has demonstrated beyond doubt that what we in this county do—that is, what our Government does—will determine as never before the fate of civilization. The time when we could separate domestic and foreign issues has passed. Whether we like it or not, the awesome responsibility of the leadership of the free world has been thrust

upon us; we didn't seek it. We have come into our full inheritance at an early age, but youth has never been acceptable as an excuse for failure. We in this country are the fortunate few who live in a generous, bountiful and capacious land. We are, as you have heard, viewed abroad with a mixture of fear and admiration. But it seems to me that, having regard to our history, our heritage, and our strength, we can afford to greet the unknown with a cheer. And, fortunately, there is 10 seconds left, which gives me the opportunity of wishing all of you fellows much luck, good journey, and good news.

It Is Now or Never if We Are To Stop Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSSELL V. MACK

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1950

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, only in 2 years out of the last twenty has the budget of the United States been in balance. Heavy deficits have occurred in all eighteen of the remaining years.

Our national debt as a result of this deficit spending has climbed from sixteen billions in 1930 to a total of two hundred and fifty-seven billions today.

In his most recent message the President proposed to continue this deficit spending during the next few years. It is my conviction that if we cannot balance the Federal budget now when employment and national income are at a high level we never will balance it.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Aberdeen Daily World, one of the leading newspapers of the State of Washington, because it expresses ideas that completely agree with my own:

DEBT COST HEAVY

President Truman's idea that we can go $10,600,000,000 deeper into debt this year and next as a temporary matter and then straighten things out in the following few years so that the budget will be balanced and there will be no need for further debt is puzzling. It is just as puzzling that he figures the interest on the national debt, increased under his program by $10,600,000,000 will be less in 1951 than it is this year. And it takes 13 cents of each tax dollar to pay the interest now. That is only 1 cent less than goes to the veterans. It is 2 cents more than goes to international aid, and more than twice as much as the 6 cents going to age pensions, health, and social welfare. How in the name of common sense and arithmetic you are going to add $10,600,000,000 to the national debt and at the same time reduce the interest, only an Einstein, operating under a relativity-gravitational theory, which no one understands, can explain.

Nor are additions to the national debt temporary. Only twice in the last 20 years—in 1947 and 1948—has the Government lived within its means, and in all that time the debt has mounted from sixteen billion in 1930 to a war-time peake of two hundred and seventy-eight billion. It dropped to about two hundred and fifty billion after the war but it is climbing again and will reach two hundred and fifty-eight billion by the end of next June. There is nothing temporary about that. Nor will there be anything temporary about an additional five billion, five hundred million in the fiscal year ending in June 1951.

The people ought not to allow themselves to be deceived in this matter. The huge public debt is a burden. It took five billion, four hundred million to pay the interest on the debt last year. If the country had been out of debt, that sum could have been devoted to other public services or the budget could have been brought into balance, including all the things the President proposes, without incurring more debt.

A nation, like an individual is better off without debt. And certainly there is no sense in going deeper into debt in a period of the highest national income in history. That is the time to pay the country's bills, not add to them. Not even politics can justify the President's deficit spending.

A Newspaperman Writes About Candidates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 16, 1950

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, in the great Eighteenth Congressional District of my native State of California is situated the important community of Lynwood. I have now received from the town's newspaper, the Lynwood Tribune, a copy of paper dated September 22, 1949, the headlines of which say, "First distaster demonstration in Nation."

With a great deal of pride, Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, I call to your attention that this demonstration is the first reported mutual-aid demonstration of the United States by a community with all agencies coordinated, with every organized unit in the city mobilized as it would have to be in case of some disaster. The outline, as reported by this splendid newspaper, is herewith printed. I know it will prove very valuable to other communities in the Nation. I congratulate this thriving, prosperous, and important community on taking the initiative in doing this.

The article referred to follows:

FIRST DISASTER DEMONSTRATION IN NATION—DISASTER GROUP READY FOR DEMONSTRATION ON D-DAY, SEPTEMBER 29, AT 6 P. M.—COMMANDER BRUNER ANNOUNCES CHIEFS IN ALL DEPARTMENTS, FUNCTIONS; MANPOWER, EQUIPMENT PREPARED FOR EXHIBITION

The first mutual-aid demonstration in the United States for relief of a community, with all agencies coordinated, will be conducted in Lynwood at the city park, zero hour 6 p. m. on Thursday, September 29. Personnel of all divisions will be called at a prearranged signal. Practically every organized unit in Lynwood will be mobilized for the demonstration which will combine the highest degree of communications, technical and professional aid with that of heavy duty. Lynwood, foremost in this movement in California has already enacted its ordinance governing this unusual, emergency organization and appointments were confirmed by appointment of the city council Tuesday night.

Vice commander is Art J. Smith, Lynwood veteran, active in the former servicemen's affairs through the American Legion. Other personnel chiefs are named in the following, which includes functions of all divisions, including that of executive officer which is vested in Police Chief Paul W. Kerr, whose facilities in this office have been made available to the disaster council:

LAW AND ORDER

Paul W. Kerr, chief.

Lieut. Claire Dedrick, first assistant.

Lieut. R. Y. O'Shaughnessy, second assistant.

Lieut. W. W. Fuller, third assistant.

Functions: Secure compliance with law and ordinances of the State, county, and city; guarding all facilities within said city; prevent all types of looting; generally assist all law enforcement agencies.

Duties: It shall be the duty of this division to enforce all laws of the State, county, and city for preservation of life and property, and to maintain peace and order.

Contributing organizations: Regular police officers; police reserves; police air squadron. L. A. Co. sheriff's office, humane society; mutual aid. Service clubs (Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Exchange, Optomist, Knights of Columbus, etc.). Reserve units (California National Guard, U. S. Naval Reserve, U. S. Army Recruitment Service, Sea Scouts), American Legion; VFW.

FIRE DIVISION

Earl Gallaher, chief.

Functions: To maintain fire-fighting equipment and forces to meet any emergencies.

Duties: To fight fires, rescue persons, administer first aid, save property. Instruct residents regarding fire prevention and defense methods for individual citizen. To instruct in the methods of detecting fires and precautions to be observed in reducing fire hazards.

Contributing organizations: Regular firemen; reserve firemen; first-aid units; rescue squads. Service clubs (Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Exchange, Optimist, Knights of Columbus, etc.).

MEDICAL DIVISION

A. J. Frishman, M. D., chief.

Function: To mobilize, organize, and direct the medical, dental, hospital, and first-aid activities.

Duties: Maintain up-to-date lists of names, addresses, and telephone numbers of physicians, dentists, nurses, in key positions, for immediate assignments.

Survey anticipated needs, outline duties, and planning for assignment of medical, nursing, and auxiliary personnel to shelters, emergency medical stations, hospitals, ambulances, morgues, immunization clinics, and public health nursing home visitation.

Contributing organizations and equipment: Red Cross, ambulances, Humane Society, first-aid units, canteens, emergency-aid centers.

Personnel: Medical, dental, and hospital groups; private health agencies and institutions; nursing groups; local druggists, and druggist associations; sanitary engineers from city and county health departments.

Service clubs (Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Exchange, Optimist, KC, etc.).

PUBLIC WORKS DIVISION

A. J. Bateman, chief.

Functions: To maintain public utilities, to keep all routes in disaster planning open for use, and assist in phases of utilities services.

Duties: To repair and maintain public utilities, repair roads, to restore normal flow of traffic as rapidly as possible, coordinate health

February 6, 1950

Mr. George Kirksey
1428 Commerce Bldg.
Houston 2, Texas

Dear George:

Many thanks for your kind words about the Mid-Century broadcast. I am grateful to you for writing as you did, and am taking the liberty of sharing your comments with the correspondents who participated in the broadcast.

As ever yours,

GEORGE KIRKSEY & Associates
[illegible] COMMERCE BLDG. ★ HOUSTON, TEXAS ★ [illegible]

January 5, 1950

Dear Ed:

We heard your Mid-Century Report and everybody agreed it was wonderful.

Certainly would like to get a copy of it if it is available.

Kindest regards to you and Mrs. Murrow.

Sincerely yours,

George Kirksey

George Kirksey

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

February 6, 1950

Dr. Harlow Shapley
Harvard College Observatory
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Dear Dr. Shapley:

Many thanks for your kind words about the Mid-Century broadcast. I am grateful to you for writing as you did, and am taking the liberty of sharing your comments with the correspondents who participated in the broadcast.

Sincerely yours,

HARVARD COLLEGE OBSERVATORY
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

January 1, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The least I can do at the conclusion of your big hour with the foreign correspondents of CBS is to write a note of appreciation for the most successful program. It was encouraging to me personally that so many of the men brought home for this broadcast emphasized America's role of leadership, forced by the circumstances. Also several of them seemed to indicate that reaction and industrial imperialism are not what the world most needs from us.

With best wishes for the new year,

Sincerely yours,

Harlow Shapley

u

February 6, 1950

Mr. Abe J. Greene
The Paterson Evening News
P. O. Box 1350
Paterson, N. J.

Dear Abe:

Many thanks for your kind words about the Mid-Century broadcast. I am grateful to you for writing as you did, and am taking the liberty of sharing your comments with the correspondents who participated in the broadcast.

As ever yours,

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU CIRCULATION — AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS' ASSOCIATION

Complete Wire Reports Associated Press and United Press

The Paterson Evening News

NORTHERN JERSEY'S GREATER PAPER

NEWS BUILDING

Phone: ARmory 4-2000 P. O. Box 1350, Paterson, N. J.

January 4, 1950

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City

Dear Ed:

I would feel that I had not done my duty if I did not write to tell you that the round-robin of your CBS correspondents on Sunday night was the finest thing I have listened to and watched since the advent of television. I have caught all or most of the boys on the radio through the years but their presence and their presentation of Sunday night was so clean-cut and so interesting as to beggar anything of comparable class.

My congratulations to you, to them and to CBS.

Sincerely yours

Abe J. Greene

ABE J. GREENE

AJG/DKR

NATIONAL ADVERTISING REPRESENTATIVES: STORY, BROOKS & FINLEY, INCORPORATED
230 Park Avenue, New York 17; 360 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 1; Fidelity Philadelphia Trust Building, Philadelphia 9
1900 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland 15; 477 Statler Bldg., Boston 16, Mass.; Guaranty Bldg., Los Angeles 28; Rhodes Haverty Bldg., Atlanta 3

February 6, 1950

Dr. Willard C. Rappleye
Dean
College of Physicians and Surgeons
Columbia University
630 West 168th Street
New York 32, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Rappleye:

Many thanks for your kind words about the Mid-Century broadcast. I am grateful to you for writing as you did, and am taking the liberty of sharing your comments with the correspondents who participated in the broadcast.

Sincerely yours,

Columbia University
College of Physicians and Surgeons
630 WEST 168TH STREET
NEW YORK 32, N. Y.
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

January 3, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

May I tell you how thoroughly all of us enjoyed the broadcast on New Year's day. It was a splendid program and I wonder if it is possible to obtain a copy of the remarks made.

Heartiest congratulations on the excellent presentation.

Sincerely yours,

Willard C. Rappleye

Willard C. Rappleye, M.D.
Dean

WCR:mjs

February 6, 1950

Mr. Joseph Spadea
Columbia Broadcasting System
902 Fisher Bldg.
Detroit 2, Michigan

Dear Joe:

Many thanks for your kind words about the Mid-Century broadcast. I am grateful to you for writing as you did, and am taking the liberty of sharing your comments with the correspondents who participated in the broadcast.

As ever yours,

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
902 FISHER BUILDING
DETROIT 2, MICHIGAN
TRINITY 2-5500

January 3, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Your special Mid-Century News Round-up for Chevrolet was a sockeroo. It was beautifully handled, and each guy was terrific in his analysis of his own situation.

Am sure the client will be pleased.

My best for '50 to you.

Cordially,

Joe

Joseph R. Spadea
RJ

February 6, 1950

Mr. Remsen Bird
P. O. 2502
Carmel, Calif.

Dear Rem:

Many thanks for your kind words about the Mid-Century broadcast. I am grateful to you for writing as you did, and am taking the liberty of sharing your comments with the correspondents who participated in the broadcast.

Best regards to you both.

As ever yours,

REMSEN BIRD

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting Co.,
New York City, N. Y.

My dear Ed:-

Our New Years greetings and thanks. Rarely do we miss your daily summary and a few moments ago there concluded, in association with your colleagues one of the most important.

I wish what I have just heard could be made into record form and listened to in every classroom in the land.

We really must not let such valuable statement, factual and encouraging, perish in the sounding of the afternoon.

The hope, as well you know, is essentially dependent upon a truly informed people, morally strong able and ready to think for themselves and bearing their political responsibility. This hope for all the years I have known you has been clearly and surely advanced by you.

We, among the many, are very grateful.

May the Year 1950 do for the people of the world what that group assembled by you from the ends of it would have accomplished.

Our affectionate regards for Ed, Janet and Casey.

PO2502
Carmel, California
January 1, 1959

Rem

February 6, 1950

Mr. Norman Luker
British Broadcasting Corp.
630 Fifth Avenue
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Norman:

Many thanks for your kind words about the Mid-Century broadcast. I am grateful to you for writing as you did, and am taking the liberty of sharing your comments with the correspondents who participated in the broadcast.

As ever yours,

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION
630 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

WASHINGTON 6, D.C. OFFICE
1150 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W.
TELEPHONE EXECUTIVE 1465

NEW YORK OFFICE
TELEPHONE CIRCLE 7-0656
CABLES: BROADCASTS, NEW YORK

January 4, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed,

I don't often write fan letters but I must tell you how much we enjoyed your television discussion the other night of the woes of the world.

Yours sincerely,

Norman

N. G. Luker
North American Representative

NGL:rw

February 7, 1950

Mr. Lester G. Spencer
Station WHIO
45 South Ludlow Street
Dayton, Ohio

Dear Mr. Spencer:

Please excuse my belated answer to yours of January 3rd.

As a matter of fact, I had nothing whatever to do with the production of CBS' Mid-Century Report. However, I have checked with the powers that be and have been informed that records of the broadcast are not available. Would you pass the word along to Mr. Holmes of Wilber Wright High School?

Sincerely yours,

WHIO
The Dayton Daily News • 45 South Ludlow Street
DAYTON, OHIO

January 3, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

We have a request from Mr. J. Holmes, Principal of Wilbur Wright High School in Dayton, for a recording of the special round table discussion held by you and the CBS correspondents on New Years Day at 5:00 PM.

I would appreciate it if you would advise me as to whether a transcription of this might be available for school use.

Sincerely yours,

Lester G. Spencer

Lester G. Spencer
General Program Director

LGS:cc

February 7, 1950

Major Joseph R. Meacham
AAOC#1, Student Officer Detachment
The Artillery School
Fort Sill, Oklahoma

Dear Major Meacham:

Thank you very much indeed for your kind words about the Mid-Century report. I am taking the liberty of sharing your comments with the correspondents who participated in the broadcast.

I have checked with the producer of the program regarding the possibility of obtaining recordings, either commercially or otherwise, and I am informed that they are not available. I am sorry.

Thank you again for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

Fort Sill, Oklahoma
1 January 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City, New York

Dear Sir:

Accept my sincere congratulations on your masterful production of what I consider to be one of the most outstanding radio programs ever presented to the American public. The intelligent analyses presented by you and your CBS colleagues in your "mid-century report" program of 1 January 1950 provides tremendous food for thought for those people who are sincerely interested in an understanding of world conditions and potentialities.

I am exceptionally interested in obtaining a recording of this program to add to your "I Can Hear It Now" series which I have and which I enjoy listening to very frequently. Is such a series of records to be produced for commercial release and if so, with whom should an order be placed? If the records are not to be so produced is there any other way in which I could obtain the recording on standard 78 r.p.m. records?

Beyond congratulations, may I extend sincere best wishes for continued success in your well chosen field in the coming years.

Respectfully yours,

Joseph R. Meacham
JOSEPH R. MEACHAM
Major, CAC
United States Army

Major Joseph R. Meacham
AAOC#1, Student Officer Detachment
The Artillery School
Fort Sill, Oklahoma

February 7, 1950

Mr. Lawrence Treff
9 Stuyvesant Oval
New York 9, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Treff:

Thank you very much indeed for your kind words about the Mid-Century report. I am taking the liberty of sharing your generous comments with the correspondents who participated in the broadcast.

I have checked with CBS' Director of News who tells me that there are, unfortunately, no records of the broadcast available. I am sorry. Thank you again for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

9 Stuyvesant Oval
New York 9, New York
January 4, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

This letter is being written to serve two purposes. The first is to congratulate you, your fellow CBS correspondents, and the Columbia Broadcasting System for that excellent round-up of the world situation which was broadcast on New Year's Day. In my opinion, it was the finest program of its type which I have ever heard. It was a broadcasting achievement second to none.

The general excellence of the New Year's Day program, which I find I am at a loss to praise sufficiently, is the second reason for this letter. I have a request to make of you. I wish to find out if it is possible for me to obtain a recording of the broadcast. I do not know whether the Columbia Broadcasting System receives such requests, but I would be most appreciative if a recording of the broadcast could be obtained.

It might interest you to know that I am a student at Columbia University's Graduate School of Business, and while my academic interests are primarily economic, I am most cognizant of the importance of international politics and its concomitant influence on the world economic situation.

May I wish you a Happy New Year and best wishes for continued success with your news analysis broadcasting.

Sincerely yours,

Lawrence Treff

Lawrence Treff

February 7, 1950

Major E. R. Waite
Waite Minerals, Inc.
822 North Seventh Street
Grants Pass, Oregon

Dear Major Waite:

Thank you very much indeed for your letter of January 2nd. I was interested in your reaction to the Mid-Century report. I am taking the liberty of sharing your comments with the correspondents who participated in the broadcast, and I am sure that they will find your views most helpful.

Thank you again for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

MAJOR E. R. WAITE
PRESIDENT

M. E. WAITE
SECRETARY

WAITE MINERALS, INC.

PHONE 5723
OFFICE 822 NORTH SEVENTH STREET
GRANTS PASS, OREGON

1/2/50

Mr.Edward R.Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Corp
New York City N.Y.

Dear Mr Murrow.

A Happy and Newsy New Year to you. Your broadcasts since 1940 has always been a must with me,if possible. However it would take a several page letter to fully give you my reactions to your socalled forum of Foreign Correspondents with your good self acting as Moderator. Sunday Evening.

In the first place will you tell Mr Paley that the coordination of Columbia Broadcasts on the Pacific slope,at least,is absolutely putrid,the only station "a good one" K.S.L. being audible in the evenings here in Southwestern Oregon,anyhow that is beside the point.

What I want to point out is this,on your Forum or whatever you choose to call it,just one of your correspondents "Costello" gave any semblance of something constructive and tangible. The others evasive,inconsistant,and for a well paid so called foreign correspondent their suggestions were unintelligent,perhaps for imbeciles,but surely not for anyone of the millions of our forces,who served in foreign fields,or for that matter for anyone that THINKS.

The writer just a dumb Mining Engineer,but having travelled just a little since 1897,having like a lot of others run away from home to see the World, "no,not in the Navy" but in the old Square-Riggers,running the East'ard down to Australia a couple of times in four masters,and believe it or not "a la poor Ripley" being one of the crew of one of the two ships "full rigged" that ever beat the East to West passage of the Straits of Magellan after a terrorizing experience reaching Punta Arenas,thats where my first mining experience commenced."I jumped ship had enough".

Since 1908 I have mined in Chile,Columbia,Nicaragua,The Caucasus, with headquarters at Tiflis,then to Baku,from there to Burma,then to Malay States, Western Australia,Queensland,New Guinea,New Caledonia,when it was really a hell hole , anyhow you will see that I have been around a little,not only have I been around,at the same time I was always interested in how people lived or existed,the cause of this existence,and greatest of all the effect of conditions in one part of the World,with their relation to the other parts.

Politics will never cure the World's ill's,especially when you look into the faces and listen to their suggestions,of some of our Politicians and not ours alone by a long shot,I really think that chap in Texas who suggested that all men,especially Congressmen and Senators,even before they run for Office,should have to take a well planned and thought out educational course,before they could run or at least take their seat in either house,that was the most constructive idea I heard in any News Broadcast in 1949.

Your man Costello (hope its spelled right) knocked the nail right on the head,when he suggested an exchange of students,not just Rhodes Scholars,but Seniors in High Schools and Freshmen in College. Send them to Germany,Scandinavia, in fact every Country,let them inter-marry cold blood with cold blood,hot with hot, you know what I mean,bring them together,education and education alone will solve our Worlds troubles,self preservation is mans goal,education will teach him this,hand-outs will not do it,but I well know we have to give hand-outs or sustenance to

a

many millions,but there are still many millions still hungry and starving.

Hunger breeds disciples of Engles & Marks and that abortion of literature the Communist Manifesto,again education not bullets can change that kind of literature. Of course I know your time was limited,but I still maintain that your commentators or correspondents were terribly inconsistant,Larry Lesseur (I hope that is spelled right) got in one significant statement,quote: that there could possibly be a revolution against the police state of Russia in the next 50 years,well my hunch is that it will come within the next 7 years.

This is ancient history to you I feel sure,but in World War 1. I went over with 1st C.E.F. in 1914 in 1916 I got messed up on the So mme,after about 1 year in Hospitals came home, and was detailed as contact Officer to the Russian Munitions Commission,then in this Country,mostly with the American Can at 120 Broadway. General Soposnikoff (hell of a name to spell) was in charge,of course I met dozens of Russian Officers at that time,and as I had a fair working knowledge of Russian,I got the gist of things even after the Kerensky crowd took over for a short while,do you know what they always talked about,can you guess, why nothing but what we named Sewards Folly,when we purchased Alaska, I dined with Soposnikoff at the Bankers Club one day,you know free lunch,in delightfull surroundings,all the Old General wanted to know,was what we were going to do with Alaska,he maintained very seriously that Alaska still belonged to the Russian Empire,I mention this,because one of your bright boy's said Russia wanted nothing from us,or to that effect anyhow.

I hope this has not been boring to you,that is if you have read same, it is the second letter I have ever written to a Radio Commentator,Newspaper or anyone in the Publicity game,the other to Irwin Cannon,my three musts are Murrow,Thomas and Cannon against the field. Well watch Alaska,in desperation one of these days the Bolsheviks will strike,where in hell could they strike but Alaska ?.

Again wishing you A Happy,Newsy & Prosperous New Year,

Very truly Yours

E. R. Waite

February 7, 1950

Mr. George T. Demars
30 Haverhill Street
Methuen, Mass.

Dear Mr. Demars:

Thank you very much indeed for your letter of January 2nd. I was interested in your reactions to the Mid-Century report. I am taking the liberty of sharing your comments with the correspondents who participated in the broadcast, and I am sure that they will find your views most helpful.

Thank you again for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

30 Haverhill Street
Methuen, Massachusetts
January 2, 1950

Mr. Edward Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting Co.
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:-

I listened very attentively to your New Year day mid-century symposium -- while my hot roast pork sandwich went cold -- and I sort of wished I hadn't now. First, because I don't particularly relish cold roast pork sandwiches and, secondly, you all didn't say enough of real significance to make that gastronomic anachorism appear the superfluous anti-climax it would have been under more favorable auricular circumstances. Believe me, I was right in there pulling for you, too, as the preceding makes quite clear. And, as further evidence, I prevailed upon the little woman to forego her hot coffee (without which she is sometimes quite difficult to get along with) so that she could share with me what I had every reason to expect was going to be a mature skit. The commingling of her spleen and my disappointment follows.

Forgetting the marvels of Marvin's commercial -- an assumed necessary economic evil of our radio Juggernaut in a free enterprise system -- my loudspeaker carried what was presumably sounds being made by a group of world-hopping gentlemen whose occupation it is to approach at least a close approximation of observed fact. The moving rhetoric employed, I grudgingly grant, is an inevitable factor of the medium employed and not to be taken too seriously. However, to uncritically permit glibness and phrase-making to pass for "trends" -- even on radio which never hesitates to let loose so many reasonable facsimiles on most anything a sponsor will underwrite -- is little more than like a favorite type of reasoning my thirteen-year old son employs in getting an advance on next month's allowance. Both seem to be risking nothing more than a shaking of heads or the hazards born of crystal-ball gazer's prognostications in fields equally nebulous.

To put it another way: If I were to use my own very limited observations, which are circumscribed by modest travels, a great deal of listening, reading and some cogitation, I would find that these first fifty (or is it 49?) years of the 20th century have been altogether too much at the mercy of events once, sometimes even twice, removed from their original factual sources. The peoples of the world have been all too frequently little more than grist for the merciless, rapacious mills of the Fourth Estate. We are all familiar with the evil of inflating the trivial for Sunday supplements and radio sustainers and its concomitant results of making everything appear equally noteworthy. To the unthinking, the intrinsic values inherent in much current in our world are unimportant and they more often than not need to point nowhere further than their newspapers or radio in justification of their ignorance. In one more attempt at clarity, like myself, there isn't one of you in your respective cosy niche who is permitted to say more than what would confirm the status quo. We're all like Spinoza's "stone" sailing through the fog bound air enjoying something we do not or cannot understand because of, for the most part, self-imposed restraints.

Now if to say that "more" would sound so utterly, diabolically fantastic that no one, least of all a disclaiming sponsor, would jeopardize himself by paying you to voice it, what are we left with? I'm giving you, as I would want you to give me, the benefit of a doubt or two which is raised by economic considerations and which is another one of the perplexities tormenting serious minded folk. However, I must confess, that though I'm not saying you were abjectly proselytising your gift of stringing words together before the mammon of the dollar -- for a certain amount of hard-headed practicality is essential in keeping one's stomach full so that the upper peripheral ganglion, which passes for our brains, can justify its reasons for being there by indulging in an occasional cerebral reverie -- I repeat, that though I make no such insinuations, the general impression we got from the prgram was that both stomach and brain were comfortably distended by an abundance of food and thought -- but not much thinking! If this were an isolated instance, we certainly would let it pass, but, god damn it, it's becoming a habit!

You all should damn well rightly know that the UN's impotence in world affairs is simply that it was never really designed to be so, though radio, press and some other people who should have known better ballyhooed a lot of nonsense which was very misleading to us poor or, at best, busy folk. We accordingly acted by just leaving it to the other fellow. Again, an instance where the people's indifference came from placing too much reliance on interpreters more interested in startling than in informing.

If your correspondences stationed throughout Europe and Asia have no more to reveal than historical conjectures which had their roots in a time before either they or I was born (6/11/09), then CBS can save itself a lot of money (to be used for CARE) by calling them all home and leaving me or anyone else with a knack for beading phrases and spouting halleluiahs write weekly bedtime stories for Swarthkranial noodles of an age troubled by nothing more serious than thick-skinned monsters, airy hoggoblings and colorful nightmares. To say that the Asiatic peoples are "awakening" is certainly a bald bit of journalese the equal of which I hear most every other day. It's almost the equivalence of our G.I.'s estimate of the French culture by seeing only the chickens, pigs and manure piles intruding themselves on living quarters, and oblivious to all else. Getting back to Asia, isn't it a little nearer the facts to say that those seething masses are being made the innocent, sometimes selfish, tools of their more enterprising brethrens? That for each Gandhi there were numberless Chiang Changchengs distributed in more sore spots than China? That by the very nature of their predicament they have little to look forward to than to being exploited by--poltroons who believe themselves their betters? We need not go into the bigotry, intolerance and hatred running around here in hooded night-shirts, English tweeds and, ### regretably enough, blue overalls. I sometimes envy Pearl Buck's 'chinaman'!

As for the possibilities of war -- or rather what you globe trotting gentlemen tossed about as such in the singular with but one exception (which led me to believe I was going to hear something finally worth eating my cold roast pork sandwich for) -- I am truly concerned. You all should know, or at least suspect, that war is invariably always wars. And that you won't be free of them now, tomorrow or the next day until they become WAR -- when you then have something which is reduced to its least common denominator. That this is not likely to happen within the forseeable future -- despite Einstein's mighty "E equals Mc squared" -- ought to be made clear to all of us, and not glossed over by puerile lispings and complacent evasions.

For my money, the social equation of M equals X times E -- Where M is man, X, his potentialities and E, his errors -- and its final emergence into the rind of world consciousness is out best bet. That this goal is not likely to be reached for a good many milleniums to come is no excuse for being slipshod now in our efforts, is it?

You, or one of the boys (I forget), hinted that Stalin in his dotage was far less a threat to world peace than atom bombs -- ours and theirs put together. This half truth has a corollary, however, which makes it unmistakably clear that our apathetic trust in loaded shibboleths concerning the Russians is distorted nonsense serving no useful purpose other than to frighten us into the making of more bombs. And further, as another very important sub-division (please note this) of any discussion involving the Russians, communism shows every indication of having the salutary effect on world populations that our own republican principles had in 1776, when the doom of vassal and king disappeared in the smoke of what now goes under the appellation of labor and capital. In other words, though headlines come and go (worrying some to an early grave), evolutionary processes move almost impercetibly. This fact would never be guessed from radio commentators or newspaper reporters. Another point worth bearing in mind is that the change then as now often was and is one of appearance and not substance, and was and should be recognized as such.

My gripe, in summing up, is that the unthinking -- of which there are many kept so by more means than either Stalin or Franco have ever invented -- are not likely to be encouraged into undertaking "thinking" by what I sometimes recommend they listen to as mature examples of such.

"It is not from space that I must seek dignity, but from the government of my thought. I shall have no more if I possess worlds. By space the universe encompasses and swallows me up like an atom; by thought I comprehend the world. . . Let us endeavor, then, to think well; this is the principle of morality."

And with this thought from Pascal, I leave you.

Sincerely yours,

George t. demars

george t. demars

February 8, 1950

Miss Edith A. Roberts
Vassar College
Poughkeepsie, New York

Dear Miss Roberts:

Thank you very much indeed for your generous note about the Mid-Century report. I am taking the liberty of sharing your comments with the correspondents who participated in the broadcast.

As I had nothing to do with the production of the program, I checked with the producer regarding the possibility of obtaining recordings; I am informed that they are not available. However, if printed copies of the script should be of use to you in your classes, you can obtain them by writing to Mr. John Cowden here at CBS.

Thank you again for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

Edith A. Roberts, Vassar College
Poughkeepsie, New York
17 Dearborn St. Salem, Massachusetts

January 5,1950

Mr.Edward R.Murrow
CBS New York City
New York

My dear Mr.Murrow,

May I congratulate you and your colleagues on the Mid-Century program of December 31, 1949.

Did you make a recording of it? If so would it be possible to obtain it for use in history classes? It was so well done that I wish every American youth might be exposed to it. To my mind it was a "Classic"- if such there be- in reporting.

If it is available I would at least like to see if I can have it given in some schools and colleges.

Sincerely yours,
Edith A. Roberts
Edith A.Roberts

Vassar College

February 8, 1950

Miss Frances Farrell
124 West Newton Street
Boston, Mass.

Dear Miss Farrell:

Thank you very much indeed for your recent letter, and for the poem which you enclosed. I was interested in your comments regarding the Mid-Century broadcast, and am grateful to you for bringing your ideas to my attention.

Thank you again for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

Dear Mr. Morrow:

I listened to the broadcast of last Sunday. No one present mentioned the Holy name of God to ask His assistance to aid us in this present crisis.

We must ever stop to think that the One who made the world and the One to whom the world belongs left us the means to obtain peace. "With Me you can do all things - without Me you can do nothing."

Wars are expensive to finance -

offensive in life - property - broken bones - sightless eyes and broken hearts.

The cost of peace is a prayer. "More has been wrought by prayer than this world dreams of."

The battle grounds of war have been on land, sea and air and still there is no permanent peace.

Where shall we turn? Heaven alone is the answer.

How much longer will man grope in the darkness before he lifts his eyes to Light divine?

Almighty God created the land, sea and air for man's use and

happiness, and man has turned them into battle grounds.

Let every man woman and child who knows how to pray implore the God of wisdom - reason and justice to guide us over the stormy sea of adversity - God will not be outdone in generosity

God suffered and died because He loved us - He still loves us - He is waiting to show His love again for us. Let our love for a merciful God prove our faith in Him

The world is starving for love - "Love one another as I have

loved you. Justice is the flower of Wisdom - love for one another is its fragrance.

I enclose one of my poems.

May God be with you.

Frances L. Farrell

#
124 West Newton St.
Boston, Mass.

O God That I May See.

O God that I may see!
'Tis all I ask, Sweetheart, of Thee;
To know that some day I might stand
Upon the threshold of another land.
This land a kingdom it will be, for there
Upon a throne the King of kings will welcome me;
For I had chosen Wisdom for my guide
Which led me to my Saviour's side.
I walked with Him the blessed way
That I may hear on judgment-day—
"Receive thy crown, my faithful one,
Thy Father's will thou hast well done."

Frances Farrell

Mid-Century
Form letter

February 9, 1950

Dear Mrs. McAllister:

Thank you very much indeed for your recent note. I appreciated your kind words about the Mid-Century report of January 1st.

I am taking the liberty of sharing your comments with the correspondents who contributed so much to the broadcast. We are all deeply grateful for your interest in the program.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Mary S. McAllister
Box 1302
Berea College
Berea, Ky.

Sat Review

April 21, 1951

Murrow piece about the deferment of students from the draft.

Korean war —
antedates Vietnam debate
by 15 years

From Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, 4/5/51

Draft Smart Students?

MARK TWAIN, HENRY FORD, THOMAS EDISON, HARRY S. TRUMAN
COULD NOT HAVE BEEN DEFERRED -- THEY DIDN'T GO TO COLLEGE

(From a CBS broadcast by Edward R. Murrow)

We are now in an argument about the Draft deferment of college students. One thousand examination centers, at which college students will take tests for possible draft deferment, have been named. Scores on the tests, together with evidence of scholastic performance in college, will be used by local Draft Boards in considering the eligibility of students for deferment. We don't yet know what a "passing," or rather a "deferring" score will be.

This action raises some fundamental questions of great importance. But first let's get the facts straight. The Selective Service law passed by Congress says, "that adequate provision for national security requires maximum effort in the fields of scientific research and development, and the fullest possible utilization of the nation's technological, scientific and other critical manpower resources."

In order to carry out this directive, General Hershey, the Director of Selective Service, appointed six committees representing various fields of scholarship. These committees made recommendations in 1948 and repeated them in 1950. These recommendations are the basis of the present college deferment order. The objective is to develop a corps of trained and specialized personnel that will be available for the nation's use. These bright and promising students who pass the tests will be deferred; their obligation to serve will not be cancelled.

(More)

If the student fails to live up to his promise, the deferment can be revoked. But remember, this deferment is possible for any student now in or preparing to enter college, regardless of how obscure or unimportant to the national welfare his field of study may be. What about the nineteen-year-old whose parents cannot afford to send him to college? There is no deferment for him. What about the student who has scrambled and worked his way through high school, and whose intellectual equipment may have suffered as a result? Is deferment going to be possible only for those whose parents happen to have been intelligent or wealthy? Are those studying for medicine or physics to be deferred equally with those who purpose to study Sanskrit or French literature? Are the armed forces to get only the bottom half or the bottom third of the class? And can anyone, even the educational testing service of Princeton, devise a test that will tell whether a college freshman will make any contribution after four years of college in the fields of scientific research and development, and "the fullest possible utilization of the nation's technological, scientific and other critical manpower resources?" These are questions left unanswered by the new directive.

It seems to assume that enrollment in college is proof positive of a man's future usefulness to the maintenance of the national health, safety or interest.

If this rule had been applied in earlier days, people like the Wright Brothers, Mark Twain, Phil Murray, Andrew Carnegie, Henry Ford, Thomas Edison and Harry S. Truman among others, wouldn't have had a chance of being deferred, because none of them went to college.

If we pursued this line of reasoning into the area of Civil Defense, if we should ever require it actively, then we would have to

(More)

conclude that the citizen of better than average intelligence would have no obligation to fight fires, or to help pull the wounded from under buildings, or try to stop the flow of blood. We have never proceeded in this country on the basis of giving preference to an intellectual elite. We have deferred people on the basis of the usefulness to the state of their occupation or the profession for which they were trained. But we have never, I think, attempted to decide who should carry a musket on the basis of his intellectual horsepower.

It is of course necessary, in crisis as in calm, to nourish the minds of the youth of the nation, and to fertilize research in all disciplines of learning, including the physical sciences and the humanities. But it is not less necessary to remember that in our history the word equality has been as important as test tubes, laboratories and research into the lower forms of animal life.

Consider, too, the lot of the student who is, in effect, deemed too intelligent to be trained or to fight. If he fails to pass his grade, he may still find himself in the Army, and a contemporary, too poor or too ill-equipped to go to college, may by then be his sergeant, (in which case the lot of the intellectual will not be a happy one.)

This effort to acquire fire power without damaging intellectual power presents great difficulties. The advisory committees... and they were very distinguished... specifically rejected a proposal that college exemptions be granted only on the basis of essential occupations, because the committees held that it is not possible to determine in advance what field of knowledge will be useful in time of emergency.

(More)

We are now concerned, in a time of crisis, to prevent the threat of war from drawing too heavily upon our future reservoir of intellectual power. Had we been equally vigilant about this in the days of peace, the present problem might not be so acute. But when we embark upon a policy which attempts to sort out, at an early age, those who at some future date may be so valuable to the State that they cannot be risked in combat...well that will require a test, as well as quite a departure from our traditions.

* * *

"You and the World"

Pls pass
Dm

WS FROM
CBS RADIO
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.

MR. ED MURROW

October 7, 1952

Eng Pad

INSIDE STORY OF CBS RADIO NEWS COVERAGE

To provide listeners with a comprehensive interpretation of the principles and methods behind the CBS Radio coverage of the news and the thinking of correspondents, "You and the World," for three weeks beginning Monday, Oct. 13, will be devoted to informal interviews between correspondent Dwight Cooke and members of the CBS Radio News staff.

In the interviews, starting with Wells Church, CBS Radio Director of News and Public Affairs, a background discussion of how news stories are covered, written and broadcast will be supplemented by further analysis of the interests, backgrounds and convictions of the correspondents and the rules they consider basic to good radio reporting.

The guests for the first week will be Wells Church, Monday, Oct. 13; Edward R. Murrow, Tuesday, Oct. 14; Bill Downs, Wednesday, Oct. 15; Douglas Edwards, Thursday, Oct. 16; and Bill Costello, Friday, Oct. 17.

The series will be produced by Fred Garrigus.

* * *

(Mon. thru Fri., 6:15-6:30 PM, EST)

CBS RADIO DIVISION

YOU AND THE WORLD

Tuesday, October 14, 1952
6:15-6:30 P.M.

ANNC'R: YOU AND THE WORLD, with Dwight Cooke. Today, in the second of his three-week series of transcribed conversations with CBS Radio newsmen, correspondent Dwight Cooke has as his guest Edward R. Murrow. Mr. Murrow is heard regularly over CBS Radio every day, Monday thru Friday evenings at 7:45 over most of these same stations. And now, to introduce his guest, here is Dwight Cooke.

COOKE: Today on this series ... here on YOU AND THE WORLD, devoted to conversations with our own CBS Radio correspondents, I come to a man whose voice and whose name is certainly known to all of you and, if you have television sets, his face is also well known to you - Ed Murrow. As he sits across the table from me, trying to describe him in a few badly chosen phrases, he has actually brown hair, but it always looks black. It gives the impression, always, of being very black hair. He's a little over six feet tall, but he never gives the impression of being quite six feet tall, because he's always a little stooped. He has a certain stance, somewhat like a foreign office man in London, perhaps from his years in London. He has very deep-set eyes and deep lines around his mouth. You never think of him except with his collar open but with his tie on and pulled down a little, as it is right now, and with a cigarette in his hand. One of the other things which always hits you if you come near him is a peculiar double (sic) train in the guy. He has one of the toughest and hardest-to-budge minds when he's made it up in anybody I know, but at the same time he has one of the most flexible personalities. He can adjust faster and more easily to the people around him than almost anybody I know. That, Ed, becomes a thirty-second hand sketch of you. Would you like to add any footnotes or derision to it?

MURROW: No, Dwight, except to say that, after that flattering introduction, I am eager to hear what I'm going to say myself.

COOKE: All right. The first thing you're going to say is to have nothing whatsoever to do with your work. I'd like to know what is most fun for you to do which can in no way be connected with news, analysis, public affairs, anything like that.

MURROW: Well, that isn't a very difficult question to answer, Dwight. As a matter of fact, I would rather spend time with my seven-year-old son than anything else. I find him generally rather better company than most of the adults that I encounter, and when we go fishing together or work in the country, clearing land or pulling out stumps or stones, I find myself in very agreeable company.

COOKE: But principally working with him, rather than playing with him, as such?

MURROW: Yes. Yes.

COOKE: No electric trains on the floor at nite?

MURROW: Oh yes, certainly, but he seems to enjoy working and I like watching him, and we have great fun at it.

COOKE: Can't imagine why a son of Ed Murrow enjoys working. It seems a complete reversion from type. Teaching him bad habits early.

MURROW: Well, he had a grandfather who worked. Maybe that's it.

COOKE: All right, then, on the subject of work, here's another reversal. What would you like to do well? It again has no connection whatsoever - not like teaching political science, anything like that - no connection with what you do, preferably frivolous, if you please.

MURROW: Well, I don't know whether it's frivolous or not, but I should like, I think, above everything else to be able to play the piano reasonably well.

COOKE: Why the piano, instead of the beautiful soul-like qualities of a violin?

MURROW: Well, perhaps the answer to that, Dwight, is that I'm essentially a lazy man, and I've done so much travelling that I like to travel with light luggage.

COOKE: A piano being a mere ...

MURROW: No, but one can find a piano in most places, and one would have to carry the biolin about.

COOKE: I see that you are not too familiar with pianists, because only one piano will do, and that has to be practically carted on their back from stage to stage.

MURROW: Well, I didn't suggest that I should be a concert pianist; but, you see, I'm a musical moron. I can't tell one note from another, and it just seems to me it would be h a good idea to be able to play the piano.

COOKE: Doesn't seem to me that particular point leads anywhere else. I think it's settled. It's self-sufficient unto itself. But in your lazy peregrination around the world and with the world's leaders, I suppose you have actually talked with and seen off-stage more of the important people in the world than almost anybody else here in the United States. Does it lead you to any generalization? Are leaders all alike in some way, or does it lead you to a general disillusionment with mankind or what?

MURROW: No, not to a general disillusionment. I would certainly hate to try to pick out the most impressive leaders that I have listened to. But it seems to me there are two kinds of people. One I would describe as the lean-forward sort of guy, who leans forward when he's talking with you and attempts in some way to substitute muscle tension for intellectual agility; and then there's the other kind, who leans back and sort of gives the impression that he is completely relaxed, and basically he doesn't care very much whether you're impressed by what he's saying or not.

COOKE: That's one way of looking at it, Ed. Another way would be the man who leans back, says "go ahead, I'm big; you impress me. I don't care much for you one way or the other. I'm Mr. Big here." And the other man leans forward, trying to bridge the gap between you and him.

MURROW: I suppose that's true, Dwight.

COOKE: Leading us to no argument whatsoever.

MURROW: No.

COOKE: All right. Fair enough. But in these leaders, whether they lean forward, with their ~~mmmk~~ muscular tension, or lean backward in too much intellectual aloofness, what do you suppose makes them leaders? Nice simple question.

MURROW: Oh, very easy. I would make one guess - and that is the ability to communicate, the ability to sense the desires and aspirations of their people, of the electorate, and then throw back at them these desires and aspirations, hopes and frustrations, in language that they, the people, can understand. I would think that is one of the essential qualities of a leader, wouldn't you?

COOKE: Yes, but then you are saying, in terms of these modern ideas of history, that basically a leader is a sort of an echo of the people's wishes. It isn't that a leader supplies something new or different or even further ...

MURROW: I think very many leaders ... I think very many leaders push on the reins ~~s~~ in order to guide the horse in the direction in which the horse is already going.

COOKE: The horse knowing where the oats are and just needing the assurance. Well, beside the ability to articulate, you raise all sorts of fascinating bypaths here that I'm struggling against, somewhat in vain, because one of them is the question, then, whether the leaders are truly great and even the greater, wiser people are merely the people who can make up the most appealing phrases about things.

MURROW: Well, I would think real leadership consists of a combination of the two, wouldn't you?

COOKE: ~~Except~~ that it can't be real leadership unless it's articulatable.

MURROW: That's right.

COOKE: And, therefor, no matter what your moral or human greatness is, if you don't talk fluently, you can't reach what you could otherwise.

MURROW: Yes, and also unless you have the platform, the pulpit. I would guess there are a tremendous number of leaders sort of lying about who just have never had the opportunity to lead.

COOKE: Wouldn't you think that because articulation comes in here, even in a small group they'd begin to assert an ascendancy or state what the group wanted and, then, pretty soon they're on a Parent-Teachers board and pretty soon they're running for Congress, before they know it?

MURROW: Yes, I suppose that would happen. But this is a long process. And as you know, the means of mass communication are not very easily available to the man who is on the Parent-Teachers Association board.

COOKE: Well, but by your definition of leadership here, a man that I know you know -- George VI of England -- had difficulty coming into the field of defined leaders. He had such difficulty articulating.

MURROW: Yes, he did, indeed. I think, had he not had that impediment in his speech, he might have been widely regarded as a greater leader than came to be the case. But to me his greatness consisted, to a very large extent, in the incredible courage of the man to sit down behind a live microphone, knowing that most of the English-speaking world sat listening to him, and to have the courage to say, with that impediment in his speech, I shall go ahead and talk, refusing to permit them to record his speeches in advance, where they might have eliminated that stoppage in his voice. I think this is leadership of a very high order.

COOKE: Perhaps you put your finger there, Ed, on another point involved in leadership I've always thought had something to do with it - and that's that very vague thing you can call a little <u>moreishness</u>; that is, here is George VI with a little more guts than most of the people around him. Maybe it's just with some men an ability to live a little longer, or maybe it's just the ability to keep on plugging it, an idea or a speech or at meetings, five minutes after everybody else has fallen flat on their faces.

MURROW: I like that phrase "a little <u>moreishness</u>". I suppose, a little

more believability, a little more honest humility, a little more ability to convey that the speaker feels that he is not necessarily always right.

COOKE: Or even a little more of an ability to swing around on the edge of a dime and go off in another direction, as if you'd intended to go there all along. I don't think these things operate purely as good in here, do you?

MURROW: No, I agree entirely.

COOKE: Well, now let's get a little mureishness at Ed Murrow here by getting at a question I'm asking everybody, letting each of you define the terms to suit yourself and the answers chosen to suit yourself:- The United States vis-a-vis the rest of the world today. Just a quick sort of a balance sheet. Two of the weaker points, the Achilles' heels, the places you'd pry at if you were enemy of the United States, and two of the things that we can count on and almost instinctively base ourselves in. That's all.

MURROW: Well now, we really are juggling hemispheres, aren't we? Dwight, let's take ..(laughter) let's take the weaknesses first, if you agree. I think we have two. The first is that thruout most of our history we have sought for and found easy and quick solutions. That is true, I think, with the exception of the War Between the States.

COOKE: That sounds almost like a plus, rather than a minus. If you can find an easy, quick solution you're pretty good.

MURROW: Well, let me finish. I say it is a weakness because we are now confronted with a situation to which there is no easy and quick solution. Being an impatient, eager, thrusting sort of people, I think our weakness lies in the demand that we reach a solution and have this thing done with, and this may in turn produce reckless and irresponsible action. The other weakness, I would suggest, is what might be called a certain callousing of the conscience, a disposition not to get angry at things that are morally wrong, a tendency to accept the destruction of a man's character without ask-

ing for fact, not only his character but perhaps his livelihood. And I feel very strongly that the ability to anger is as important as the ability to give your affirmative allegiance. Does that make any sense to you at all?

COOKE: Very good sense, Ed. How much of that do you think is due to a wrong idea of what tolerance consists of or how much is due to a kind of a rotting of moral fibre, Ed?

MURROW: Well, I think there is a very narrow line between tolerance and indifference, and I think maybe we have gone over into the area of indifference.

COOKE: Because we don't care or don't realize?

MURROW: Because we have, in a sense, become numbed as a result ...

COOKE: By the constant cantanation of events?

MURROW: Exactly. That was very well put ...

COOKE: I fairly got thru that, Ed. All right, now to the affirmative. I think you ...

MURROW: Oh, to the affirmative ... first and foremost, I think, would be the native belief in this country that we can do anything, our tendency to believe that if we decide at noon today that everything we've been doing for the last five years is wrong, we scrap it and start over again right from the foundations.

COOKE: Wait a minute. Those are really two different points there. First, the conviction that anything we choose to tackle, we can go thru with; and quite a different point, that any time we're humble enough or smart enough to junk everything we thought we could do and do something else ... (interruption) ... rather do it.

MURROW: No, this is not, I think, a contradiction. What I meant to say and said it rather badly was that the change in technique, the change in approach is not a reflection of a loss of belief in our ability to do it.

COOKE: Oh, I see that, yeah. In other words, part of the confidence is

proved by the fact that we are willing to abandon it halfway thru and go somewhere else.

MURROW: And the absence of the belief that is so common in many countries that because a thing is old and tried and traditional it is, therefore, best.

COOKE: And one of the real tests of the humility of anybody is the lack of getting upset by the fact you're wrong at a given moment.

MURROW: That's right.

COOKE: The beginning of being right at the next moment.

MURROW: That's right.

COOKE: Ed, thanks a lot for being with me and telling me a few of the thoughts that go on inside that head. Next time I'll try to get some more from you.

ANNC'R: You have been listening to YOU AND THE WORLD. Today, CBS Radio correspondent Dwight Cooke had as his transcribed guest Edward R. Murrow, CBS news analyst, whose broadcasts are heard regularly Monday thru Friday at 7:45 P.M. over most of these stations. Tomorrow Mr. Cooke's guest will be CBS Radio's Washington correspondent Bill Downs. YOU AND THE WORLD is produced by Fred Garrigus, and will be heard again tomorrow at this same time.

(COMMUNITY CHEST ANNOUNCEMENT)

LUIGI: Hallo, this isa Luigi. Thisa yeara be sure you vote - and follow the electiona returns on the CBS RADIO NETWORK.

Ediphone trans./E. Scheiner

MR. ED MURROW
Am. Red Cross Drive
Enclosed.

Press Information
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.

February 20, 1953

RED BUTTONS, EDWARD R. MURROW, JANE FROMAN, BOB HOPE,
TALLULAH BANKHEAD, OTHERS, ON RED CROSS FUND SHOW

Red Buttons, Edward R. Murrow, Jane Froman, Tallulah Bankhead, Bob Hope, Johnny Desmond and Ted Husing, with the music of Meredith Willson's orchestra and the Ray Charles Chorus, will provide the all-star entertainment on "Answer The Call," special 30-minute television program launching the annual March drive for funds by the American Red Cross.

(Note to editors: This line-up supersedes any previously announced.)

The program will be produced in New York by the CBS Television Network and offered to the other television networks for showing on Sunday, March 1, time to be announced.

In a special broadcast from the White House, President Eisenhower will join the appeal as Honorary President of the American Red Cross. Appeals by E. Roland Harriman, President of the ARC, and Leroy A. Lincoln, National Fund Appeal Chairman, officially will launch the drive for funds on "Answer The Call."

John Peyser will direct for CBS-TV. James Sheldon and Richard Lewine will co-produce. Harold Flenders has been assigned as writer. Network coordinator for the special broadcast is Paul Levitan of the CBS-TV Public Affairs Department.

* * *

MURROW - RED CROSS SPOT

Good evening. I'm Ed Murrow. Welcome to the Television Industry's salute to the American Red Cross. Wherever a reporter goes, at home or abroad, and finds human beings in distress, there he finds the Red Cross. During the next thirty minutes you will visit the President of the United States at the White House. There you will meet his guests, people who helped write some of the exciting chapters of the Red Cross story! During the next thirty minutes you will also be entertained by some of the outstanding celebrities of Broadway and Hollywood. It is altogether appropriate to open this program with that great and gallant entertainer and friend of the Red Cross, Miss Jane Froman!

"The Green Border"

NEWS FROM
CBS RADIO
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.

MR. ED MURROW

Eng. Pack

May 11, 1953

RUSSIA PROMOTING REFUGEE TIDE FROM IRON CURTAIN COUNTRIES TO WEST, FORMER FRENCH PREMIER SAYS IN CBS RADIO BROADCAST

The increasing tide of refugees from behind the Iron Curtain into the Free World is a result of Soviet policy which consists in forcing those people whom they consider cannot be assimilated to abandon their countries, Paul Reynaud, former French Premier, declared on CBS Radio's "The Green Border" Friday (May 8).

A full-hour actuality broadcast, the program was the first report on the men and women who have escaped from behind the Iron Curtain, recorded in their own words and voices. Edward R. Murrow was narrator.

"To this effect they make life extremely difficult for them. The Soviets derive from this policy a double advantage," Mr. Reynaud told Mr. Murrow. "First, they settle their own people in the abandoned territories. Second, they make more difficult the task of Western Germany, which has already received since the end of the war more than nine million refugees who had to be housed and fed, apart from the political dangers inherent to those unfortunate people, two million of whom are unemployed."

Leslie Knox Munro, Ambassador from New Zealand, said that he thinks there will be many more refugees despite the peace offensive:

(More)

"I listened the other day in the United Nations to Mr. Lodge speaking about refugees who are ready, still, to break through barbed wires which are sometimes, I suppose, electrified; men and women who are ready to undergo attempts by guards to shoot them, but they are still determined to cross that bare piece of earth which separates them from freedom, and still prepared to risk their lives doing so. And I'm quite convinced that there will be more and more of them coming to us, and I say that in spite of the so-called present peace offensive."

From different corners of the Free World other spokesmen voiced their opinions on the refugee problem: Sir Percy Spencer, Australian Ambassador; Llewellyn E. Thompson Jr., U. S. Ambassador and High Commissioner for Austria; Carlo Perrone Capano, official spokesman of the Italian Foreign Office; James O'Neil, publisher of the American Legion Magazine and former National Commander; Philip B. Perlman, former U. S. Solicitor General and Chairman of the President's Committee on Immigration and Naturalization; and George Warren advisor on refugee affairs to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

Based on hundreds of interviews in Europe by producer David Moore, "The Green Border" broadcast the stories of men and women who have escaped from behind the Iron Curtain, recorded in their own words. Those heard were: a refugee who has lived in a camp for four years; a laborer, a lawyer, a teen-aged student, a manufacturer, a school teacher, an electrician, a housewife, a mother of two young children, a smuggler of humans across the border, a cabinet maker; and Dr. Elizabeth Gerhartz, Director of the Central Refugee Office in West Berlin.

(More)

Broadcast as part of CBS Radio's continuing service in the public interest, "The Green Border" was the second in a series of Feature Project Productions planned by Stuart Novins, Director of Public Affairs, CBS Radio. The first program, "Bomb Target...USA," appraised the nation's military and civilian defense preparedness against a possible continental atomic attack.

* * *

PANEL DISCUSSION ON CONSERVATION IN THE OIL INDUSTRY

"They Even Put Waste to Work . . . . "

"Edward R. Murrow interviews 5 well-known oilmen--hears how the oil industry makes sure you get the most from each drop of oil."

Two-hour radio interview in the CBS Studio with:

General Ernest O. Thompson, Chairman of the Texas Railroad Commission

E. DeGolyer, Geologist and Independent Oil Producer

George L. Parkhurst, Chairman of the Board of the Oronite Chemical Company, San Francisco

John M. Lovejoy, Chairman of the Board of the Seaboard Oil Company

John W. Newton, Vice-President of the Magnolia Petroleum Company and Vice-President of the American Petroleum Institute

Script attached

2-page spread in "Broadcasting*Telecasting, October 5, 1953, p 53 & p 56

CBS NEWS
A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
524 West 57 Street
New York, New York 10019
(212) 765-4321

Dear Eleanor: January 18, 1974

Thank you for forwarding the material on the 1953 Panel Discussion on Conservation in the Oil Industry. I would like to keep it in my files as it may very well be useful as we go deeper and deeper into the energy crisis.

When spring rolls around, I will make a definite effort to come to the Edward R. Murrow Center to acquaint myself with your collection. Do not hesitate to get in touch with me if I can help you.

Best wishes,

May

May M. Dowell
Director of Special Projects

Mrs. Eleanor G. Horan
Curator, Murrow Collection
Tufts University
The Edward R. Murrow Center
of Public Diplomacy
Medford, Massachusetts 02155

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F 559

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Miss D. McDonough

From Emily Scheiner

Station

June 10th, 1953

I just want to tell you that I've hired Mrs. Spence to do your "oil" job. She will start it on Thursday and will finish it on Saturday. I'm quite sure it can be done in two days, since it is not quite as long as you had thought. You should have the complete transcript first thing Monday, I'm quite sure.

Will that be satisfactory?

I'll call you when I come in.

Emily

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Jerry Brooks

from: Jesse Zousmer
E.R.Murrow office

June 15, 1953

Here's enough to keep you busy until tomorrow noon. In all, it runs 37 pages, and if you've got any real problems about what someone "meant" to say, we can give it another listen and straighten it out for you.

J.Z.

1137

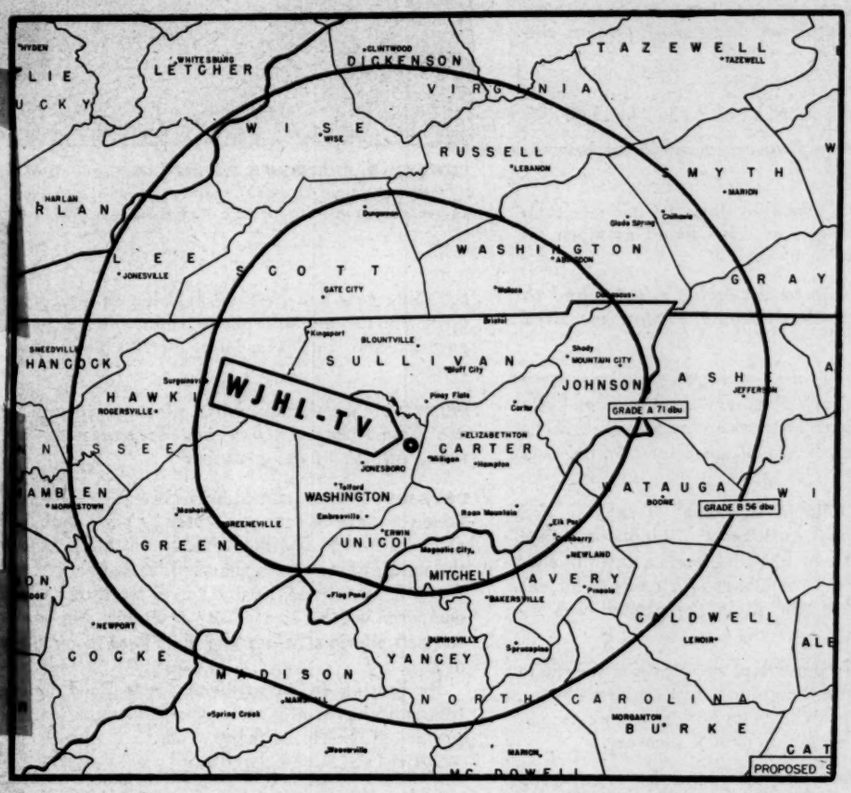
NOW...

TRI-CITIES TELEVISION

WJHL-TV

JOHNSON CITY, TENN.

Brings the top rated shows of
CBS (Basic) ABC—DuMont—NBC



. . . not just in Johnson City, but in sections of the four state area of Tennessee, Virginia, Kentucky and North Carolina.

Included in the Class A and B signal area of WJHL-TV are 822,000 people and VHF set potential of 200,000 homes. This is based on interim power of 58,780 watts which, by summer of 1954 will reach full power of 316,000 watts.

You'll get perfect coverage now of Johnson City, Bristol, Kingsport, Elizabethton, Greenville, Erwin, Morristown and scores of other thriving communities. Here is VHF television sensibly priced . . . priced to sell . . . and priced to sell *for* you. Just call John E. Pearson Television, Inc.

WJHL-TV

TRI CITIES TV

CHANNEL 11
JOHNSON CITY TENN.

Represented by *John E. Pearson Television Inc.*

NEW YORK CHICAGO MINNEAPOLIS
DALLAS LOS ANGELES SAN FRANCISCO

NATIONAL TV SALES

WJHL *VHF* Television . . . coverage of 822,000 people . . . TV affiliate of WJHL radio

Advertisement

Eng Pack

"They Even Put Waste to Work..."

EDWARD R. MURROW Interviews 5 Well-Known Oilmen—Hears How The Oil Industry Makes Sure You Get The Most From Each Drop of Oil

EDWARD R. MURROW'S ROUNDTABLE on oil conservation practices brought five outstanding oilmen from all over the country to his CBS Radio studio in New York

MEET THE PANEL:

I'm General Ernest O. Thompson, Chairman of the Texas Railroad Commission—a conservation agency of our state charged by law to prevent waste of natural resources like oil and gas.

My name is E. DeGolyer. I'm a geologist and an independent oil producer. My chief interest is in the exploration of oil and the estimation of oil reserves.

My name is George L. Parkhurst. I'm Chairman of the Board of the Oronite Chemical Company, San Francisco. I'm concerned with petro-chemicals and also with other phases of the oil industry.

I'm John M. Lovejoy, Chairman of the Board of the Seaboard Oil Company—a producing oil company with a production of 33,000 barrels a day in various parts of the United States.

I'm John W. Newton, Vice-President of the Magnolia Petroleum Company, in charge of refining. I'm also Vice-President for refining, American Petroleum Institute.

Here are the highlights of Mr. Murrow's interview—one of the most important discussions ever held on conserving the nation's oil supply, and its significance to you as an American:

MURROW: ***Dr. DeGolyer—you're one of the greatest geologists in this or any other country—how much oil do we have available in the U.S.?***

DeGOLYER: About 30 billion barrels in proven resources—almost 4 times what we had in 1925.

MURROW: ***Are we finding as much oil here as we're using up?***

DeGOLYER: The available statistics indicate that, yes, on the average, we have found as much oil each year as we've used.

MURROW: ***I'd like to ask—what's happened to the wasteful, old-fashioned gusher we used to see?***

THOMPSON: Well, in the old open flow days, every man got all he could under "devil-take-the-hindmost" production. That was very wasteful. Wells would blow their heads off, gush for a while, then go flat.

NEWTON: In 1901 in Beaumont, Texas, we had America's original gushers at "Spindletop." One flowed at the rate of 100,000 barrels a day, but only for a short time. In contrast with today's efficient practice, little of the oil in the ground was recovered.

THOMPSON: In those days we recovered only 25 to 30% of the oil in the ground. In East Texas today, by carefully conserving reservoir energy, we are not content unless we get up to 80% recovery.

MURROW: ***What do you mean by conserving reservoir energy? Is this a key problem in oil conservation?***

DeGOLYER: It's the basic problem—keeping the pressure on the oil in the reservoir. An oil field has been best compared to a bottle of soda water. If the bottle is opened and the gas is allowed to escape, the thing goes flat. If an oil field is produced wide open and the pressure gets too low, then the field goes flat and you lose a lot of oil which you never recover.

MURROW: ***Would someone please explain to me how oilmen inject gas or water to get more oil out of the ground?***

LOVEJOY: If your natural forces become exhausted, then you have to pump in water or gas to provide artificial forces. The best time to do this is before the natural forces are exhausted. In the New Hope Field of East Texas, natural forces were very small compared to the size of the reservoir. The wells stopped flowing before the field was completely drilled.

By putting in an artificial water flood before the natural pressures were gone, we've maintained production there for many years.

MURROW: ***What are oilmen doing to conserve oil once it gets to the refinery?***

NEWTON: I'd like to comment on that. We've developed new refining processes, principally catalytic cracking, alkylation, polymerization, etc. and learned how to make better use of gases formed in some of these operations. Compared to years ago, twice

For a new free booklet on oil conservation, "Oil Con-*Serves* For You,"—write to Oil Industry Information Committee,

City. Mr. Murrow questioned his guests (identified at left) for over 2 hours. This entire interview was recorded on tape. Its highlights are reproduced on these pages to bring you one of the most important discussions ever held on conserving the nation's oil supply, and its significance to you as an American.

quantity of useful products can now be obtained from a barrel of crude.

MURROW: That's conservation indeed.

NEWTON: We are now able to meet the requirements of the public out of 2½ billion barrels of crude yearly. Without these many process improvements we would have used about 5 billion barrels of crude oil last year.

Also, oil products have constantly been made better. The fact that two gallons of today's gasoline do the work that three did in 1925 shows an outstanding achievement in quality. This is real conservation.

MURROW: ***Mr. Newton, I wonder if you could tell us a little about some of the other products you people make from oil?***

NEWTON: Petroleum products go into production of insecticides, fungicides, anti-freeze, detergents, etc. Today there are something like a thousand different products of varying types made from petroleum.

MURROW: ***This is down your line, Mr. Parkhurst. What about the use of petroleum products in the manufacture of synthetic rubber?***

PARKHURST: That's very important. Nearly all synthetic rubber today comes from petroleum. Other things in the same general category are plastics, paints, textile fibres—great varieties of things we don't normally think of as petroleum products.

MURROW: ***Somebody told me you were even conserving the smell of oil these days. Is this true?***

NEWTON: Yes. There is one smell that is being conserved and actually being used. That's in the recovery of sulphur. With some oils, sulphur gases are generated, which we can recover and so make possible their conversion to sulphuric acid. This acid helps manufacture hundreds of products.

PARKHURST: That's an example of a by-product which was not only a waste—its smell was a nuisance. Taking that waste product and upgrading it into a valuable chemical is an excellent example of conservation.

MURROW: ***With all the thousands of companies engaged in the oil business, how much has competition contributed to oil conservation?***

LOVEJOY: I think competition is probably the secret of the success of the oil industry in this country. In the countries where governments themselves have tried to develop their own resources, they have been completely unsuccessful. To illustrate, in Russia they have not been able to increase their oil production materially over the last twenty years —and their oil potentialities are vast.

DeGOLYER: The 13,000 small and large producers in the U.S. don't all think alike. I might look at all the data on a certain prospect and decide it didn't justify the cost of a well. Mr. Lovejoy might think differently and drill it. Even if both of us thought it was bad, there would be some third fellow who came along and drilled it. That's one reason we find as much oil as we do, and find it as fast as we have.

PARKHURST: Mr. Newton has mentioned new refining processes and improvements in products. This has been stimulated greatly by competition in research. Companies, large and small, all competing to bring out a better product and do a better job of processing the crude oil, have made a great contribution—

MURROW:—***So that good conservation practices extend throughout the entire industry?***

PARKHURST: That's true. Going beyond production and refineries, conservation never ceases. The oil industry has worked with the automotive people, equipment manufacturers and consumers to get better use out of oil products and to give better value.

Our lubricating oils have been improved to the point where engine overhauls are much less frequent. An automobile will go farther on a gallon of gasoline. Fuel oil has been upgraded by more efficient combustion and better oil burners. And, so, conservation extends from the oil in the ground to the final, individual user.

EDWARD R. MURROW SUMS UP . . .

It seems to me, that these five distinguished oilmen say this:

Nature has given us a wealth of petroleum, but it is not necessarily inexhaustible. Man, through his skills and ingenuity, has converted petroleum to his own use. And now man—the oil industry —is trying through sound conservation to assure us:

FIRST, that the maximum amount of oil is produced from each field.

SECOND, that researchers are finding new ways to provide new oil supplies for the future.

THIRD, that oil, once taken from the ground, is processed efficiently to meet the consumer's needs.

The one thing I already knew was that all this pays off in effective service to the public.

Hear Edward R. Murrow on CBS Radio, Monday through Friday; see "Person to Person," his new TV show, CBS-TV Friday nights.

American Petroleum Institute, Box 152, 50 West 50th Street, New York 20, N. Y.

LOUISIANA

KTAG (TV) Lake Charles, uhf ch. 25 (CBS, ABC, DuMont), represented by Adam Young Tv Inc., Oct. 15.

MASSACHUSETTS

WMGT (TV) North Adams, uhf ch. 74, represented by Walker Representation Co. Inc., Oct. 15.

WWOR-TV Worcester, uhf ch. 14, represented by Paul H. Raymer Co. Inc., Oct. 31.

MINNESOTA

WJON-TV St. Cloud, vhf ch. 7, represented by William G. Rambeau Co., late October.

MISSISSIPPI

WCOC-TV Meridian, uhf ch. 30, October.

MISSOURI

KSTM-TV St. Louis, uhf ch. 36 (ABC-TV), represented by H-R Television, Oct. 15 (granted STA Aug. 25).

NEW YORK

WROW-TV Albany, uhf ch. 41 (ABC), represented by Bolling Co. Inc., Oct. 15.

NORTH CAROLINA

WCOG-TV Greensboro, uhf ch. 57 (ABC-TV), Oct. 30.

NORTH DAKOTA

KFYR-TV Bismarck, vhf ch. 5, represented by Blair-Tv Inc., October.

OHIO

WIFE (TV) Dayton, uhf ch. 22, represented by Headley-Reed Tv Inc., Fall.

WMAC-TV Massillon, uhf ch. 23, represented by Edward Petry & Co. Inc., Oct. 15.

WUTV (TV) Youngstown, uhf ch. 21, Fall.

OKLAHOMA

KLPR-TV Oklahoma City, uhf ch. 19 (DuMont), represented by The Bolling Co., Oct. 15.

KTVQ (TV) Oklahoma City, uhf ch. 25 (ABC, CBS), represented by H-R Television, Oct. 11.

OREGON

Eugene TV Inc., Eugene, vhf ch. 13, represented by George P. Hollingbery Co., October.

KOIN-TV Portland, vhf ch. 6 (CBS), represented by Avery-Knodel Inc., Oct. 15 (began tests Sept. 29).

PENNSYLVANIA

WNOW-TV York, uhf ch. 49 (DuMont), represented by George P. Hollingbery Co., Oct. 12.

RHODE ISLAND

WPRO-TV Providence, vhf ch. 12, represented by Blair-Tv Inc., Oct. 15 (granted STA Sept. 23).

SOUTH CAROLINA

WIS-TV Columbia, vhf ch. 10 (NBC), represented by Free & Peters Inc., October.

TENNESSEE

WJHL-TV Johnson City, vhf ch. 11, represented by John E. Pearson Tv Inc., Oct. 11 (granted STA Aug. 27).

WTSK (TV) Knoxville, uhf ch. 26, Oct. 10 (granted STA Sept. 4).

TEXAS

KNUZ-TV Houston, uhf ch. 39 (DuMont), represented by Forjoe Tv Inc., Oct. 10.

KANG-TV Waco, uhf ch. 34 (ABC-TV), represented by John E. Pearson Tv Inc., Oct. 15.

KRGV-TV Weslaco, vhf ch. 5 (NBC), represented by O. L. Taylor Co., October.

VIRGINIA

WBTM-TV Danville, uhf ch. 24, represented by George P. Hollingbery Co., Oct. 1.

WTOV-TV Norfolk, uhf ch. 27 (ABC, DuMont), represented by Forjoe-Tv Inc., Oct. 22.

WEST VIRGINIA

WTAP (TV) Parkersburg, uhf ch. 15 (ABC), represented by Forjoe-Tv Inc., Oct. 25 (tests due Oct. 11).

WTRF-TV Wheeling, vhf ch. 7 (NBC), represented by George P. Hollingbery Co., Oct. 12.

WISCONSIN

WRBJ (TV) Beloit, uhf ch. 57, represented by George W. Clark Inc., Oct. 8.

ALASKA

KFIA (TV) Anchorage, vhf ch. 2 (ABC, CBS), Oct. 15.

Harry Karr Named To Head WRC Sales

HARRY KARR has been appointed sales manager of WRC Washington, Joseph Goodfellow, director of sales for WRC and WNBW (TV), announced last week. Mr. Karr has been with the station since 1947.

Mr. Karr

The new sales manager will place personal emphasis on the sales of WRC programs to national advertisers. He is soon to visit NBC Spot Sales offices in New York and Chicago.

Hampton Uhf Increase

INCREASE of 11,147 uhf-equipped television receivers in 24 days between Sept. 5-29 is claimed by Thomas P. Chisman, president-general manager of WVEC-TV Hampton, Va., in showing progress made in Norfolk area. Mr. Chisman said 70% of dealers and distributors reported total of 28,046 sets had been converted as of Sept. 29.

WKBN-AM-FM-TV Center Dedication Set Oct. 8

NEW center for WKBN-AM-FM-TV Youngstown, Ohio, is scheduled to be dedicated Oct. 8 with a two-hour local radio-tv program and with Youngstown Mayor Charles P. Henderson as the principal speaker.

The building begun in 1948 and which cost $1.5 million, contains 130 rooms—including seven radio and tv studios, four control rooms and a completely equipped kitchen. WKBN, which began operating with 7.5 w from the home of President-General Manager Warren P. Williamson Jr. in 1926, moved into the building in 1951. Final completion was held up until the end of the tv freeze.

The dedicatory program will include a one-hour simulcast of a musical review of the past 25 years, using local choral groups, soloists and studio orchestra. On radio, part of the dedication program will comprise excerpts from great news events of the past 27 years, including voices of those who made news, taken from tapes in the WKBN morgue. A one-hour film will be shown on WKBN-TV depicting the new center.

CBS-affiliated WKBN operates on 570 kc with 5 kw. WKBN-TV, which since last January, is on uhf ch. 27, with ABC, CBS and DuMont affiliation.

HOME of WKBN-AM-FM-TV Youngs be dedicated Thursday. Begun in 1948, the $1.5 million radio-tv ties of the 75-man operation headed Jr

BELL SUCCEEDS BERNARD AT KOMA

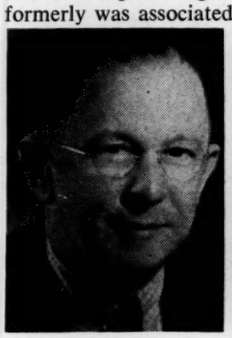
APPOINTMENT of Edgar T. Bell, veteran Oklahoma City broadcaster and newspaper executive, as general manager of KOMA there was announced last week coincident with the resignation of J. J. Bernard, after eight years with the station.

Mr. Bell, who also is executive vice president-general manager of the new KWTV (TV) now under construction in Oklahoma City for ch. 9 operation, is expected to assume his duties this week. KOMA Inc. will own 50% of KWTV.

Mr. Bernard has not announced his plans but is expected to enter television management.

KOMA is the CBS outlet in Oklahoma City, operating on 1520 kc with 50 kw. KWTV will become the basic interconnected affiliate for CBS. Its operating target date is Dec. 15.

It also was reported that E. L. Colbourn, former manager of KTOK Oklahoma City, had filed suit Sept. 25 against Mr. Bell alleging he formerly was associated with Mr. Bell in secur-



Mr. Bell

Mr. Bernard

ing the tv permit. He contended he had entered into an "oral contract" to work with Mr. B on "radio, television, newspaper and commu cation projects."

Mr. Bell declined comment. His attorr to contest the action is O. A. Cargill of Ok homa City.

Mr. Bell formerly was general manager a secretary-treasurer of the Oklahoma Publish Co., which operates WKY and WKY-TV. La he served as general manager of KTOK.

Charles J. Duke Jr., WAVY President, Dies

CHARLES J. DUKE JR., 55, president Portsmouth Radio Corp., licensee of WA Portsmouth-Norfolk, Va., and applicant Portsmouth vhf ch. 10, died Sept. 26 afte heart attack.

New in the radio field, Mr. Duke headed a group which bought WAVY (at that time WSAP) from Tom E. Gilman Sr., Dr. L. A. McAlpin and others for a gross of $145,000 [CLOSED CIRCUIT, May 25]. Mr. Duke's successor at Portsmouth Radio has not been named.

Survivors are his wife, Mrs. Virginia Welton Duke; a son, Charles Bryan Duke; a daughter, Anna, and two sisters, Emily and Lulie Duke.

Meredith Revenues Up

REVENUES of Meredith Publishing Co., Des Moines, for 1952-53 increased $410,000 over the previous year, the firm reported last week. Three tv and two radio stations are held by Meredith: WHEN (TV) Syracuse, N. Y.; WOW-AM-TV Omaha, Neb., and KPHO-AM-TV Phoenix. Consolidated earnings, after taxes, were $3,349,000 as compared to $2,939,000 for the 1951-52 fiscal year.

Special Pgms

6-B-15

~~Emp Pact~~

6/10/53

EDWARD R. MURROW

PANEL DISCUSSION ON CONSERVATION IN THE OIL INDUSTRY

MURROW: This is merely a preliminary discussion and no one will pay any attention to the microphones or anything else, and I suggest that we might start off by having each of you gentlemen identify yourself and tell us just a little about what particular phase of the oil industry you are concerned with. Would you start, General?

THOMPSON: My name is Ernest O. Thompson. I'm Chairman of the Texas Railroad Commission, which is a conservation agency of our state charged by law to prevent waste of natural resources, including oil and gas and the production thereof, including spacing, fixing allowables, setting the production for the state, controlling the hundred and forty-six thousand wells of our state.

PARKHURST: My name is George L. Parkhurst. I'm Chairman of the Board of the Oronite Chemical Company and I've been concerned mostly with research chemicals, and also some other phases of the oil industry.

LOVEJOY: I'm John M. Lovejoy, Chairman of the Board of the Seaboard Oil Company of Delaware, which is solely a producing oil company with a production of thirty-three thousand barrels a day in various parts of the United States.

DE GOLYER: My name is E. DeGolyer. I'm a geologist and independent oil producer, Chairman of the DeGolyer-McNaughton Petroleum Engineers. My chief interest is in the exploration of oil and the estimation of oil reserves.

NEWTON: My name is John W. Newton. I'm Vice-President of the Magnolia Petroleum Company, located at Beaumont, Texas, in charge of refining. I'm also serving this year as Vice-President for refining of the American Petroleum Institute.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, we start this off later on with a little general discussion - so that we all get used to it - how much oil do we produce in this country and how much do we need?

THOMPSON: We're producing around seven million barrels per day - and we're meeting our needs with imports of a million hundred thousand barrels per day. Texas, at the moment, is reducing its production four hundred thousand barrels a day by reason of excessive imports. We could produce four hundred thousand barrels per day more without waste.

MURROW: I wonder if someone could tell me about how much the industry spends on research and the search for new deposits - if that's the right word?

DE GOLYER: Well, answering the first part of that question, Mr. Murrow, relating to research and development other than the exploration for new oil, the last year for which figures are available, the petroleum industry spent a hundred and ninety-one million dollars of its own money for research and development work, making it the fourth industry in that regard in the United States. You might be interested to know that two of the other three are closely related to oil - one being chemicals and the other being motor vehicles.

MURROW: Where is the greatest stride been made in conservation? Has it been in refining? Or in production? Or transportation - or where has it occurred?

LOVEJOY: I would say that production and refining are both highly important.

THOMPSON: We might say, as we discussed - probably more or less comparable in both activities of the industry - refining and production of oil and, of course, in pipe-lining there's not so much in the way of conservation but great improvements have been made in that phase of the business - of course your production was wide open where every man got the most he could under - what you call- devil take the hindmost production. We got fifteen to twenty per cent of the oil in place, leaving behind eighty to eighty-five per cent of the oil in the sands, never to be recovered by man by then-known methods. By carefully conserving and preserving the reservoir energy, we are now not content unless we get up to eighty per cent of the recovery, which is a contrast from eighty per cent loss to eighty per cent recovery - which is quite a distinct advance. That's in the conservation of reservoir energy. True conservation, as applied to oil and gas, means wise use of reservoir energy, namely lifting to the surface of the earth for man's use the oil with the least expense of energy the Creator or Nature put in the reservoir.

MURROW: General, what is this word 'allowable' that I hear you using in connection with wells in Texas?

THOMPSON: Well, we have in Texas a law that says that we cannot produce in excess of the market demand. We found during the big rush in East Texas, when oil was so prolific in its production and so highly desirable in its quality and so near to tidewater, that Great Field could produce more oil than all of the United States even could use, so we found it necessary in Texas - the Legislature did - to add to the ordinary definitions of waste one more which said production in excess of transportation facilities or market demand is waste, because storage in open earth or pits or even in tanks is wasteful, as you can see when you look at a tank in the summertime and see the vapor going up from it. So, it became necessary then to first ascertain what was the market demand for Texas crude. We ascertained that by finding out how much people will buy, by asking everybody we could find who wants to buy any oil to nominate how much they will purchase next month and then for five months thereafter, firm, for say July - or August - or October - or November, whatever the month is, best indicating for the next five months. Then we take that total for the state and allocate to each field in the state its pro-rata part of the total. Then within the field we give to each well its pro-rata part of the allowable for that field. The average in Texas, at the moment, is twenty barrels per well per day.

MURROW: Well, is this a sort of rationing system designed to keep the price up, General?

THOMPSON: Not at all. It's to prevent physical waste and the courts have held that if price is affected, it's only incidental. It's to prevent physical waste.

DE GOLYER: I should like to enter a slightly different opinion on the amount that we've been able to conserve. I think, if I understood General Thompson correctly, that I probably would agree with him because I think in our greatest field - East Texas - I think certainly we have increased the recoverable oil under the wise administration of the Regulatory Body by fifty per cent, but I think that on averages -- about a hundred per cent -- yes. I think that on averages, probably the increase in other fields, generally speaking, hasn't been so great. I should say, from a careful study of some thousands of fields, that the average increase in production is from a quarter to a third, because the old figure to which you referred, General, of fifteen to twenty is not a very good figure anyhow because nobody even knew about carnate (?) water then.

THOMPSON: That's right, Doctor. I thoroughly agree with your observation. It's our hope - I said we would not be content - unless we got eighty per cent. We're striving for that. We have accomplished that in East Texas and several other fields - like Thompson, for example - and Van, Connell - in many fields we know we're going to get eighty per cent.

MURROW: Would someone explain to me this method of using either gas or water in order to get more oil out of the ground?

LOVEJOY: I'll take that one, if you like. The theory of that, as General Thompson's explained, is to keep some force in the reservoir which will move the oil to the bore of the well, and if your natural forces become exhausted, then you have to put in artificial forces.

The best time to put those in is before the natural forces are exhausted, and in the case of the East Texas Field (- the natural forces -) in the field that our company operates, the natural forces were very small compared to the size of the reservoir. There was no water drive - no natural water drive - and there was very little gas in the oil and the wells stopped flowing in this field before the field was even drilled up. By putting in an artificial water flood before the pressures were all gone, we were able to maintain a production in that field over a period of many years and increase its ultimate recovery by over a hundred per cent of what we could have gotten if we simply left it to nature to produce that oil.

MURROW: Perhaps one of you gentlemen would tell me something else. You're getting more oil out of the ground now, per well, per potential, than you did ten years ago - fifteen years ago.

DE GOLYER: We're getting more of the oil that is in the ground; we're recovering more of it today than we did fifteen years ago.

MURROW: Right. Well, what has happened in the area of conservation once you get it out of the ground - once it gets to the refinery?

NEWTON: I'd like to comment on that, if you please. In the last number of years we've had new processes which have been developed and principally catalytic cracking processes and further uses of the gases that are formed as a result of severative operations in cracking processes, and we have been able to - and in addition, a third point is the better storage facilities - better types of storage that we now have in contrast with older storage. By use of catalytic processes and making better use of the gases, we're now able to produce - and one of the objectives of the oil industry

was to double the products for the benefit of the American public - motoring public - and we are now able to make - as a result of catalytic cracking and modern processes - we are now able to make the requirements out of two and a half billion barrels of crude yearly, which without these new processes we would have consumed last year, on the order of double that or about five billions of barrels. And our conservation then with respect to doubling the yield of gasoline, back from the period of 1925, when the average domestic yield - national yield - was probably on the order of twenty to twenty-five per cent, it now runs on the order of forty to forty-five per cent. And in this catalytic process we recover volumetrically and by weight procedure - recover a great deal more oil than we used to from the old type of thermal cracking processes; there being two general types for your information, not only the catalytic but the thermal as well.

MURROW: What's the substantial difference - without getting too technical with us, Mr. Newton?

NEWTON: The thermal cracking process is one that requires a great deal of heat and an excessive pressure. They operate it up to - well, it's easily on the order of a thousand eleven hundred degrees farenheit and up to pressures of some sixteen hundred pounds; input pressures to a unit. That's for a thermal type. Now, for a catalytic operation - that's where you use less temperature - some two or three hundred degrees less than that and pressure's only of the order sufficient to put either the liquid or the vapor through the catalyst plant - or catalytic operation - and in the catalytic operation, then, with lowered pressures, with lowered

temperatures, we use a catalyst which aids and assists in the production of lighter products from this charge of heavy oil but that itself is not used up. That is generally the definition, as you know, of a catalyst.

MURROW: Yes. Mr. Newton, most of us, I am sure, think of oil and oil products as consisting either of cylinder oil or gasoline. I wonder if you could tell us a little about some of the secondary products - the exotic ones that come out of the ground?

NEWTON: Well, of course, Ed, we get most of these exotic products after we get them to the refinery and then we're making all sorts of insecticides, fungicides and chemicals of various nature. We supply intermediate raw materials which are sold to chemical companies for the production of final types of chemicals. And that is within the field of what we usually term petrochemicals. Now, in addition to the usual run of gasolines and kerosenes, heating oils and cylinder oils, fuel oils - we produce a great variety, of course, of lubricating oils - a great variety of solvents - those are solvent naphthas for processes requiring solvents. We produce a great variety also of finished paraffin waxes which are used in multiple operations. Probably one of the simplest for refined waxes is used in coating jellies - that is, just used in the top part of the jar to retain - to exclude the air from the jelly. That's a very simple illustration. It's also used in glazing of paper - the waxing of paper - it's used in the production of paper cups and wrapping paper, such as wrapping paper for bread - and, you can just go on and on. There are quite a number of products, but I think in general you'll find that today there's some one general classification of the one thousand products that are today made from petroleum in contrast to the very limited few

that were made some time ago.

MURROW: I'd like -

NEWTON: May I - just this one point, if you will, Mr. Murrow? Back in 1925, when we had, generally speaking, one grade of gasoline - and today's gasoline, as you know, is either regular or the so-called house plan - and then there's a premium grade, but today we sell only about one-third of the roughly three million barrels of gasoline that's sold today - about one-third of it is this premium, the remaining or two-thirds is of the regular or house brand variety. Back in 1925, excluding taxes - if you can forget taxes for just a moment in this particular illustration - the average price of gasoline in 1925, in fifty cities of the United States was 20.09 cents per gallon, exclusive of tax, and on May the first, which is the last figure I happen to have, the price of regular or house brand gasoline in fifty cities was 20.58 cents, or a difference of less than a half a cent per gallon, which the consumer is paying for a much improved gasoline, and one that now we can rightfully say, and have said, and can prove, that two gallons of today's gasoline do the work of three gallons of the older gasoline. That is conservation.

MURROW: That brings up another point. A lot of people have the impression that everyone in the oil industry is rich - or about to be. I was wondering how much of the - well - let's say the gross income before taxes - is spent on research and on search for new deposits - new fields. Dr. DeGolyer?

DE GOLYER: Well, Mr. Parkhurst gave you a figure on research. We don't have exact figures on research for new fields, but the best estimate we can make is that at the current time it's running at a rate of between eight hundred million and a billion dollars a year.

MURROW: Oh, I'd like to go back for a minute to this whole matter of conservation and ask one of you to sum up - we'll play this two or three different ways so that we get the copy we hope -. Farmers conserve their soil by contour ploughing and fertilizing and that sort of thing, and people in the forestry industry by afforestation and all that sort of thing; what are the basic steps in the conservation of oil?

DE GOLYER: The basic step in the conservation of oil is to keep the oil in its original state with the gas dissolved in the oil - is to keep that gas from escaping without doing work. It's a question of keeping the pressure on the oil in the reservoir. That's the basic problem.

MURROW: Sounds like not letting the engine idle on your automobile, is that right?

DE GOLYER: Yes. The thing is, throughout the whole history of the oil industry an oil field has been best compared to a bottle of soda-water, and if the bottle of water is opened and the gas is allowed to escape, the thing goes flat. If an oil field is produced open flow and the pressure goes below that at which the gas can come out of the oil, then the field goes flat and you lose a lot of oil which you never recover.

MURROW: And this matter of using water or gas to drive it up is sort of getting a second crop out of some old field, is that roughly what happens?

SPEAKER: There are two things. One of them is that you actually put gas or water in to move the oil toward the well bore, and the other thing is that you put it in in order to maintain pressures to keep from allowing the gas to come out.

THOMPSON: May I ask a question of Dr. DeGolyer?

MURROW: Yes, General Thompson.

THOMPSON: Would it not be proper, Dr. DeGolyer, to put the gas in the top of the structure and the water around the perimeter: to reinsect gas you put it in the dome and the water around -

De GOLYER: The water around the perimeter. Yes. Because an oil field is essentially a bubble of oil on top of a sea of salt water. You wouldn't want to put the water into the bubble of oil. You'd want to put it in underneath the bubble of oil.

THOMPSON: Dr. DeGolyer is a great authority on this.

(ALL TALK AT ONCE)

De GOLYER: The gas forms a gas cap, so when you put the gas in, you put it into the top of the structure. As the man said: "You just get the oil between the gas cap and the water and squeeze it."

PARKHURST: I might point out, Mr. Murrow, that this conservation problem is one that is solved by all branches of the industry and which is a continuous process, from the exploration for new fields clear to the final user of the product, and it has many facets.

Mr. DeGolyer's described very ably the primary job of getting more oil out of the ground and covering a larger part of our reserves than we've done in the past. Mr. Newton has commented on refining processes which make more of the most desirable products. In between we have the job of preventing losses by evaporation and by leakage in the oil fields and in the transportation system between the oil fields and refineries -

MURROW: There are no more open tanks, is that right, Mr. Parkhurst?

PARKHURST: Well, that is substantially true. The larger storage is certainly in closed tanks. But going on beyond the refinery, conservation does not cease. The oil industry has worked with the automotive people, with all kinds of equipment manufacturers, with all sorts of consumers to get better use out of the products - to get better value from those products - and all sorts of homely examples come to mind. The dry cleaners work with the oil industry to recover more of their solvent and do a better job of cleaning a man's suit or a woman's dress. And our lubricating oils - Newton touched on this - have been improved to the point that engine overhauls are much less frequent than they used to be and gasoline will go farther - an automobile will go farther on a gallon of gasoline - and fuel oil has been upgraded by the process of more efficient combustion and better oil burners. And so, clear through the line, this conservation extends from the oil in the ground to the final - individual user.

MURROW: Mr. Lovejoy, you were telling me something a little while ago about conserving the smell of oil. Would you repeat that?

LOVEJOY: Well, the only - I think that was someone else - but they were talking about using the smell to track leaks and particularly around very colatile and inflammable products. That's been done for a number of years and I think, General Thompson said, it's required by law now in natural gasoline plants. I don't know of any smell that they're able to sell, is that right, Dr. Newton?

NEWTON: Well, there is some that you can sell and there's some that is being sold.

MURROW: What's that?

NEWTON: That's the recovery of sulphur. A great deal of hydrogen-sulfite is generated in some of these processes, and now we have methods - fairly simple methods of recovering hydrogen-sulfite - and then also further converting that to elemental sulphur, and that is being sold and is used, principally, in the manufacture of sulphuric acid. And, incidentally, sulphuric acid at one time was the principal refining agent that we had - and it's still important in some processes. But in the main it has - it has given way to the use of solvent processes - processes which use solvents for extraction rather than an acid-treating method. And incidentally, that is one of the great recoveries that we've made from the point of conservation - that in the treatment of, principally lubricating oils (- or - gasoline used to be treated with sulphuric acid -) we're now able, by solvent methods, to not waste as much of the product that was formerly wasted because a solvent is a method that's easily enclosed and reacts more easily to less waste than did

sulphuric acid. That was particularly true in the case of lubricating oils, the loss being three or four times as great in lube oils as it is with solvents.

PARKHURST: This hydrogen-sulfite one is quite an interesting one that I hadn't thought of, because here we have a by-product which was not only a waste but a great nuisance -

MURROW: How was that, Mr. Parkhurst?

PARKHURST: The hydrogen-sulfite produced in oil refining - not only a waste but a great nuisance in that it was poisonous, smelly, so that taking that waste product of negative value and upgrading it into the valuable chemical sulphuric acid is - it's an excellent example of conservation.

NEWTON: Well, I think it's important from that angle and it's also important from - shall we say - in being a good neighbor?

MURROW: How's that?

NEWTON: In the sense that hydrogen-sulfite, of course, can pollute the atmosphere and to those people who are living close to a manufacturing establishment, if there's any leakage of hydrogen-sulfite, it can do some harm. But the point of the refiners now - they're trying to conserve every bit of that - even to the point of recovering it as elementary sulphur as I mentioned a moment ago, and selling the product.

MURROW: Dr. DeGolyer, you're one of the greatest geologists in this or any other country. Have you any idea how much oil we have available in this country - under the ground and in proven resources - if that's the right phrase?

De GOLYER: In proven resources - yes sir. We've got something on the order of thirty billion barrels proved. We've produced about forty-five billion barrels, which means that we have found about seventy-five billion barrels. Now, there are all sorts of guesses as to what might be found in the future and I don't know that any of them are particularly valuable. But probably the one that's more currently accepted today is that the ultimate would be about a hundred and fifty billion barrels, which would mean that we were about half way through - that we'd found about seventy-five billion barrels and that possibly there were seventy-five billion barrels more to be found.

PARKHURST: If I understand Dr. DeGolyer correctly, in most years we have found more oil than we have used in this country?

MURROW: Dr. DeGolyer is thinking that one over.

De GOLYER: In most years we have estimated that we have found more oil than we have used. I think that there is a sort of a leveling process in our estimating which makes that true. I think that actually we have in some years found two or three times the amount of oil we've used, and in other years we haven't found as much. But the only available statistics indicate that we have found as much each year as we've used.

MURROW: Dr. De Golyer, this is a question I should know the answer to, I suppose, but what's the first thing you do when you go looking for oil? I mean, what's the very beginning?

De GOLYER: The very beginning is that you try to find some sort of trap structure in the rocks of the earth. In the old days this used to be done by surface geology. Now it's done by geophysics which is a somewhat more intricate technique. But you need a trap in which to hold oil for an oil field and when you get evidence of the trap geologically or geophysically, you then drill a well and then you either make an oil field or you don't. Even when you have a good trap, I believe the average is about one in nine.

MURROW: One in nine that is producing?

De GOLYER: Yes.

MURROW: Are there any aerial devices, surveying devices, or - Mr. Lovejoy? Yes?

LOVEJOY: The remark about the one in nine, that is the result of the compilation of statistics in which the quality and quantity of oil discovered is not considered. And the one in nine is merely to get oil in a wildcat well. It doesn't mean that it is a commercial discovery.

MURROW: You wouldn't quote odds of nine to one then?

LOVEJOY: I certainly would not. To get a field - a commercial field - I think the figures are more like one in forty. You're familiar with that --

MURROW: Is that right, General Thompson?

THOMPSON: A hundred million barrel field is found in one out of nine hundred and sixty tries. And we use seven million barrels a day, so a two weeks' supply is found - a field that would supply two weeks for the United States is found out of nine hundred and ninety-six tries. You hear about the fellow who hits the jackpot, Mr. Murrow, but not about the failures. They just fade away.

PARKHURST: This has great relevancy to your question, Mr. Murrow, about the conception that all oil people are rich --

THOMPSON: I wanted to get back to that. (LAUGHTER)

MURROW: General Thompson -

THOMPSON: We hear so many people talk about the rich oil people. You just hear about the fellow who hits the jackpot - like a fellow playing the one-arm bandit - the slot machine - but he doesn't tell you he puts it all back -

MURROW: I'm known as Dry-Hole Murrow myself. (LAUGHTER) I was hoping to get some advice.

THOMPSON: A while ago Dr. De Golyer was talking about how much oil we had. It's interesting to me as a citizen-soldier to recall that after World War I they said we'd be out of oil in 14 years by taking the 5-billion barrels of then known reserves and dividing by the annual consumption. It came out mathematically to 14 years. Since that time we have consumed 26 billion barrels and now find ourselves with how much oil on hand, Dr. De Golyer?

De GOLYER: About 30 (billion?)

THOMPSON: About 30 so we are not slipping backward.

De GOLYER: Well, there's a point there. In the first place, it's only recently that anybody has been bold enough or harrassed enough by necessity to try to guess how much oil would be found. Most of these older oil estimates are either from fright or were estimates of what oil was actually proved and drilled. And then of course we geologists have always been Jeremiahs. In the year of my birth which was an awful long time ago, the most eminent geologist of his day told the Institute of Mining Engineers that "our children will with difficulty

drain the dregs of this once magnificent heritage." However, let's don't lose sight of the fact that whatever the oil potential of the United States may be, it's a finite thing.

THOMPSON: But you don't despair, doctor, of us running out of oil, do you?

De GOLYER: I think, of course, in time, we will run out of oil. I don't know when it will be.

THOMPSON: Not in the foreseeable future.

De GOLYER: What is the foreseeable future, General?

THOMPSON: Well, I'd say within a generation.

LOVEJOY: I think, of course, there is a finite amount of oil in the ground in this country. But we'll never know what that is. It's a question in which economics plays a most important part. If oil were a dollar a barrel we'd soon run out of oil. Because there wouldn't be enough money to drill the wells to find it. If oil was 10 dollars a barrel we'd find a lot more oil than at the present price of oil. And it's my opinion that a higher price than we're now receiving would be necessary to retain our present rate of production for a very long period. Economics is the important factor. As the price of oil goes up, of course, the consumption and demand will go down. And so there again you have a cushion. In my opinion, we'll never run out of oil as such.

THOMPSON: Mr. Murrow, may I ask a question?

MURROW: General Thompson:

THOMPSON: In the interest, John, of national security and our future expanding economy, do you not think that the American public is interested in being able to have plenty of oil more than they are in price per gallon?

LOVEJOY: I think they are. Certainly, up to a certain point.

THOMPSON: Up to a reasonable point.

LOVEJOY: Up to a reasonable point.

THOMPSON: What is the most popular expression at the filling station. "Fill 'er up", isn't it?

LOVEJOY: I think so. That's what I like to hear.

THOMPSON: And isn't the filling station the most convenient place in the city now? It took the place of the old country store around the cracker barrel.

MURROW: General Thompson, I thought you were going to draw a conclusion from that phrase - fill 'er up - why don't you go ahead and expand on that a little.

THOMPSON: Fill 'er up again. I don't know which brand -

MURROW: Well, this is a neutral gathering.

THOMPSON: Fill 'er up with gasoline.

LOVEJOY: Well, it simply means that the public doesn't object at all to the price of gasoline. They don't consider it as a very important item in their cost of living.

De GOLYER: Mr. Lovejoy doesn't know whether the public objects to the price of gasoline. They haven't had any changes for thirty years, and it's entirely possible that they might object strenuously -

NEWTON: There was an attempt made here not so long ago to increase the price of gasoline, on two or three occasions and that was unsuccessful, so I would rather be inclined to believe, John, that the public is totally conscious of what a gallon of gasoline costs and I think that these improvements - while that has paved the way for some - probably for some increase, yet the crude was increased in

price - if I recall correctly - it has been nearly doubled in about - I think - it's probably been over the last ten or twelve years. Is that approximately correct? And, whereas the price of gasoline hasn't.

MURROW: Since I work for an oil company on the radio, do you think if they raised the price of gasoline, they'd raise my pay? (LAUGHTER)

NEWTON: It's according to how much gasoline they could sell after the raise in price.

De GOLYER: Mr. Murrow, I don't want John Lovejoy or General Thompson over there to kiss me off on this fine .....amount of oil, because I agree with Mr. Lovejoy that with oil at ten dollars a barrel, probably the sprayberry would be a good oil field, but I think that there's a very low limit to which that price can be increased and I think that we will find ourselves nationally in a very undesirable position if we have so exploited our own resources that we've got up to where we have to have five dollar oil in order to get more oil, whereas the rest of the world is still on the level that we're on today. If the American public has got much sense, it won't get into that jam because all that will happen is that it will have to pay the rest of the world for the oil which it can produce more cheaply than what it costs us to produce oil.

MURROW: This raises the matter of oil and national defense, doesn't it? General Thompson.

THOMPSON: May I ask a question on that very point. I think it's generally conceded we could not depend on foreign oil for our national security here at home. Does anyone differ with that at this table? I have a letter here from the Secretary of the Navy, the Honorable Robert B. Anderson, in which he says that it is estimated that the current U. S. daily production of oil, including crude oil and gas liquids is seven million fifty-nine thousand barrels per day. The estimated daily production capacity if restrictions were removed is eight million a hundred fifty-nine thousand barrels per day. This figure is not sufficient to meet the U. S. and Allied requirements in time of emergency. To meet the estimated war-time deficit, it would be necessary to resort to rationing as in World War II and a re-alignment of the petroleum end products as they come from the refineries. I think, Mr. Murrow, that is a most challenging statement, which means that we should have ever-increasing drilling in our country for our national security which overpowers all other ends in my view.

MURROW: Would anyone else like to comment on that? Dr. De Golyer.

De GOLYER: That's the reason that I insist on this question of finite amount of oil - I mean - put in an expansion joint in and say more or less within twenty billion barrels - that's only ten years at our present rate. If this estimate that I've quoted is any good, and I don't know that it is particularly, but at least gets us away from adjectives and adverbs, we've got seventy-five billion barrels oil left to find. Now, in order to be able to produce oil at the rate we're producing it today, we must find it as fast as we produce

it. In other words, the ability to produce is the function of the proved reserves, so that means to produce two billion barrels and use it each year, you've got to find two billion barrels, so that if that's a measure, you've got thirty-seven and a half billion barrels left. Now you know that you can't find it that fast. The last half of it will be found, probably, with great difficulty, and, as John says, we probably never will find all of the oil that there is in the country. For national security, we can only depend on our own resources for, in my opinion, for a limited time in the future - say, five or ten years - and we bring that time closer - the time when we can't depend - by the amount that we now consume of our own oil.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, I wonder if we can turn to another subject for a moment? Whatever happened to the old-fashioned gusher that we used to see in movies - and why? Yes, General Thompson?

THOMPSON: In the old open flow days, it was every man for himself. The law of capture was the rule of the land. Oil was looked upon as pugnacious, like wild animals - like a deer running across the land - or a buck - to be shot by the hunter, and the only recourse was to drill an offset - and open and produce likewise. People saw - wise people in the conservation business and the oil business, like Dr. DeGolyer, and many other eminent authorities - how'm I doing, D.E. - I'm bragging on you --

De GOLYER: .....that's a fine word.....I never heard that.....

MURROW: .....that's the commercial.....

THOMPSON: But anyhow, in the old days each man had to fend for himself. That was very wasteful in that when you drilled into a producing horizon, the wells would gush forth and blow their heads off, gush for a while and then go flat. The oil would become heavy and viscous like tar and cling to the sand, never to be removed by man.

MURROW: That goes back, doesn't it, to Dr. DeGolyer's explanation of soda-water.

THOMPSON: His early days.

MURROW: No - not his early days, but the soda water bottle.

THOMPSON: That's my boy I'm talking about. Yes - like the soda water when it comes out.

MURROW: Did they have oil when you were a boy, Dr. DeGolyer?

De GOLYER: Remember the Fredericks, John?

(LAUGHTER)

THOMPSON: Well, anyhow, we found out that there was a way to conserve this energy in the reservoir by measuring the pressure at the bottom of the hole, called bottom hole pressure, by means of a pressure bomb and not to let the oil come out any faster than the water and oil or gas could fill up the void. And to give you an illustration, in the East Texas Field, which is a classical example, coincidentally with the last one billion barrels of oil recovered, the bottom hole pressure in the reservoir had been increased eighteen pounds. That's contrasted to the wide open flow days where a well used to come in and run for a few weeks and then go flat and then go on the pump. There's a field twenty-one years old - twenty-two years old - isn't it, John?

NEWTON: About that.

THOMPSON: And the wells are still flowing - two hundred and twenty wells have returned from pumping to flowing in the last year.

NEWTON: I'd like to comment, Mr. Murrow, on a portion in the General's statement and that is, I didn't understand that a gusher would stop flowing. I understand how all of the pressure is released and the oil stops flowing, but not from a point of having evaporated a lot of its lighter components and nearly turned to tar, and I -

THOMPSON: Down in the reservoir - when the gas comes out as solution gas

SPEAKER: Probably so, at that. I just wanted to bring that point out. I want to bring this out for this reason. You know, down in - three miles out of Beaumont, we had the original gusher of this country - that was the spindletop gusher - and that was brought in and flowed at the rate of a hundred thousand barrels a day, but flowed for a very short time, and practically very little of the oil was recovered. Obviously, they were not prepared for anything like that. I think following an example - well, not an example - but an illustration of that sort then, emphasizes what the General has stated about conservation with respect to gushers and that's the reason they have disappeared.

THOMPSON: May I say this, Mr. Murrow? After twenty-one years as a conservation official, I must say that the oil producing industry is most cooperative and all we have done is to umpire, as fairly as we could - the best we could - the wise rules and regulations suggested to us by the oil producing industry, both majors and independents alike. And may I say, in those twenty-one years, I have seen the independents grow from four thousand to thirteen

thousand while the major companies are still twenty-one in number, as they were twenty years ago. So, in my opinion, there's no monopoly in the oil business.

MURROW: What percentage of the total industry would be represented by those independents, General?

THOMPSON: I'd say eighty per cent of the discoveries are made by the independents.

LOVEJOY: I believe, Mr. Murrow, an interesting figure might be the division of production - ownership of production - between the majors and the independents. The last figures I've seen, I think it's about fifty-five per cent owned by the majors and forty-five by the independents, the majors being the integrated companies and they purchase from the independents the amount that they - the forty-five per cent. Is that figure about correct?

THOMPSON: I think it's only fair, Mr. Murrow and John, to say that the independents are helped and fostered by the majors by bottom-hole money, dry-hole money and encourage them in checkerboard of acreage, so great credit is due to the major companies. I think every independent would give that credit.

De GOLYER: The General said about eighty per cent of the discoveries which wasn't quite the answer to your question. You asked what portion of the production - as I remember. I think that Mr. Lovejoy's figure of about fifty to fifty-five - according to where you cut the line between majors and independents, and then in the other branches of the business the percentage of the majors goes up - I mean, in the refining -

THOMPSON: Don't you think that discovering is a rather important phase of it --

De GOLYER: I think it's a --

THOMPSON: The men who go out and hunt for it with the encouragement of the majors - and then sell it to the majors --

MURROW: What does it cost to drill an oil well anyway? Or is it possible to answer that?

THOMPSON: The average now is about sixty thousand barrels - sixty thousand dollars per well, but many cost as much as a million and a half.

MURROW: What determines the cost, General Thompson?

THOMPSON: The depth of the well and the hardness of drilling. Take Sprayberry mentioned here a while ago - some of those wells cost as much as two hundred and fifty thousand dollars but the average at the moment is ninety thousand dollars per well in Sprayberry which is a great field, presently shut in because of firing of gas. That's a conservation measure. That's gas which comes with oil incidental to production of oil.

PARKHURST: High costs may also be due to drilling in remote parts of the world or to drilling in off-shore locations - very costly --

THOMPSON: Wouldn't you say ninety thousand dollars would be a fair figure?

(EVERYBODY TALKS)

THOMPSON: ....would be much higher than that - more like a hundred and fifty thousand dollars.....

De GOLYER: I had occasion recently to look at some statistics on drilling - this was production wells and all types of wells in the United States - and something in excess of two-thirds of the wells were five thousand feet or less in depth. That means when you get to

these tremendously deep wells and the extremely expensive wells, the percentage goes down -

MURROW: I'll let you take a break for five minutes.

(BREAK)

(THERE IS APPARENTLY SOME KIND OF ON LOCATION EXPLANATION GOING ON WHICH CAN'T BE PICKED UP BECAUSE OF BACKGROUND NOISES AND MORE THAN ONE PERSON SPEAKING AT ONE TIME) (IT'S APPARENTLY AN EXPLANATION OF HOW TO DRILL A WELL AND PROBABLY RECORDED AT THE BOTTOM OF THE WELL)

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, as I understand it so far, what happens with an oil well is that once you bring it in, you then attempt to diagnose it and its condition and then you treat it sort of like a doctor would treat a patient, is that roughly right or completely wrong?

LOVEJOY: It's all right.

MURROW: And this happens, as I understand it, Mr. Lovejoy, with both an individual well and with a field. Is that correct?

LOVEJOY: Yes. The characteristics of one well usually prevail throughout the field. You measure the pressures and the gas-oil ratios and the gravity and as soon as you've got enough history, you find out whether there's a natural flow of water into the reservoir and when you get all these facts together, then you can determine at what rate that field or that well in the field should be produced - then the General decides what to do.

MURROW: Then General Thompson decides how much you can take out.

THOMPSON: I think we should go on, Mr. Murrow, and say that after four or five wells have been drilled, rather than one, you can then, with the expert advice of the petroleum engineers and reservoir experts, ascertain what is the motivating energy - the driving force - in each particular field. And then the regulatory authority's job is to try to ascertain with the advice and counsel of the petroleum engineers what is the most efficient rate of production, the most efficient rate being that rate of production that will cause to be lifted through the rocks to the surface of the earth, the most oil with the least exhaustion of reservoir energy.

MURROW: Ah hah. So you're concerned about longevity as well as current health of the well in the field, is that right?

THOMPSON: That's correct; so that you can keep the life of the field as long as you can. It's like a person running. He can run till he drops; if he runs slow he lasts longer - over the same distance.

MURROW: General Thompson, so far we've been talking mostly about flow - what happens if you have to pump and how much does that increase the cost - or does it?

THOMPSON: Well, it depends on depth. Twenty-five cents a barrel is customarily looked upon as addition cost for pumping - say at - wouldn't you say at two thousand feet, John?

LOVEJOY: Five thousand feet.

MURROW: Five thousand feet - twenty-five cents a barrel -

THOMPSON: It costs more than that, but if you can keep the pressure up to what it was when virgin or nearby, then you'll not only keep the cost down but will recover a vastly greater amount of oil.

MURROW: And has the efficiency of the pumps increased over the years, too? Less loss from --

THOMPSON: Well, I can best illustrate that again, going back to this typical example, in East Texas more than five thousand wells were standardized with pumps - that is, put in when they were drilled - put the regular pumping equipment in which have not turned a crank since that day, standing there idle - never having used the pumps, so if you properly preserve the reservoir pressure by conserving energy and be re-introducing water and/or gas, you won't have to pump at all. And it's conceivable that an oil field can be completely depleted by flowing the oil by water flushing to the top of the producing reservoir without ever pumping a barrel.

MURROW: Well, I'm told that oil men are pretty hard-headed and realistic. Reverting again to this business of conservation, how much cooperation exists as between the producer and refiner in this whole area of conservation. Is it true...

THOMPSON: (INTERRUPTS)....not the refiner. The resentment comes against the regulatory authority by the producer. We've had 890 lawsuits in twenty-one years that I've been there and we've won forty-one of them.

PARKHURST: I would say there was very high cooperation in this sense, Mr. Murrow, that both parts of the industry contribute to the same end result of conservation and as mentioned here earlier today, that contribution is great in both cases. As Dr. DeGolyer pointed out, the increased recoveries are very substantial, perhaps fifty per cent - was that your figure?

De GOLYER: Fifty per cent is the best practice ... I should think an average of at least from a quarter to a third.

PARKHURST: And Mr. Newton has pointed out that we have been able to increase the production of the valuable products in the refineries, in the case of gasoline about two-fold, also increased the quality of the product and also the refineries have taken waste products and made them into valuable products. For instance, we've taken gases from cracking cells and built them back up into gasoline by synthetic chemistry and made additional very valuable high quality products by that and many other means of that general type, so there is that broad type of cooperation.

MURROW: What happens to the man on whose land oil is found? What about these stories that the big companies move in and take over?

THOMPSON: There's nothing to that.

MURROW: Nothing to that, General Thompson?

THOMPSON: Oh no - they can't move in unless they have a lease, which is entered into by a contract. The farmer or the landowner is the owner of his land and no one can invade his property without his consent.

MURROW: Well, what about the business of drilling a well right next door to a chap who has already got a lease and got a well? Is this strictly a matter of law and lease tenure and that sort of thing?

THOMPSON: That's covered by laws, rules and regulations called spacing.

MURROW: Ah, General Thompson, I knew we were going to get to this spacing. Will you explain just what it means?

THOMPSON: It means that after a field has been discovered and its producing characteristics are known, the experts - like petroleum engineers and reservoir engineers - can come before the regulatory authorities on hearing and explain how much area one well will effectively and efficiently drain. To drill more than that would be waste of money, which would be against the consumer's interest. Our regulatory bodies then prescribe how many is customary. Now it's one to forty.

MURROW: So again it's a sort of housekeeping problem. You determine how many stairwells you need and that sort of thing in order to get it up out of the basement, is that it?

THOMPSON: So that you efficiently drain the reservoir - all for the benefit of mankind - at the least possible cost. As a matter of fact, it's a cooperative move from the geologists, producer, refiner - and may I say the regulatory authority has a part as umpire only.

De GOLYER: It's a judicial function to determine which of the conflicting experts are perjuring themselves. (LAUGHTER)

THOMPSON: I don't like the word perjure.

De GOLYER: I withdraw that.

THOMPSON: I think one judge said - one judge said very sincerely - Judge Hutchinson - that the experts testified with such very similarity - it belied belief. Isn't that better than saying perjury?

MURROW: Didn't lie - just handled the truth recklessly?

THOMPSON: I'm quoting from Judge Hutchinson's opinion.

MURROW: One of you gentlemen told me a little earlier about the improvement in gasoline - in quality and performance and so forth - has there been a similar improvement in lubricating oils in terms of their efficiency and life and so forth?

NEWTON: A very great improvement in lubricating oils. Many years ago - 12 or fifteen years ago - we usually were able to make lubricating oils only by proximation and some simple treatment - like the use of sulphuric acid. And today, as I mentioned a while ago, we now have the solvent methods which are used and we have less loss in the treatment and we have a much improved lubricating oil. In addition to that, it's been very interesting to watch the development of such items as pour depressants and viscosity index improvers - that's -

MURROW: Will you translate that for me?

NEWTON: The pour depressant's a material that's added to a lube oil in order to reduce a pour when it's under cold conditions. As an illustration, if an oil were dulled, it would not pour at say thirty degrees Farenheit and you add a pour depressant, then that can, according to the amount of pour depressant you use, could take it down so that it would pour even at zero. Now, with respect to the viscosity index improver - that's where you can extend the usefulness of the oil through a great range of temperature - through low and high temperatures - and a viscosity index is a measure of their use in that respect; but it means primarily that it retains more of their lubricating properties at higher temperatures than they formerly did. That's the meaning of viscosity index. And another thing - we're now using anti-oxidants in lubricating oils,

which prevent the formation of acids in their more or less daily use. And detergents are added. You know of the general phrase "detergents?"

MURROW: Yes, I do.

NEWTON: Detergents are added, and they're used to literally keep the engine clean. And as a result of all this, we now find that lubricating oils can last much longer than what they used to. Formerly, it was indicated that a change should be made, say, every five hundred miles. General recommendations now are to the effect that changes can be made, oh, at a minimum of a thousand miles. Some recommend higher, but I use that for illustration, to show that the oil itself is now being used over a longer period. And even the manufacture of oil additives and depressants and all of these additives that we're placing in lubricating oils now represent quite a sizable bit. This in itself has enlarged the work of the refiner, in production, as well as a number of the chemical companies.

MURROW: Then, Mr. Newton, you're saying that these claims made on the radio and elsewhere ... (cut in tape recording)

NEWTON: ... the oil. It probably ... and it's been pretty well ... it has a high percentage of detergent and anti-oxidant. It probably has a use rating of about five, as compared with an average motor oil of about one. That gives you some idea. I don't mean, now, that necessarily in the length of miles; but there are a lot of things to be considered when you are taking that into account. But I do say, and again repeat, that there is a great deal to the use of additives in lubricating oil. They certainly have made a very prominent place for themselves and a very worthwhile improvement in the quality oil.

PARKHURST: As a manufacturer, I appreciate the plug. I wasn't going to ... (LAUGHTER)

NEWTON: Well, that purpose I had promptly forgotten your ... (laughter)

MURROW: Well, we were talking about petroleum here. Why don't we ask Dr. De Golyer to put on his best professorial manner and tell us the origin of the word.

De GOLYER: Petroleum? It comes from the Greek word petro, meaning rock, and oleum, meaning oil. Rock oil.

MURROW: My notes are right. My homework was good. (laughter) Excuse me! This, I think, is really down your line, Mr. Parkhurst. What about the use of petroleum products in the manufacture of synthetic rubber and similar products?

PARKHURST: Well, that is a very improtant field of what one might call broadly chemical manufacture, on which we haven't touched to date. The petroleum industry contributed very greatly to solving our acute wartime problem of synthetic rubber, which, of course, we all know was necessary to replace the natural product cut off by the Japanese. Nearly all synthetic rubber today comes from petroleum. Most of its main components come from petroleum. There is a little bit of one of the components, known as butadiene, that comes from alcohol but, generally speaking, that is a petro-chemical product and will remain a petro-chemical product. Other things, some of which Dr. Newton mentioned, in the same general category are plastics, paints, textile fibres, great variety of things that we don't think of normally as petroleum products which, nevertheless, do originate with petroleum.

MURROW: One aspect of conservation that we haven't discussed is one that we hear a lot about in terms of houses and forests and so forth - and that's fire. Has the loss from fire been reduced in the oil industry?

NEWTON: May I comment on that, from the point of refining?

MURROW: Yes, Mr. Newton.

NEWTON: The fire loss has been greatly reduced. We know more about building the equipment, we have better equipment, we have better type of tankage. Formerly, and up to some twenty years ago, there were a great number of wooden-roofed tanks, and they were even covered with tar paper; so as a vapor left there, why, there was every chance, by any type of static, to set that afire, particularly with respect to crude oil. And we also, in times past, have had wooden-roofed tanks in which gasoline was stored. And so the fire hazard has been very great and fire losses were very great up to a few years back, when it was developed ... when better means of fighting fire were developed: the use of foam; the use of steam had always been used; and the use of fog-nozzles - that is, the fine atomization of water. And so we know more about handling a product, we know more about building the equipment. Our safety has been greatly improved as well as fire prevention and thereby a decrease in fire losses.

De GOLYER: Let's start in with oil ...

MURROW: Dr. de Golyer?

De GOLYER: ... with oil wells. Of course, the change in the technique of completing a well from the old open-flow days, when the well was cased to the sand and allowed to flow ... usually when it was first brought in it was allowed to flow over the derrick and was quite a spectacular thing, and there were numerous fires; some of them were very expensive, because they not only ruined the well but they ruined most of the field when one of these wells came in. Well, of course, bringing in an oil well now is entirely unexciting, even if you own stock in the ... or a share in the enterprise, because they flow the well through very small tubes, around a quarter of an inch. They put a plug in the bottom which allows only a quarter-inch of fluid to come through, and a plug at the top. And when they bring the well in, they usually wash the mud out and leave the well full of water; and the water will flow through this choke for -- I don't know -- for hours, maybe for days, before the oil finally comes in. And when the oil comes in, you simply turn the valve and it's all over. There's nothing, really, to catch fire any more.

MURROW: I think one of you gentlemen -- I believe it was Mr. Lovejoy -- said a few minutes ago that the independents outnumber the big companies.

LOVEJOY: Oh, in numbers ...

MURROW: In numbers, yes.

LOVEJOY: ... they're tremendous.

MURROW: What about competition? I'm speaking now of competition, in general, between the big companies and the independents as well and how much, if at all, has competition contributed to the whole conservation program in the oil industry?

LOVEJOY: Well, I think competition is probably the secret of the success of the oil industry in this country. And we have different rules with respect to land in this country than any other country in the world. I think in every other country the minerals, the oil in the ground is owned by the government, controlled by the Crown, so to speak. In this country the mineral rights go with the surface of the land. So that the land divisions throughout this country determine the ability, the many land divisions, of anyone to get a lease where he thinks there might be oil. The competition for these leases in oil areas is terrific. We pay vast sums for the right to drill a wildcat well, the right to explore on these various properties owned by farmers throughout the United States. The secret, I think, of the oil industry in this country is due to the fact that our Government didn't see fit, or saw fit, to let the minerals go with the land. As you've seen in other countries that have different rules, the oil rights are owned by the government and in some states, some countries they're granted by concession, which is usually in the form of large concessions, covering large areas, and those concessions are explored and developed for oil. In the countries in which the government themselves have tried to develop their own resources, that has been completely unsuccessful. To illustrate very broadly, in Russia they have not been able to increase their

oil production materially over the last twenty years and their oil potentialities are vast. So that I think that the competition in the producing end of the business is largely in the question of acquiring leasehold in places where you think there might be oil.

MURROW: Then the competition goes right down to the one between companies, as to which service station shall be asked to fill 'er up, as General Thompson said.

PARKHURST: That is very true. I might mention one aspect of competition that isn't often thought about.

MURROW: Mr. Parkhurst!

PARKHURST: Mr. Newton has mentioned these new refining processes that have come along with the years and has mentioned the improvements in products that have also come along with the years. That has been stimulated very greatly by researching competition. These companies, large and small, all competing to bring out a better product and to do a better job of processing the crude oil have made a great contribution. At the same time, the petroleum industry has gotten together to do its fundamental research in a pool, in a manner so to speak - a very unusual enterprise in which these basic facts are sought out by a group under the sponsorship of the American Petroleum Institute. Dr. De Golyer and, I think, others present here have been familiar with that through the years, and that research has been made available to all companies, large and small, through the universities and through the Government and everybody else. But we've had a competitive effort beyond that point in finding new ways to drill oil wells, new ways to refine it, new products to make from it.

MURROW: Dr. de Golyer!

De GOLYER: I would like to speak of a phase of competition in the search for oil, along the line that Mr. Lovejoy was talking. These 13,000 independents that General Thompson mentioned, and the many majors don't all think alike. Now, Mr. Lovejoy would be anxious to find a new oil field, I would be anxious to find a new oil field, and there are some other thousands of people who would be anxious to find a new oil field. I might look at all of the data on a certain prospect and decide that I didn't think it was much good, that it didn't justify the cost of a well; Mr. Lovejoy might think quite differently about it and drill it; and even if both of us thought it was bad, there would be some third fellow who came along and drilled it. Now, that you lose in these organizations where there are at some level in the organization some man says yes or no; maybe it has to come up through five or six levels. And that makes a great deal of difference. That's one of the reasons that we find as much oil as we do, that we find our oil as fast as we have. The many, many groups of peoples, the many individuals that are searching for oil and men out of their own experience and their own training having different ideas about where it ought to be found. Of course, the greatest example in our country is to go back to East Texas again, where during the year when the organized oil industry was notoriously deficient in finding oil, a man went out and, for no good reason at all, discovered the biggest oil field that we've ever discovered in the United States.

MURROW: One thing we haven't touched on in this discussion of conservation and development is the matter of aviation gasoline. Could you tell us anything about that, Mr. Newton?

NEWTON: I'd be glad to discuss that briefly. Aviation gasoline, required in exceptionally heavy quantities during World War II -- and, incidentally, the requirement is fairly heavy at present -- is produced principally from waste gasses. In the majority of the refineries in this country they have what they term an alcolation unit, and it is a catalyst ... it makes use of catalysts; in some cases the catalyst is sulphuric acid; in other cases it's another type known as hydrofluoric acid. Well, anyway, the aviation gasoline, which is made from these waste gasses in a closed unit under relatively high pressure, is ... the waste gasses have been ... or the gasses, rather -- they're presently not waste; they formerly just did for fuel, you know -- are co-mingled with isobutane and then, in the presence of this catalyst, there's a liquid produced; and in this liquid, then, approximately ninety per cent of it is recovered as the better portion to form an aviation gasoline. There are many different grades of aviation gasoline. They run in octane from eighty or ninety on up to a requirement of, on an engine performance number, of one hundred and fifteen. And so is a pretty broad requirement with respect to quality and is a heavy requirement with respect to quantity. And, incidentally, mentioning octane in connection with aviation gasoline, I might also refer to octane for just a moment here with respect to quality and with respect to competition that has been brought out here.

MURROW: First of all, Mr. Newton, why don't you tell us what it is. I don't know what octane means.

NEWTON: Well, octane is a measure of the gasoline as to its anti-knock properties. You probably, at least some time ago, drove a car, tried to drive it up a hill. You did drive it up a hill, but maybe your engine started knocking - and that was because the gasoline had too many of the, in this case, of the undesirable hydrocarbons. And, therefore, octane number is a measure of the anti-knock property. The higher the octane number, the less opportunity there is for a knock. And that in that case is what you're depressing - is a knock. Now, in gasolines, when you, from the point of competition, you go to a sales station, and various companies will put out gasolines of various octane numbers; and in addition to that there also is a great improvement in volatility and in the prevention of gum-formation, all of which interferes with the work of the engine if it isn't refined just properly. And in producing a gasoline of higher octane, each octane number that you climb costs you money. It varies with different refineries, it varies with equipment, it varies with the types of crudes. All of those enter into the cost of producing octane. But as a general example and not intended to be accurate but somewhere in the neighborhood of a rough figure, for each increase in one point, say, of octane and a range from, oh, from eighty up to eighty-eight or eighty-nine would probably be an eighth of a cent a gallon; whereas if you run from eighty-eight or eighty-nine on up to ninety-four or ninety-five, the cost

THOMPSON: Mr. Murrow, before you get into the jokes, could I, with your indulgence, call attention to the fact that there is a commission called the Interstate Oil Compact Commission, which is founded under the Constitution of the United States, which gives to the regulatory bodies of the states of this country the right to meet together and exchange ideas on advanced methods in engineering and administrative law, so that each state can have the benefit of the advancement that the other has made. That started in 1935, with four states as members. Today there are twenty-six members of that Compact, with associate members of Venezuela, in South America, Alberta and Saskatchewan in Canada, with Mexico attending and we hope they will shortly become members, working out hemispheric solidarity, oil-wise, in this country, a great contribution in helping each other to go forward in the conservation of oil and gas, to the end that the best that's developed in one area may be quickly made available to the other - meeting quarterly, as they do. I think that it is only fair to say that the Interstate Oil Compact Commission through its working, having no force at all except the power of enlightened public opinion, which after all is the greatest force on earth, has made it unnecessary to have Federal control of oil, leaving the sovereign states, each one, to run its oil business as it sees fit. I deeply appreciated the opportunity of putting that in.

MURROW: And this commission really functions, does it, General?

THOMPSON: It really functions. We wondered for a long time whether it would click, because it did not have the power to make anybody do anything. But through the years we found it has grown in stature, so that now four and five hundred people attend. One meeting in Banff, Canada ...

MURROW: Good place for a meeting, isn't it?

THOMPSON: We pick lovely places. That helps the meeting, of course. Five hundred and twenty-five people came from all the states and countries I've indicated. And as an example of cooperation - when imports were threatening production, Venezuela joined Texas in cutting, without request, proportionately. We had to cut 400,000 barrels a day in Texas, and Venezuela cut 180,000 barrels a day.

MURROW: You aren't going to annex Venezuela, are you, in Texas, General?

THOMPSON: Oh, they are good friends.

MURROW: All right! Let's see if we can start General Thompson off with a story now.

THOMPSON: I don't believe I know a joke.

MURROW: You don't? You mean, not one that you want to tell into this microphone, is that it? (laughter)

LOVEJOY: I'll tell a conversation story.

MURROW: All right, Mr. Lovejoy.

LOVEJOY: Well, in, I think it was in 1926, before the Railroad Commission was organized and before there were any laws in conservation, there were a number of new fields had been brought in in Oklahoma and we had, through this open-flow method, tremendous

overproduction. And a group of operators of one field had a meeting. And we met all day long, discussing how we could curb the production of that field without violating the laws, and we finally decided that we were going to take a chance on the laws. And so everybody around the room agreed that they would restrict production of those wells. And in those days it was not known whether or not shutting in a well would hurt it, and many people believed that if you shut in a well or curbed its natural flow that you'd hurt the well. Well, after finally going through hours of this, there was big fellow sitting in the back of the room who hadn't said a word. And we went around the room and took a poll and everybody agreed that they'd shut back their wells, when we came to this fellow; and he got up -- a great big ex-prize fighter -- he said, "I've been drillin' dry holes around here for a long time," and he said, "I own an eighth interest in the well in the middle of this field," which was then flowing four or five thousand barrels a day. He said, "any sonofabitch shuts in that well is goin' to be a dead man." (LAUGHTER)

De GOLYER: John didn't finish his story. I don't have any stories, but I can finish his because I was with John at the meeting. Everybody else, as he says, had agreed and this ex-prize fighter was the last one who spoke; and after he had made his threat, there was this stillness all over the room, and finally some lawyer looked up and said, "Why don't some of you bastards say something?" (LAUGHTER)

MURROW: Mr. Newton, you must have an oil story.

NEWTON: No, I've only been in the refining business for thirty-nine years, and I don't believe that the stories that I heard that I want to make a record of them, Mr. Murrow.

* * * *

MURROW: I think we kill it there!

SPEAKER: It's certainly been an enjoyable evening.

MURROW: I think we got ourselves one helluvan editing problem now. (LAUGHTER) It went very well.

SPEAKER: Doesn't his story go out? Lovejoy's story and ... (LAUGHTER) (several people speaking)

SPEAKER: I noticed you called it off after ...

MURROW: Inside the oil industry.

SPEAKER: I thought it went over the whole system.

SPEAKER: ... unexpurgated tape of this meeting.

SPEAKER: I don't know when I've enjoyed anything more, Mr. Murrow. (several people speaking)

Sullivan, Stauffer, Colwell & Bayles, Inc.
437 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 16

September 8, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

2

Dear Ed:

Enclosed are three proofs of the American Petroleum Institute's advertisement on conservation, which should bring back some memories of an afternoon in May. Also enclosed is the long list of publications in which this ad is scheduled to run.

The free booklet mentioned at the bottom of the ad has nothing to do with your oil interview; it is simply an API booklet on the subject of conservation that happened to be available. This, of course, saved me a lot of editing.

The ad as you see it now stands just about the way it was when Jess and John cleared it last. Apart from a few technical word changes that came from Texas, about all that has changed is the headline.

I should say that the reaction so far has been wonderful. Let's face it - this was a potentially fairly dull subject. Yet it turned out to be an extremely interesting couple of pages. And everybody was quick to recognize that with your great help we turned up a brand new format - and a new kind of way to write an ad.

You, Jess and John were very pleasing to work with. Good luck on the new season.

Sincerely,

Jerry Brooks

Jerome Brooks

JB/acm

"Ed Murrow" Ad

Publication	Insertion Date
Saturday Evening Post	Oct. 17
Look	Nov. 3
Collier's	Oct. 30
Life	Oct. 12
American Weekly	Oct. 25
First 3 Markets	Oct. 11
N. Y. Times Sunday Magazine	Oct. 4
Newsweek	Oct. 19
U. S. News & World Report	Oct. 23
American Press	October
Broadcasting-Telecasting	Oct. 5
Editor & Publisher	Oct. 17
Publishers' Auxiliary	Oct. 24
Quill	October

From Emily Scheiner
Edipheme

June 13, 1953

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW'S OFFICE

For transcription work in connection with

Mr. Murrow's Oil Interviews $40.00

to: Mrs. J. Spence
998 Williams Ave.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Original of bill
forwarded to Brooks for payment
6/16
Dm.

June 12, 1953

Dear Jerry:

When you get around to it, will you favor me by dividing my $2,000 fee for A.P.I. roundtable between Jesse Zousmer and John Aaron, each receiving an equal share.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Jerry Brooks
Sullivan Stauffer Colwell and
Bayles, Incorporated
437 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

VOL. 56 01/242

FOR SAFETY'S SAKE

YOU'RE A SAFE DRIVER!

maybe THE FACT THAT YOU'RE ALIVE PROVES THAT

You may never have been involved even in a minor accident

Then

WHY

is this message on automotive safety addressed to

YOU?

The answer is...

ACCIDENTS

CAN AND DO HAPPEN

to the best of drivers . . .

With more than 60,000,000 drivers on the highways . . .

There are bound to be a FEW "NUTS" LOOSE AT THE WHEEL

Even the most careful driver in the world can't judge what the OTHER driver is going to do.

Approximately

100 PEOPLE PER DAY

are KILLED

IN THE UNITED STATES

in auto accidents! +

+ Cornell University Data

Approximately

3,500 PEOPLE PER DAY

are *INJURED*

IN THE UNITED STATES

in auto accidents![+]

Many of those people are

SAFE DRIVERS

LIKE YOURSELF

[+] Cornell University Data

WHAT'S THE ANSWER?

How can you protect yourself, your family, and your passengers?

The answer is...

Choose the

CAR OR TRUCK

DESIGNED

to help

prevent accidents,

and to

reduce injuries

WHEN ACCIDENTS DO OCCUR.

TO HELP PREVENT ACCIDENTS

Your car or truck should have . . .

- ✓ GOOD ROADABILITY
- ✓ WIDE VISION AREA
- ✓ DEPENDABLE BRAKING
- ✓ SAFE TIRES
- ✓ RESPONSIVE POWER

Ford for years has pioneered in these preventive safety features. . . . . .

- **BALL-JOINT SUSPENSION**
  for Better Roadability
- **FULL-CIRCLE VISIBILITY**
  for Wide Vision Area
- **DUO-SERVO, DOUBLE-SEALED BRAKES**
  for Safer, Surer Stops
- **TUBELESS TIRES**
  for Added Safety and Roadability
- **GREATER POWER**
  for Responsive Peformance and Faster Passing Ability

But what's even bigger news...

FORD *gives you*
A VITALLY IMPORTANT
NEW KIND OF SAFETY...

PROTECTIVE SAFETY WITH FORD LIFEGUARD DESIGN..

built-in features which "package" the driver and passengers in safer surroundings, to reduce the severity of injuries in case of accident...features which may help bring you back alive from an otherwise fatal crash!

Here's the "inside story"

behind the development of this amazing new

LIFEGUARD

PROTECTIVE SAFETY

For dependable information on the causes of accident injury . . .

Ford Safety Engineers

went to the

AUTOMOBILE CRASH INJURY RESEARCH GROUP OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY MEDICAL COLLEGE

The Cornell survey of hundreds of accidents over the past several years showed

3 MAJOR CAUSES OF INJURY...

1. Occupants thrown through sprung-open doors.
2. Drivers thrown against steering column.
3. Passengers thrown against instrument panel or other hard surfaces.

Ford Safety Engineers carefully studied each of these major causes of injury...

and developed

LIFEGUARD

PROTECTIVE

SAFETY

FEATURES

to combat each one.

1

OCCUPANTS THROWN THROUGH SPRUNG-OPEN DOORS

THE FORD LIFEGUARD SAFETY LOCK

can *DOUBLE* your chance of survival in a crash by keeping you within the protective "package" of the car.

You obtain the protection of this LIFEGUARD feature as standard equipment on all 1956 Ford passenger cars and trucks.

Ford LIFEGUARD DOOR LOCKS

A heavy steel plate on the body pillar provides added protection against doors springing open in the event of impact.

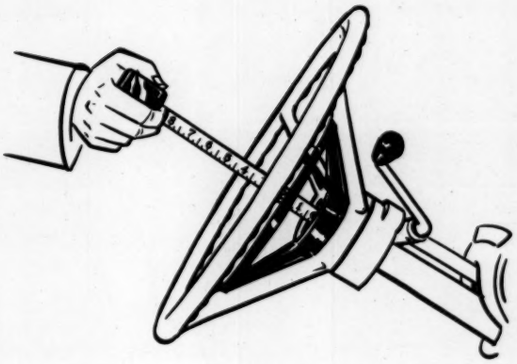
2

DRIVERS THROWN AGAINST STEERING COLUMN

THE FORD LIFEGUARD STEERING WHEEL

PROTECTS YOU FROM THE STEERING COLUMN!

first... the steering column "hub" is recessed well below the rim, providing Lifeguard "safety space" in a crash.



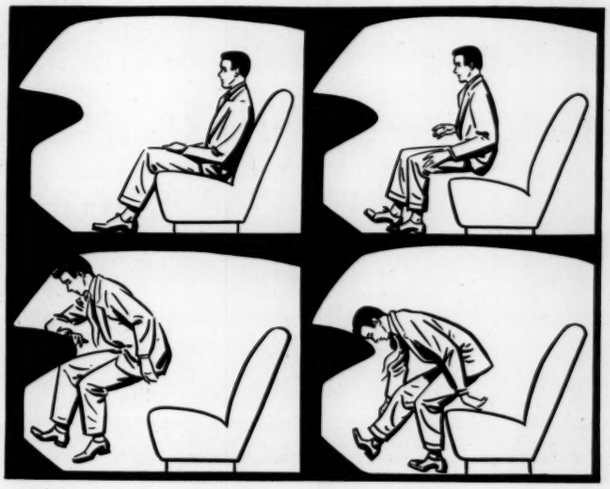
and...

second...

the spokes are scientifically designed to "give" slightly under pressure . . .

thereby cushioning the impact, reducing injuries from the wheel, and protecting the driver from the wheel hub.

3 PASSENGERS THROWN AGAINST INSTRUMENT PANEL



FORD LIFEGUARD
CRASH
PADDING

ABSORBS IMPACT!

Attractive Ford padding on instrument panels and sun visors give LIFEGUARD protection from impact injury...

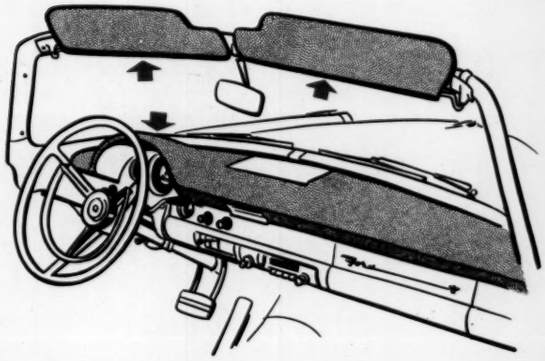
PROVIDING 500% MORE IMPACT ABSORPTION THAN FOAM RUBBER!

You can now enjoy this life-saving protection through

Ford

LIFEGUARD PADDING

on instrument panels and sun visors as optional equipment on all 1956 Ford cars.



Finally...

for EXTRA protection

FORD SEAT BELTS+

hold you safely in the Protective Zone of the seats

IN CASE OF ACCIDENT

+ Optional Equipment

FORD SEAT BELTS
Are...

- ★ **25% stronger than commercial aircraft standards**
- ★ **Comfortable to wear**
- ★ **Easily and quickly released by a flip of the buckle**

For an expert opinion on the safety value of seat belts...

"...the forces encountered in the large majority of automotive crashes are survivable without serious injury if the occupant distributes the force over the strong solid quarters of the body by means of webbing straps..."

Lt. Col. JOHN P. STAPP

Chief of the Aero Medical Field Laboratory
Holloman Air Development Center

Therefore... according to the best expert opinion...

QUALITY

SEAT BELTS

can help make the large majority of automotive crashes

"SURVIVABLE"...

and that's typical of the

PROTECTIVE SAFETY

you obtain through

FORD LIFEGUARD DESIGN!

Yes...in 1956 you can truly enjoy

LIFEGUARD PROTECTIVE SAFETY

with Ford's...

1. Safety door locks
2. Deep-center steering wheel
3. Interior padding
4. Seat belts

These Ford LIFEGUARD features help reduce injuries when an accident occurs

and...

THE 1956 FORD *gives you...*

- **BALL-JOINT SUSPENSION**
  for Better Roadability
- **FULL-CIRCLE VISIBILITY**
  for Wide Vision Area
- **DUO-SERVO, DOUBLE-SEALED BRAKES**
  for Safer, Surer Stops
- **TUBELESS TIRES**
  for Added Safety and Roadability
- **GREATER POWER**
  for Responsive Performance and Faster Passing Ability

With this
"Safety Com

BOTH

PREVEN

and

PROTEC

YOU'RE

IN

1956 F

mbination"...

ENTIVE
nd
ECTIVE...

E SAFER
/ A
FORD!

LITHO. IN U.S.A.

Report to the Public on the National Safety Forum

FORD MOTOR COMPANY

"This Safety Forum can mark the start of a new safety crusade which can and undoubtedly will bring about a material reduction in the annual toll of deaths and injuries."

HENRY FORD II
President, Ford Motor Company

". . . the public service aspect and the public interest in this safety gear transcends the normal business considerations . . . all of the features and the specifications and design of those features are to be made available to any automobile company that wants them."

BENSON FORD
Vice President and Group Director

"As one who has seen a good many automobile accident victims, and has had, for a long while, some ideas on the prevention of injuries, it is my firm conviction that the work which the Ford Motor Company has done this year may be a more important contribution to public health than the polio vaccine."

R. ARNOLD GRISWOLD, M.D.
Chairman, Committee on Trauma
American College of Surgeons

★ ★ ★

This booklet contains excerpts from speeches held during the National Safety Forum at the Ford Motor Company, Dearborn, Michigan, September 1955, presenting the new concept of injury prevention in automobile accidents. The booklet closes with responses by a panel of experts to questions from the press.

LT. COL. JOHN P. STAPP
Chief of Aero Medical Field Laboratory
Holloman Air Development Center

After all possible effort to prevent or to remedy the effects of accidents, the question remains—how much force can the human body tolerate?

This problem requires controlled experimental exposure of human and man-size dummy subjects to crash type decelerations. Progressively higher combinations of these variables will determine tolerance and survival limits.

It was found that limits of voluntary tolerance were approached when forces 50 times the body weight were applied during one quarter of a second. Much higher forces can be sustained with survivable injurious effects.

The fact that a properly shock-mounted human body seated in the forward facing position can sustain four tons of force applied within one quarter of a second and suffer no disability is just as significant for automobiles as it is for airplanes.

The forces encountered in the large majority of automotive crashes are survivable without serious injury if the occupant distributes the force over the strong solid quarters of the body by means of webbing straps and is not struck by solid objects.

An actual crash test on the Test Track of the Ford Motor Company during the National Safety Forum.

If the lap belt were effective in preventing death or injury in only 21% of the accidents, this would mean 7,000 fewer funerals and 20,000 fewer permanent cripples, based on last year's accident rate. Automotive manufacturing concerns have already begun similar experiments with the result that in the 1956 models, many of the more easily changed features will be incorporated. These include installing lap belts, stronger seat fastenings, locking doors that will resist high impact forces without springing open, padding on instrument panels, removal of protruding knobs and steering wheels with ductile spokes which will collapse progressively under the weight of the driver during a crash. All this effort is based on the experimentally demonstrated fact that the human body can survive the forces uninjured if it is properly shock mounted in a non-collapsing enclosure.

JOHN O. MOORE
Director of Automobile Crash Injury Research
Cornell University Medical College

TODAY, we Americans live and work in a complex civilization which is based upon mobility.

As a nation we are on the move—in a forward direction—and the greater our mobility, the more we are able to enjoy and spread the economic and social benefits of mass transportation—and the common denominator for all of us is the automobile.

It would be hard to convince me that anyone attending this Safety Forum would advocate seriously that we as a nation should be expected to retreat from the conveniences of the rapid communication we enjoy.

Today we are tackling the problem of reducing the numbers of persons who are injured or killed in automobiles on the highways and streets of our country.

To tell Cornell's part of this story, I'd like to turn back 13 years to the point at which our work began.

In 1942, a leading aviation magazine said that there was a "nut" loose in aviation design circles. The man they called a "nut" was Hugh De Haven, a gentleman of considerable vision and great common sense.

De Haven had studied the records of suicide jumps and accidental falls because he was looking for answers to a double-edged problem:

First, what conditions existed that permitted certain people to *survive* extremely severe falls?

Second, was it possible to cause those conditions to be *constantly* present in aircraft and motor vehicles?

Up until De Haven's studies, these stories of freak cases of survival had been just horror material for the Sunday supplements. But De Haven demonstrated that sound research could convert this sensational material into scientific data that could be used in reducing accidental injury. *This was a new concept.*

De Haven set forth two basic conclusions regarding the falls of those people who survived.

First, they struck in a position that spread the force of the fall over a large body area.

Second, their fall ended in an environment which would bend or deform—which would yield to the impact, and in yielding would absorb force.

De Haven's investigations led to the establishment in 1942 of the Crash Injury Research Project at Cornell University Medical College. The project was set up under the sponsorship of two U. S. government bodies—the Office of Scientific Research and Development, and the National Research Council.

At that time fifty thousand aircraft were to be built each year, and they were to be operated at high speeds. Every time one of these aircraft came to a sudden accidental stop, it would expose the most highly specialized manpower in the country to costly and lethal damage.

The Cornell project was asked to determine

whether or not injury is the inescapable price of motion. If not, are there ways to prevent such injury?

THE FORCE that is at work in an accident is measured in units of gravity. The number of G indicates the added inertia bearing on the whole body, or any part of it, as a result of sudden change in direction.

We have a simple equation which computes for you the mean or average G's that are acting in a given situation.

$$G = \frac{MPH^2 \times .034}{\text{STOPPING DISTANCE IN FEET}}$$

G is the product of miles per hour squared times the constant of .034 (which translates miles per hour to feet per second) divided by the stopping distance in feet.

$$\frac{40 \text{ MPH} \times 40 = 1600}{1600 \times .034 = 54.400 \text{ ft. per second}}$$

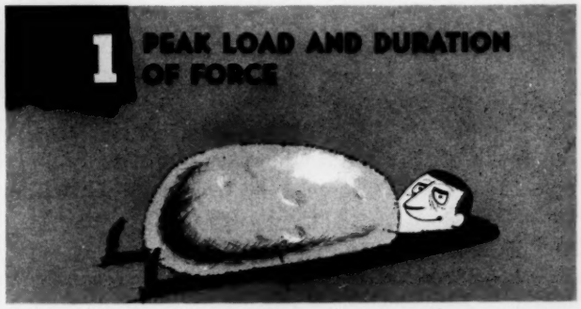
$$\begin{array}{r|l} & 108.8^{G} \\ \hline .5 \text{ ft.} & 54.400 \end{array}$$

Let's assume that an object going 40 miles an hour comes to an abrupt but controlled stop in 10 feet. The deceleration will develop approximately five G.

Now, let's assume that same object going forty miles an hour is stopped by a bank of clay, and the stopping distance is a half a foot. The square of the speed is still 1600, and the travel is 54.4 feet per second. But the stopping distance of one-half foot means the G jumps to 108.8.

Let us see what this means in terms of chances to survive when the force is applied to the body.

The first factor is peak load and duration of that force. The fellow in this picture can hold off

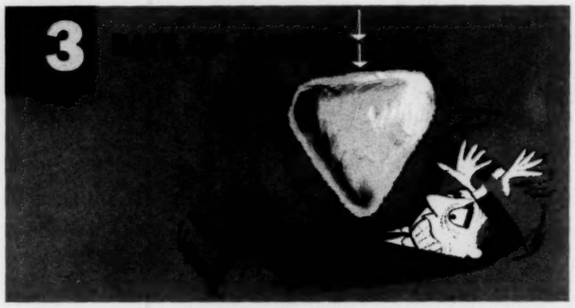


the weight of the big rock for a short time, without suffering harm. Research uncovered the fact that the human body could sustain tremendous forces of 50 to 150 G peak load without serious injury if the duration of this force is not too great.

Next it was found that a high level of force can be endured only if it is properly distributed. Biological tissue such as flesh, bones or sinews, is like any other material. It has certain stress characteristics—a yield point and a break point. Our little man could hold the rock as long as he had the flat side pushing on his chest, but what happens when he's pinned down by a sharp corner? He's in real trouble. Whether his tissue yields or breaks is determined by the pressure per square inch. The Air Force, for instance, found that airplanes had controls, instruments, and other objects inside the "container" surrounding the pilot that were shaped so they would localize rather than distribute the force generated by a crash. These were structures that could be redesigned to distribute the force yet

still perform their function. This was done, and injuries were reduced.

Then it was discovered that the rate of onset of force must remain within certain limits if the human is to survive. Obviously, our little man is in real trouble. Force is about to be applied to him very rapidly, as well as localized.



On the basis of these findings, the Air Force decided that *people* could be *packaged* just as effectively as *merchandise* was packaged to prevent damage. Injuries in military aviation crashes dropped approximately *500* per cent because of application of these data in the development of the proper kind of "packaging" for air crews.

Late in 1951, another Armed Forces study revealed the magnitude of this same crash injury problem as it existed in the motor vehicle field. *Records of a representative period showed that more military personnel were injured in motor vehicle accidents than were put out of action as casualties during the Korean War.*

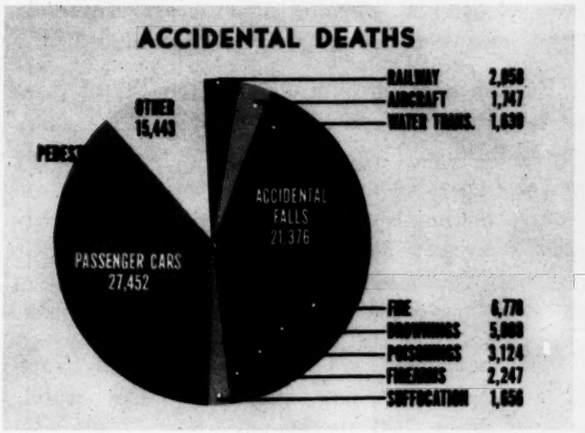
If correct "packaging" techniques could prevent injuries and save lives in aircraft, then it seemed logical that the same techniques could correct the problem of automotive crashes. From this decision came the sponsorship of the present Crash Injury Research Program at Cornell by the Commission on Accidental Trauma of the Armed Forces Epidemiological Board.

The services had tried to limit the number of miles that could be traveled on a pass. They had

specified return hours, so that personnel would have to drive during daylight when returning to duty. But none of these measures proved sufficiently effective. In spite of education and enforcement efforts, the injuries continued to pile up.

Now, obviously, this was not a problem of the Department of Defense alone. It was, and it is, a problem of the entire civilian population, as well.

THERE ARE figures that show the dimensions of the problem in terms of the general public.



Of all the causes of accidental deaths, motor vehicles provide the largest single group of fatalities. They cause more deaths than either accidental falls, fires, drownings, aircraft, or other causes. The magnitude of the problem is dramatically illustrated when the combined total of deaths in rail, air and water transportation is compared with fatal results in passenger cars. This again illustrates the fact that the car is the common denominator of transport for all Americans. Automobile accidents caused 36,000 deaths the year the Department of Defense started its investigation—that is, 1951. Seventy-four per cent of those deaths involved occupants of passenger cars.

Let's not put this situation in a false perspective here today, however. Great progress had been made in reducing the accident rate in America.

Actually, the rate of accidents per hundred million miles of vehicular travel has declined steadily for years. Between 1930 and today there has been a 60 per cent drop in the fatality rate.

The reduction in fatalities has been due primarily to aggressive work on the three E's: Enforcement, Education, and Engineering.

Motor vehicle design also had undergone tremendous improvement since 1930. The deaths of 1951, '52, '53, and '54 were not being caused by failure of motor vehicle components. Steering gear worked all right. Spindles didn't break. Tires had been improved. Safety glass was introduced.

But the problem of a constant number of cases of fatalities and injuries still confronted the medical profession. Though the total number of safely traveled passenger miles had increased tremendously, the number of people killed remained fairly steady—between 30,000 and 40,000 per year. The number of injured remained consistent at a million to a million and a half.

This meant that the Crash Injury Research Group at Cornell was attacking a medical problem peculiar to our nation and our way of living.

THE NEW approach to the research of crash injury prevention follows the familiar pattern of fights against epidemics in the past. It is a "team" effort.

First comes fact-finding. State and Municipal Police gather specialized data where accidents take place. Physicians in the hospitals which receive the accident victims contribute detailed descriptions of their injuries.

Next comes analysis. These data are forwarded to Cornell, where they are handed to trained analysts.

Finally, the information is utilized.

Medical people are provided accurate data indicating the types of injuries that will result from motor vehicle accidents.

Educators are able to decide what needs to be taught to people living and working in a mobile civilization.

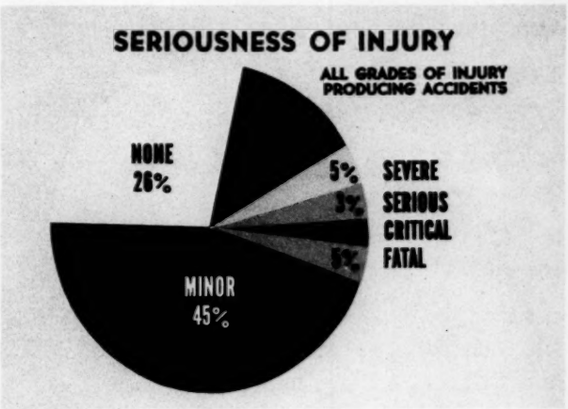
Automotive design engineers, for the first time, have accurate fundamental data pointing positively to the causes of injuries, and the order of their frequency.

Automobiles are built by national producers. They must have universal characteristics that will make them useful anywhere. Data were needed to portray all the variable accident and traffic conditions that these products might encounter anywhere in the country.

A solution could be reached only if the problem was studied on a multiple but local basis.

This early premise has been borne out by the results of our studies.

THESE ARE some of Cornell's general findings which point the way to better medical care, more effective public education in accident prevention, and advances in automobile design:



First, we found that the automobile package is a relatively safe structure. In accident cases which we coded and analyzed, 26 per cent of vehicle occupants were not injured. Minor injuries were sustained by 45 per cent. Doctors classified 14 per cent as moderately injured. Ten per cent suffered

injuries ranging from serious through critical. The fatals were only five per cent of all cases in which someone in the car was injured. The extreme smallness of the 5 per cent figure demonstrates that the human being is extremely durable; it also shows how important it is to study all grades of injury, not just fatalities.

In other words, 95 per cent of accident victims survive, but 24 per cent sustain moderate through fatal grades of injuries.

From the police and medical reports, it has been possible to determine which parts of the human body are injured in accidents, and thus to arrive at the order or priority in which the injury epidemic must be attacked.

Taking the body in the normal order of anatomical discussion the tabulation of injuries to occupants of cars in accidents, looks like this:

1. Head and facial injuries are sustained by 73 per cent of them.

2. Neck and cervical spine injuries are suffered by seven per cent.

3. In 37 per cent of the cases we studied, injured occupants are hurt in the region of the chest.

4. Injuries are sustained in the abdomen-pelvis and lumbar spine areas in 16 per cent of the cases.

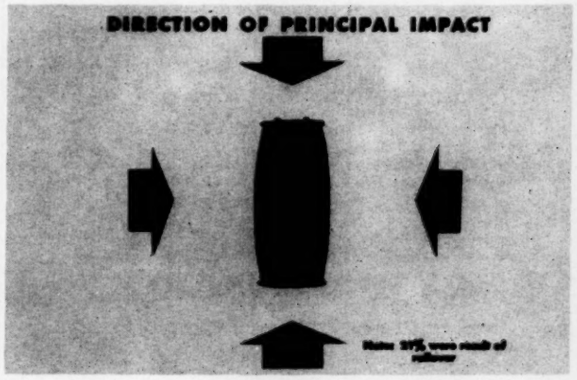
5. The upper extremities suffer damage in 30 per cent of the cases.

6. The lower extremities are damaged in 47 per cent of the accidents covered in our reports.

These percentages obviously add to more than 100. Obviously, in other words, when people are hurt in cars, they are hurt all over.

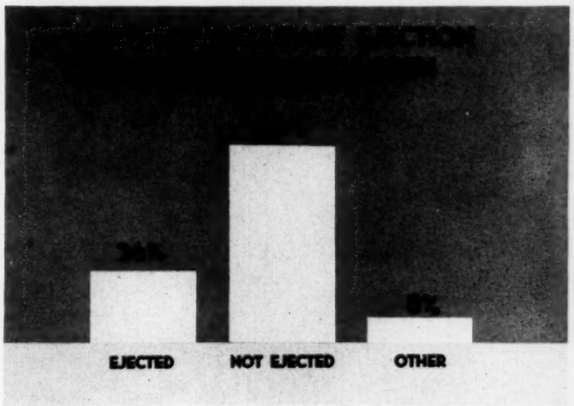
To package bodies effectively against collision, it is essential to know the directions from which the destructive force may be delivered.

This chart shows the direction of principal impact in the cases we have studied. Approximately 59 per cent occur in the frontal area of the vehicles.



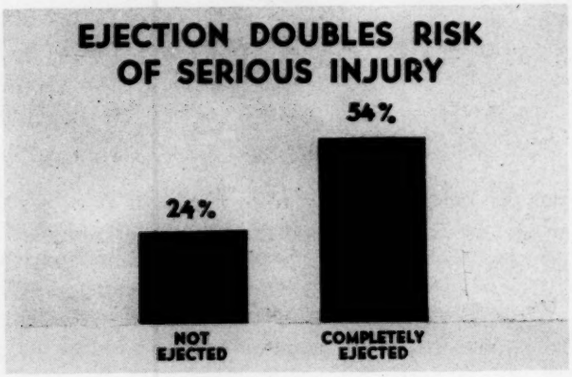
Nine per cent are struck from the right side; six per cent from the left; and three per cent from the rear.

When front doors pop open, the statistics reveal that 26 per cent of occupants are thrown out of the car, and 66 per cent stay in. A small group—eight per cent—are ejected through other openings or are partially in and partially out of the car. Twenty per cent of all body area injuries are produced after the occupant is thrown out of the car. These findings destroy the theory that it is safer to be "thrown clear" in a motor vehicle accident.

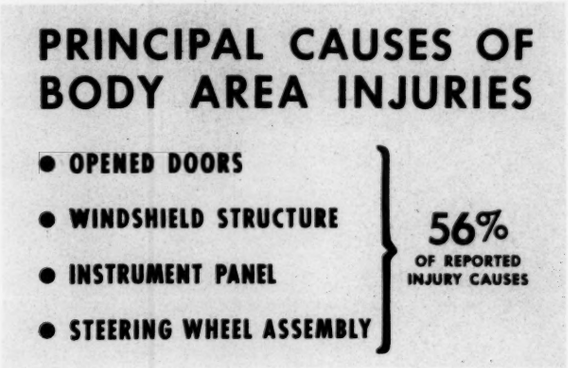


Ejection from the car more than doubles the risk of moderate through fatal grades of injury. This, we believe, is the most important single problem in controlling injuries. One

of the primary means of attacking the epidemic of automobile injuries is the development of a method of keeping the occupants inside the protective body of the vehicle.



Now let's look at what happens inside the car. We have been able to identify the components which are the most frequent causes of injury. From a packaging standpoint, they are foremost among the items which require priority attention on the part of the vehicle design engineer.



In addition to opened doors, the general windshield structure, the instrument panel, and the steering wheel assembly, together account for 56 per cent of the reported causes of body area injury.

40% OF ALL INJURED DRIVERS HURT BY STEERING WHEEL.

About 40 per cent of all injured drivers are hurt by the steering wheel assembly, when they are thrown against it as the result of a sudden accidental stop.

38% OF ALL INJURED RIGHT AND CENTER FRONT SEAT PASSENGERS INJURED BY INSTRUMENT PANELS.

Approximately 38 per cent of the passengers riding in the right front and center front seats are injured on the instrument panel, when they are thrown forward as the result of a crash.

4% OF INJURED FRONT SEAT PASSENGERS INJURED BY MIRROR.

Approximately four per cent of the individuals seated in the front are injured when they strike the rear

view mirror, or are hurt by the glass of that mirror.

THESE COMPONENTS, and the broad problem of preventing people from being ejected from their vehicles in accidents, deserve priority attention by the automotive design engineer. Cornell University Medical College's Automotive Crash Injury Research has made these data available to the entire automobile industry in its published reports.

The development of restraining devices which will keep occupants inside automobiles, prevent doors from opening in crashes, and of devices which will absorb the force of the human body when it strikes frontal areas of the passenger compartment is a matter of the highest importance today.

We in the medical research part of the team are dependent upon the industry to engineer reliable devices of this nature, and to offer them to the general public.

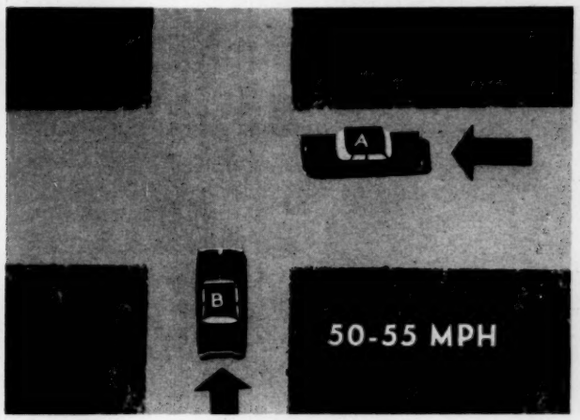
A. L. HAYNES
Executive Engineer
Ford Motor Company

AS MAN advanced into the Technical Age, he gained a good understanding of the machines he created; he learned how to predict their mechanical performance and constantly improve their designs. The problem of operating and using these machines, however, became very complex when man is placed in control, the reason being that man's behavior cannot be accurately predicted in any given circumstances.

Throughout the Automotive Age, we progressively have developed more reliable, easier operating and more stable performing cars. These accomplishments have made it possible to minimize automotive accidents under constantly more hazardous operating conditions. Accident prevention always has been a major concern to the automotive engineer.

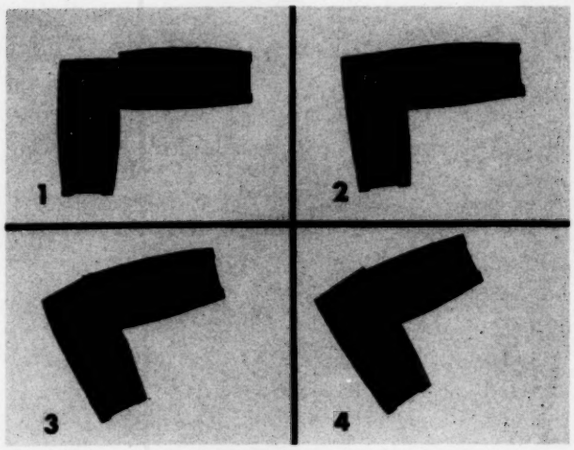
Albert Einstein once said, "Concern for man himself and his fate must always form the chief interest of all technical endeavor; never forget this in the midst of your diagrams and equations." The words of this great scientist express the theme of the work we have undertaken.

Regardless of our success in designing accident prevention features into our product, the imperfect human element continues to precipitate accident situations. Therefore, our efforts also must be directed toward minimizing and preventing injuries suffered in these accidents. Statistics provided by Cornell University Medical College indicate the injury-producing areas of highest frequency. Experiments have shown that there is a range of forces at the moment of impact which the human body probably can tolerate. Our problem then becomes that of providing methods of protecting car occupants involved in accidents that are not avoided.



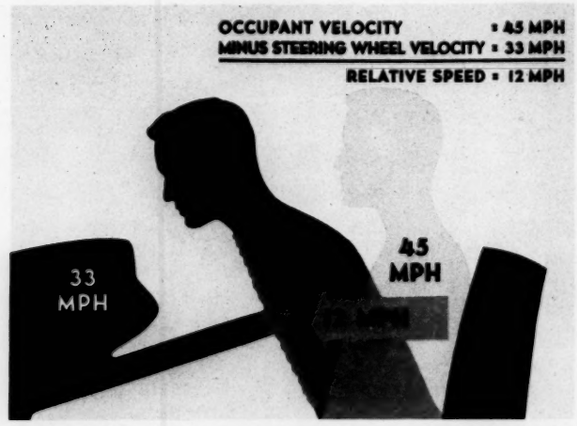
Let us consider briefly a hypothetical traffic accident. Car A is cruising along a highway at, let us say, 55 miles an hour. Suddenly, from a side road, another vehicle (Car B) begins to cross the highway. The driver of Car A slams on his brakes, but the clear stopping distance is insufficient to avoid a collision.

Now let us follow the train of events during the impact. Car A strikes the Car B broadside, with the initial speed retarded to perhaps 45 MPH be-



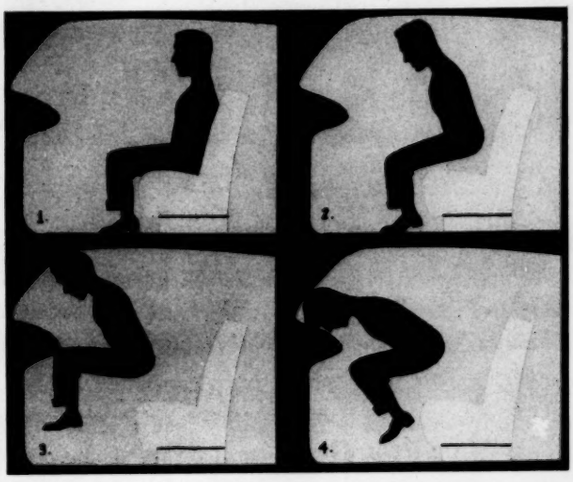
cause of the brake application. The struck car slides sideways and both vehicles move as a unit.

The front of the striking car begins to crumple and penetrate the structure of Car B. Considerable energy is dissipated as the structures of the vehicles bend and yield, and grind to a final stop.



Meanwhile, there is a violent sequence of events within the striking car. The unrestrained driver tends to continue his forward movement at the initial speed of contact (45 MPH). His car is being rapidly decelerated by the impact and perhaps has slowed to about 33 MPH by the time his chest hits the rim of the steering wheel. The relative speed with which he contacts the wheel is therefore

about 12 MPH. The conventional—or what people think of as the conventional—steering wheel rim breaks away and the driver is injured by the steering column.

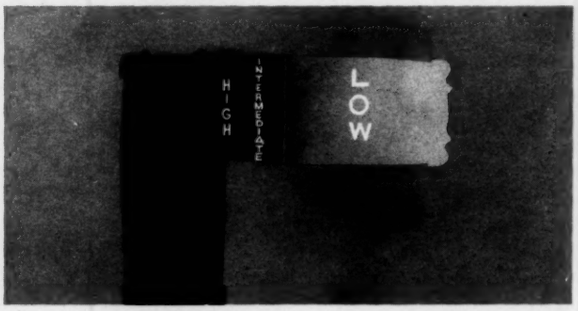


At the same time, the front seat passenger is thrown off the seat by the force of the impact and strikes the forward structure of the passenger compartment. Depending on his seated height, he may hit the header area, the windshield, or instrument panel with his head. Meanwhile, his knees may crash into the lower surface of the instrument panel.

A further complication in an accident of this type is the possibility that one or more doors may be forced open and allow the occupants to be thrown from the car, where statistics show the possibilities of receiving serious injuries are twice as great as when the passengers stay inside.

In these rather elementary terms, we have described a fairly typical collision in which there is the likelihood of serious or fatal injury.

Let's analyze this now in greater detail. While the deceleration force near the front of the chassis was over 100 G's, the vehicle structure progressively absorbed this energy to the point where only about 7.5 G's were experienced in the driving compartment. Such actual analyses point out that automobile structure already has evolved in the right



direction for reducing injuries in the event of collision.

It follows that the force in the passenger compartment is much less than at the front end, because of the car's inherent energy absorbing characteristics.

The problem then became that of developing protective features within the vehicle which would further reduce the possibility of injury to the occupants. Our research and development program showed that it was possible to take immediate steps for reducing injury-producing areas and to provide greater safety for occupants. The features are:

Steering Wheel	**Door Locks**
Instrument Panel	**Seat Belts**

Now let's look at it piece by piece, starting with steering wheels. The problem was to develop a wheel that could absorb the force of the impact.

COLLAPSIBLE DEPTH	FORCE lbs.	DECELERATION MAGNITUDE
1 in.	12000	82.3 G's
4 in.	3000	20.3 G's

Analyzing this problem further, we considered the impact loading developed at the steering wheel. Calculations showed that when a 150 lb. driver was projected at a relative speed of 15 MPH against the conventional steering wheel, the rim collapsed about one inch and the steering column contacted the driver's chest with a force of 12,000 pounds.

A deceleration magnitude of over 80 G's was experienced. As the picture shows, we also calculated the forces that would be obtained when the collapsible distance was increased. It was found that if this distance was increased to 4 inches, the force would be reduced to 3,000 pounds and the deceleration lowered to about 20 G's. This lower force is well within the range of human tolerance.

THE FIRST STEP was to set up test equipment for impacting steering wheels and confirm the previous calculations. We dropped a mass equal to the weight of the driver onto a conventional steering wheel. The rim collapsed under very little energy and the small area of the steering column hub came into violent contact with the simulated body.

The telescoping steering column is one of the devices frequently suggested as a solution to this problem. We actually built and tested some of these assemblies. In this design, splined elements permitted the column to retract against a spring load, and shock absorbers were added to control the recoil after compression. The many sliding elements made it an impractical design when we consider how essential it is to minimize backlash (or play) for precision steering. When we tested this we found that the problem still had not been solved because the steering wheel rim collapsed prematurely; the weight of the body contacted and was supported by the steering column hub.

WE NEXT considered the possibility of designing collapsible distance into the wheel itself by recessing the hub.

It was felt that the rim could be provided with sufficient strength to support the chest and the spokes could be designed to absorb energy as they yielded under impact.

Numerous wheel designs were constructed and tested to develop the proper combination of rim and spoke for optimum energy dissipation. Various configurations were explored to increase the energy-absorbing properties of the wheel and control the direction of spoke bending to protect the driver from injury.

Instrument Panel

Another part of the program was to consider methods for reducing the injuries caused by striking the instrument panel.

In the laboratory, we assembled test equipment for evaluating instrument panel structure, configuration, and materials. Balls, weighing various amounts to simulate the human head or upper torso of the human body, were suspended above a specimen of the instrument panel. With an electronic gear we recorded the force, decelerations and rates of onset developed when the ball was released.

Door Latch

The next item we investigated was the door latch. As previously mentioned, doors can pop open during a collision and the occupants may be thrown from the car, where they can suffer a second accident.

So we ran experiments on our test track to develop procedures for forcing doors open during impact.

We then developed a technique for simulating this action under laboratory-controlled conditions. We impacted a stationary vehicle with a pendulum which equalled the weight of a car (3,200 pounds).

Our next step was to develop a door latch which would remain locked under similar laboratory impacts. Then we conducted actual field tests.

Seat Belts

Now, we will cover our research on seat belts. Occupant restraints have been considered for some time. Our work was to investigate these devices to determine their suitability for passenger use in automobiles.

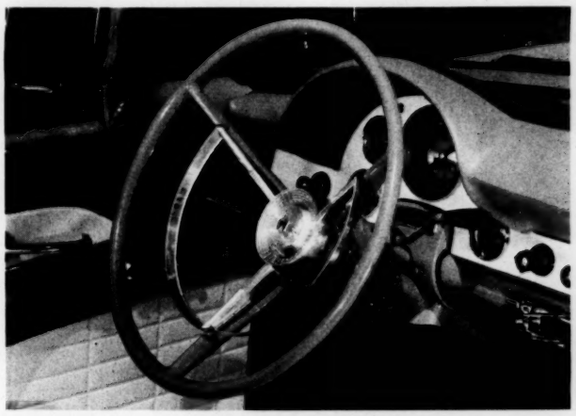
The combination shoulder harness and lap belt was considered, and although it showed, in some of its versions, considerable merit in restraining the occupant under sudden deceleration, we did not feel it allowed sufficient freedom of movement. The less complicated lap belts were investigated and

we have every indication that they are acceptable to the public.

In evaluating seat belts, we use body block tests. This includes the belt, buckle, and attachments. It was practical to extend our specifications to 4,000 pounds, which is 25 per cent greater than the CAA aircraft belt requirement.

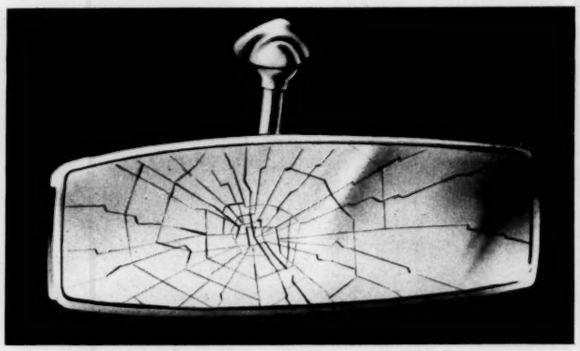
Belt installation within the vehicle also was investigated. Adequate belt anchorage was required if the belt's full potential was to be realized. In our body design a heavy reinforcement under the floor structure provided the ideal location for attachments. Of course, we tested the belts under actual crash conditions. In addition we made sure that both front and rear seats are more firmly anchored to resist the tendency to pull loose under impact.

WE HAVE just compressed several years' work into the few minutes it took me to outline it. Well, what does all this mean in practical terms? How can the knowledge gained be applied to our automobile? Here's the answer:



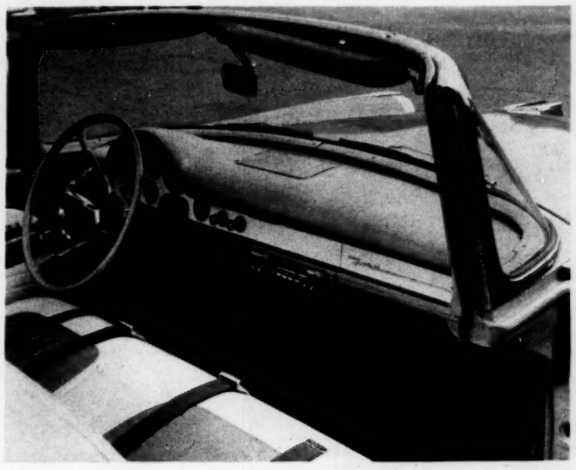
As standard equipment, our 1956 cars will have **DEEP-CENTER STEERING WHEELS** which distribute the impact force over the driver's chest and depress under pressure, absorbing energy as the spokes yield and bend out of the way without making contact with the body. This design should reduce the 40 per cent injury index caused by the driver striking the steering wheel.

The new models will be equipped with **SAFETY DOOR LOCKS.** The rotor of the lock is made so that it fits behind a lock plate on the striker part of the latch. This arrangement keeps the lock from disengaging when the door and pillar tend to spring apart during a crash. These locks will substantially reduce the hazard of occupants being thrown from the vehicle in case of a collision. You will recall that statistics showed that an occupant's chances of escaping injury were twice as good if he remained in the car.

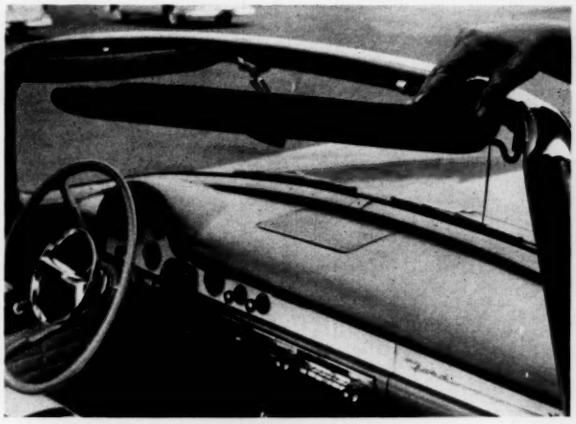


The 1956 cars also will have **SAFETY REAR VIEW MIRRORS.** Crash injury research statistics show that 4 per cent of front seat injuries are caused by the rear view mirror. The new mirror is backed with a plastic material which will reduce the possibility of the glass falling out if it is shattered.

These three items will be standard equipment on all of our automobiles. In addition, we will offer as optional equipment for installation:



SEAT BELTS, which are anchored to the floor structure over a transverse reinforcing member. The belt assembly will withstand a 4,000 pound body load or 1,000 pounds greater than that required by the CAA for aircraft belts. Not only will they help keep the passengers within the vehicle, but they will restrain them and help keep them away from such injury producers as the windshield area and door components. Also, they tend to keep the driver in position behind the wheel in the event of a minor collision, thereby avoiding major accidents caused by the driver momentarily losing control of the vehicle.

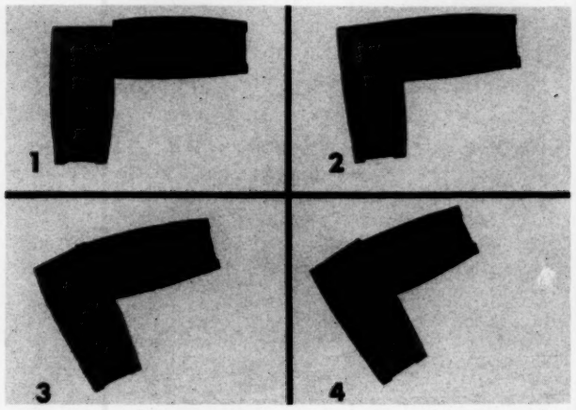


SAFETY CUSHIONING for all Ford instrument panels and sun visors is also being offered. The

header bar, sun visors and instrument panel account for about 38 per cent of passenger injuries in the right or center front seat positions. This cushioning will reduce the facial injury index because it helps protect the occupant from the sharp edges that can develop if the dash metal is wrinkled or torn. The padding also distributes the force over a greater area and absorbs energy. This is five times more energy absorbing than an equivalent thickness of foam rubber. It is of the expanded polyvinyl chloride type.

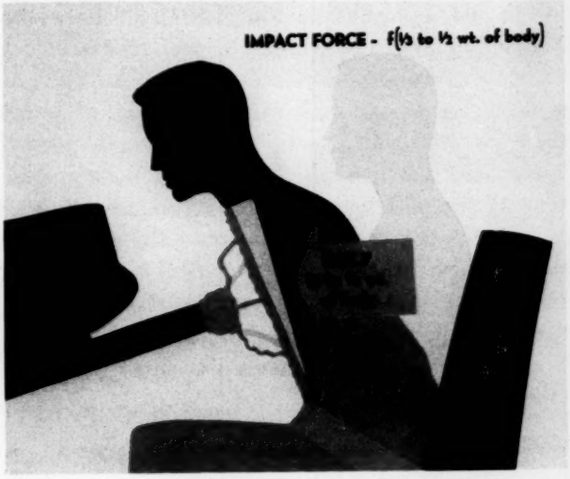
Now, in the light of these new devices, let's review the hypothetical highway collision which we outlined a few moments ago.

This time the driver and the passenger have their seat belts properly adjusted and the car is equipped with a safety steering wheel, door latches, safety mirror, instrument panel and sun visor cushioning.



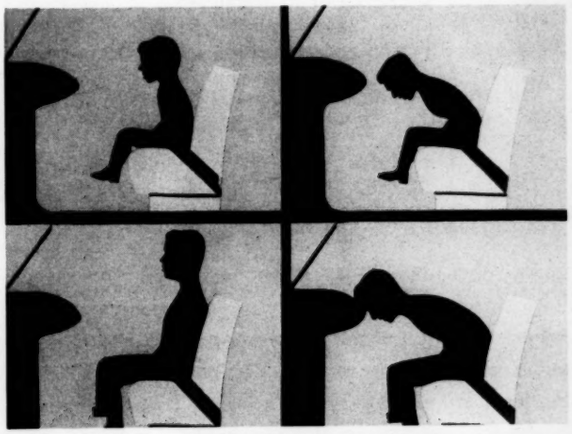
Again, upon impact, the striking car penetrates the struck car, perhaps nine to twelve inches. Just as before, both cars move as a unit for about 12 or 15 feet. This, plus the penetration and the yielding of metal absorbs energy and reduces the force level in the passenger compartment.

The driver in Car A is restrained by the belt, which more or less means that he will decelerate



with the car. At the same time, the upper part of his body strikes the steering wheel, but since the lower part of his body is held in place by the belt, he carries less weight as he moves forward. This chart shows how the weight of the body is an important factor in impact force development. And because of the deep-center wheel, the driver is not likely to contact the hub of the steering column. In addition, of course, the wheel acts to absorb and distribute the energy of the crash.

There's a strong possibility that the driver will escape serious or fatal injury under such conditions.



The seat belt around the front seat passenger in Car A tends to protect him from sliding into door components or being thrown into the header and

windshield area. If—because of seated height—the passenger's head may strike the padded instrument panel, the padding will reduce the possibility of skull fracture and moderate the extent of facial tissue lacerations. The padding also will absorb energy and distribute the force over a much greater area of the passenger's head. This combination of safety protection again will increase the probability that the passenger will escape critical or serious injury. Seated height is a factor in whether or not the belted passenger strikes the instrument panel. The shorter passenger misses the panel while the taller passenger hits it.

This example was made for the purpose of illustration. Actual collisions and highway accidents are far more complicated.

A QUESTION in everyone's mind is just how effective will these devices be? Exactly what percentage of injury reduction can they bring about?

All predictions to date on the effectiveness of these devices have been made on a clinical basis. A statistical evaluation will come only after the cars are actually on the highways and mass data become available.

An engineer, by nature, hesitates to make predictions when the human element is involved. However, estimates have been made in this field. Safety specialists have said on occasion that devices such as these probably will reduce injuries 35 to 50 per cent.

Statistics provided by Cornell Unversity Medical College show that almost half of the accident injuries result from collision with the steering wheel, the instrument panel or header, and the mirror, or by being thrown from the car.

And these are the areas we have been working on —we think we have made a good beginning. When we got into this problem we were faced with making decisions as to where we could be most effective in the least amount of time. We had to be practical and not wait until we got a 100 per cent solution to the problem before we acted. As time goes by, we hope to have other important developments to tell you about. We don't plan to stop here.

RESPONSES BY A PANEL OF EXPERTS TO QUESTIONS FROM THE PRESS

National Safety Forum

September 9, 1955

Value of the Safety Devices:

LT. COL. JOHN P. STAPP—"They (the safety devices described at the Ford National Safety Forum) go a long way toward solving the problems of people who are sane enough to be willing to drive below 60 miles an hour."

A List of Priorities:

MR. MOORE—"We have evaluated all the components of the car. We now can determine [those] that are causing injury. The emphasis has been on these four [door latches, seat belts, steering wheels, and crash padding] because they represent the . . . largest chunk [of accidental injury causes.] Obviously if you cure this big chunk with solutions such as you have seen here, then you will go after the chunks you haven't gotten. You do first what you think will be most effective for the most number of people at the earliest possible date.

Ways to Reduce Injuries:

DR. FRANK H. MAYFIELD (for the American College of Surgeons) :—"In February, the American College of Surgeons passed a resolution [stating that] improvement in automobile design could materially reduce crash casualties and suggested . . . that the data . . . available from Cornell and other research sources indicated that improvement of the steering wheel, interior padding, restraining devices, door locks, and perhaps a seat restraint were avenues which could be approached."

Speed as a Factor in Injuries:

MR. JOHN O. MOORE—"We don't . . . confirm a continuous rise of injury [in our accident injury studies] above certain speed limits. The curve of frequency, severity, or seriousness of injury does rise progressively on a very straight line curve to a point. Then it levels, and this is [at a point] far below the existing speed limits of any state.

We could not demonstrate any degree of statistical significance [difference in degree of injury] be-

tween reported speeds of impact in the 1950 to 1954 cars and the 1940 through 1949 models."

MR. A. L. HAYNES, FORD ENGINEERING STAFF—"Over 50 per cent of the accidents take place under 40 miles an hour. John Moore's statistics say that."

LT. COL. STAPP—"People keep saying that speed kills. It isn't speed. It's change of speed that can kill you. Going from 60 miles an hour to a stop in about three feet [is] nothing particularly arduous if you are properly fastened in, but it can be highly fatal if you aren't."

Urges Competition in Safety:

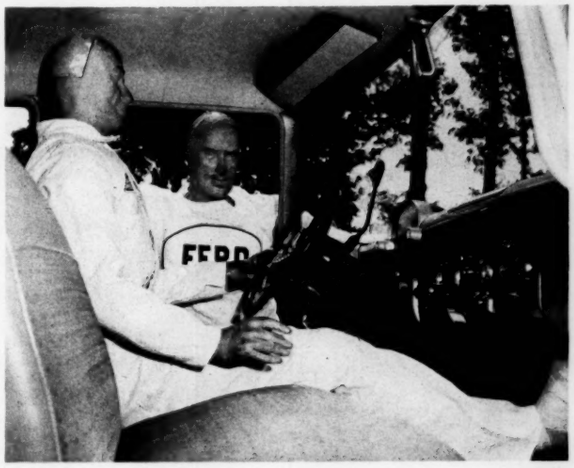
DR. MAYFIELD—"We are very much interested in the promotion of safety, and insofar as these innovations [devices shown at the Forum] promote that, we are very much in favor of it and would feel that any [competitive] advantage that accrued to one manufacturer as a result of it was very much deserved. I do believe that the innovations made on these products offer excellent opportunity of reducing the crash casualties, both in severity and number. I hope that this will launch a program of competition between the various manufacturers to make the automobile . . . a safer vehicle."

Others Asked to Aid:

MR. MOORE—"[(When)] the Ford grant was offered to Cornell it was impossible . . . to take Ford's money and not have somebody else's money from the same industry. This would have been destruction of a good program in academic circles. [We] called on all of the other leading automobile manufacturers to request that they entertain consideration of joining [Ford] in support of this program.

Time Required to Get Data:

MR. MOORE—"We started our work on the first control sample two years ago, and it took a long time for the accidents to be reported. You can't work with 180 cases—you have to have more. . . . Many people had an idea that door locks were a serious problem, but it was a personal opinion. Until data could be generated to demonstrate [that this was a significant problem] not in one state or in one locality or in one city, but on a national basis, you didn't have a priority order of attack."



These life-like plastic dummies are helping Ford Engineering Staff in its comprehensive safety research program. They substitute as driver and passenger in full-scale automobile crash tests conducted at Ford Motor Company's test track in Dearborn, Mich. Before the tests, electronic instruments are placed in the head and abdominal cavity of each manikin. These sensitive attachments transmit messages to a nearby instrument car. The messages describe the movements of the dummies within the car during crashes and define the impact forces.

LITHO IN U. S. A.

File

June 25, 1952

Mr. Charles F. Moore, Jr.
Ford Motor Company
3000 Schaefer Road
Dearborn, Michigan

Dear Charlie:

Here, in brief, is the position I have taken with regard to the Ford Anniversary film (the old movies).

1. There is a great deal of interesting and significant footage in the Ford Archives.

2. This film material needs to be interpreted to the people who see it. By itself without interpretation and a sense of historic perspective, it may be little more interesting than somebody else's old photograph album. On the other hand, with explanation and historic focus, it can give an insight into times past and a glimpse of an extraordinary man -- a legendary figure whose image is beginning to fade.

3. This is a good and appropriate time to remember Henry Ford. He has been dead five years. The company is approaching its 50th birthday. But, in addition, there now exists a new and remarkable fund of information -- the Ford Archives -- an institution which is little known to the American people.

4. It would be natural for someone with an interest in history to seek at this time to recall the lggendary figure whose impact on the world has been as great as any historic figure we know.

5. Our suggestion is that the film should begin at this point. We think it would be entirely normal and natural for someone like Ed Murrow to make such an inquiry. He seems notably appropriate because we are thinking about a film and he has the advantage of a voice, a personality that projects itself extremely well and all of the acting qualities which the situation requires. In addition, he has a substantial personal following so that a film in which he appeared would be strengthened and made more interesting by his presence in it.

6. Without trying to conceive a script at this point, let us assume that Murrow has gone to the Ford Archives. Perhaps the film actually opens with him facing the camera as he does on his television show. Perhaps the film shows him saying that he is about to report a very interesting experience. While the bulk of the movie will be the old films, we will also have an opportunity to learn something about the Archives, the vast amount of material available, the problems of organization, and the significance of the volume of material as an indication of the character of Henry Ford, who apparently never threw away a piece of paper. We might pick up a few interesting things like the check for one cent and some of the love letters Henry wrote to Clara. At some stage in the film we probably should listen to snatches of recordings.

7. We have now, by this process, arrived at a movie about a very interesting man in which we see a very interesting and new Archives, and we have a familiar, popular and interesting commentator taking us on a trip. I think it will greatly strengthen the film if people can also meet Henry Ford II, about whom they have heard a great deal since he has done a number of dramatic things since becoming President of the company. It seems entirely natural and appropriate that Henry should be with Murrow from time to time. This would indicate

that Murrow was getting cooperation. In addition, Henry might make comments. They might be together, for example, when Murrow goes over some of the old films in a projection room. Henry could add to the interest by remembering things about his grandfather and his father. He might make modest comments about himself when he appears in the old pictures. He might take the sting out of some old memories -- labor troubles, for example -- by commenting: "Times certainly have changed."

8. We might assume that Ed Murrow has asked permission to put together some of the old film with comment. We might assume that what we are doing in the projection room is getting a preview of the film, perhaps with Murrow reading the script to Henry. This makes it possible, furthermore, to interrupt for comments.

9. We are talking about a color film in which there is a black and white section which seems entirely natural, however, because we are looking at a film within a film. When we come out of the projection room we are back in color again.

10. After seeing the old films Henry and Ed Murrow might walk away or separate with some appropriate closing. On the other hand, we might come back to Ed Murrow as he sits looking at the camera. It is also possible, however, that we could move from the projection room out of the Archives and take a look at some of the modern operations of the company in order to appreciate how great a change has taken place since the old days. If the film is to be shown to employees, this section could be of particular interest. If on the other hand, we are aiming at a film which might very well have widespread public distribution, perhaps even in theaters, we could eliminate the last section because it might appear to be a commercial, or make it very brief. In other words, it would be, in effect, a kind of trailer and, therefore, optional.

11. I do not think this puts particularly heavy demands on Henry's time nor upon his acting ability. His appearances are all conversational and actually a good part of it might occur when he was not actually in sight -- during the showing of the old films, for example. We would hear his voice interrupting Ed Murrow but this could be recorded and dubbed in whenever convenient.

I should think a film of this kind would have a wide audience appeal not only throughout the anniversary year but long afterwards. It may very well be good enough to have a considerable theatrical distribution. I should think it would be good for dealer use. To be well done I suspect it will be rather long but I believe the material justifies 45 minutes to an hour. I think it is a good film also from the viewpoint of employees and of the Archives. The emphasis is on the fact that the Ford Motor Company is more than just another commercial enterprise -- it is part of the history of our times.

Sincerely yours,

Fred L. Palmer

FLP:rp

Mrs Paine
Sec'y.

PL 5-4664

EARL NEWSOM & COMPANY

Tues.
July 29
5:30

EARL NEWSOM
FRED L. PALMER
W. H. FERRY

July 10, 1952

N.P.O.
March deadline
Research done.
We have contacts.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Murrow:

All of the warehouses-full of things left by Henry Ford when he died are being assembled and organized at Dearborn in the Ford Archives. Headquarters of the Archives will be Fairlawn, the famous Ford home. Recollections of many people now living are being recorded on tape. The Archives will be probed by scholars for generations to come. Historians are already at work in them.

Among the items left by Mr. Ford or transferred to the Archives by the Company are about two million feet of movie film showing a great variety of subjects from flivver tanks to Edison picnics, from early tractors to scenes with his grandchildren, from his first car to Willow Run -- and including some bits from a Harold Lloyd movie.

Ford Motor Company wants to build a film around these old Ford movies -- a film which can be part of the anniversary celebrations scheduled for 1953 when the Company will be fifty and widely shown not only in the Company but in a great variety of places, perhaps including theatres.

It seems to be generally agreed that the person who would most appropriately be the voice of the present re-examining the past and interpreting it, to young Americans especially, would be Ed Murrow.

597 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

I would like to explore this with you. Our firm is public relations counsel to the Ford Motor Company, which explains our interest.

There is some pressure of time and we might like to have some one from the Company run up to Chicago between the conventions and give you a more understandable description of the proposal and perhaps even show you some of the film. It would be even better, of course, if you could take time to run down to Detroit where you could, among other things, see the Archives.

Will you please let me know how we might get together for a discussion of our proposal?

Sincerely yours,

Fred L. Palmer

Fred L. Palmer

FLP:rp

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Mr. E. Murrow

om: Mr. Murphy

July 11, 1952

Fred Palmer of the Public Relations firm, Earl Newsom & Company, told me that he had written you about a film for the Ford Motor Company.

In view of the fact that he doesn't know you, he asked if I wouldn't mind telling you of his and his firm's reliability.

This I am able to do without qualification. As you may know, Earl Newsom and his associates are just about tops in the public relations field and one of the few groups that don't operate merely as press agents.

Am
[illegible]
[illegible]
E. M.

Ford Motor Company

Eng Pest.
Prod Prev. Corres

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

3000 SCHAEFER ROAD
DEARBORN, MICHIGAN

October 22, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I want to take this opportunity to tell you how very successful our film "Ticket to Freedom" has been. It was enthusiastically received by our management group and, needless to say, your narration contributed materially to the quality of the film. From reports I have received from our public relations people, the reception outside the Company has also been excellent.

I checked the other day and found that your car had been shipped to your dealer and hope that by now you are enjoying it. Unfortunately, the strike at our Metuchen Plant delayed its delivery somewhat.

As a matter of interest, I am enclosing the booklet which was distributed to the 12,000 members of our management who viewed the film.

Sincerely,

Robert S. Dunham

Robert S. Dunham, Assistant
General Industrial Relations Manager

RSD:pk

Enclosure

Ford Motor Company

Eng Last

3000 SCHAEFER ROAD
DEARBORN, MICHIGAN

November 4, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

rec'd 11/5

We are sending you a print of "Ticket To Freedom," the film you narrated for us. You may keep it as long as you wish.

We sent a print to every TV station in the country, and to the best of our knowledge every station used it at least once.

As you will see, the narration came through beautifully. Thanks again for doing the job and for being so pleasant to deal with.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Beebe

Leo C. Beebe
Public Relations

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Mr. Edward R. Murrow

from: Wells Church

Thurs 3/5.

March 4, 1953 3:45.

Ford ?

One of my oldest and dearest friends, John H. Heiney, a newspaperman gone wrong to the extent that he now works for the Ford Motor Company, is very anxious to see you for a few minutes Friday afternoon, any time after 2 o'clock.

This is no ordinary request on my part, for I am deeply indebted to John on a personal level many times over.

Specifically, he wants to see you on a proposal connected with SEE IT NOW. I do hope you can accommodate him.

Ed

wc/km

Ford Motor. ~~Henry John~~

Ford Motor Company

3000 SCHAEFER ROAD
DEARBORN, MICHIGAN

April 1, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

on shelf

In connection with the Ford 50th anniversary observance this year, Simon and Schuster is publishing a volume entitled "Ford at Fifty." It is very colorful -- an excellently prepared book -- and I thought that you would like to have one of these advance copies.

Cordially,

John

John H. Heiney
Manager
Radio & Television Relations

Ford

Ford Motor Company

3000 SCHAEFER ROAD
DEARBORN, MICHIGAN

March 24, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

If MPO is able to follow its work schedule, the footage covering 50 years of Ford history should be released to us by the end of next week -- approximately the first of April. My understanding is that it runs a little over an hour in length. It represents untold hours of careful screening and culling of literally thousands and thousands of feet of film, including patient copying of film that in some instances was so affected by time as to be almost uncopyable.

As soon as I have the word, I will get in touch with your office and the footage will be made available to you for screening as and when you can get to it. In other words, It will not be necessary to set any schedule.

Regards --

John

John H. Heiney
Manager
Radio & Television Relations

MR. ED MURROW

Press Information
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.

Eng Pass
SP.

May 6, 1953

FORD MOTOR COMPANY TO CELEBRATE 50th ANNIVERSARY
WITH TWO-HOUR ENTERTAINMENT CAVALCADE JUNE 15

Leland Hayward In Charge of Entire Production

"The Ford Motor Company 50th Anniversary Program," a two-hour cavalcade of entertainment recreating in song, dance, comedy and drama famous events between 1903 and 1953 will be broadcast over the CBS Television Network and NBC-TV on Monday, June 15, 9:00-11:00 PM, EDT.

In charge of the entire production is Leland Hayward, producer of "Call Me Madam," "South Pacific," "Mr. Roberts" and other big Broadway hits.

Stars of stage, screen, television and radio, and leaders in science, industry, business and government will be in the cavalcade. Explorers, inventors, military leaders and others who have left their mark on American history in the past 50 years will be saluted for their contributions to the nation's welfare.

The anniversary program will not only capture the nostalgia and drama of the past 50 years, but will point up the influence of events past on progress during the next 50 years.

(More)

Among the writers for the program are historian Frederick Lewis Allen, author of "The Big Change" and "Only Yesterday." Agnes Rogers, in private life Mrs. Allen, author of "Women Are Here To Stay" and "I Remember Distinctly," is collaborating with her husband. Another writer is Howard Teichman, Broadway, television and radio writer.

Bernard Green is musical director, and Clark Jones will direct the program.

Agency is Kenyon & Eckhardt.

* * *

Mr. Murrow

RUNDOWN
FORD ANNIVERSARY SHOW
6/15/53

1. OPENING: (CENTER)
   a) FLIP: FORD MOTOR CO. PRESENTS
   b) FLIP: IT'S 50TH ANNIVERSARY SHOW
   c) HAWWARD - FRONT OF SCREEN
   d) FILM CLIP - HEROES, ETC.
   e) OLLIE - 8G
   f) HAYWARD - FRONT OF SCREEN (CENTER)
   g) MURROW - FRONT OF SCREEN
   h) HAYWARD INTRO MARTIN & HAMMERSTEIN
   i) FILM CLIP - MONTAGE AMERICA
   j) HAMMERSTEIN - INTRO MARTIN
   k) MARTIN & KIDS (HYMN)
   l) HAMMERSTEIN & SCREEN

2. LIFE WITH FATHER (8G)
3. MURROW & SCREEN (CENTER)
4. FILM CLIP - ends w/goosestepping
5. WALLY COX - EXERDISES (8G)
6. FILM CLIP - WOMEN & FASHIONS, ETC.
7. MARTIN * INTRO OLLIE
8. OLLIE - INTRO "BY THE SEA" (8G)
9. "BY THE SEA"
10. OLLIE - LEADOUT "BY THE SEA" (8G)
11. HAMMERSTEIN - INTRO TO & OUR TOWN
12. MURROW AND SCREEN

13. KUKLA & OLLIE - (8G)

    a) MODEL "T" PROFILE

    b) FILM CLIP - HAROLD LLOYD

    c) MODEL "T" FRONT - R.P. FILM

    d) FILM CLIP - COPS, CLOTHES, VALLEY

    e) MODEL "T" BACK & FLIPS

    f) FILM CLIP - ASSEMBLY FILM

14. MURROW & SCREEN

    a) INTRO DIXIELAND

    b) DIXIELAND

    c) MERMAN - "ALEXANDER"

15. HAMMERSTEIN

    a) INTRO 1914 FILM

    b) FILM CLIP - KAISER, CZAR, LENIN, TROTSKY

    c) INTRO MOVIES

16. FILM CLIP - MOVIES

17. MURROW - 1917 & FLLPS

18. FILM CLIP - CONTRAST 2 WORLD WARS

19. MURROW - INTRO MERMAN

20. MERMAN - HINKY DINKS

21. WHAT THE BOYS CAME HOME TO:

    a) HAMMERSTEIN INTRO FILM

    B) FILM CLIP

22. KUKLA & OLLIE - INTRO SHAPE (8G)

23. MARTIN - SHAPE

24. HAMMERSTEIN INTRO SPBRTS & PERS.

25. FILM CLIP - SPORTS & PERS. (SOF)

26. WALLY COX - PARTY & UKE BIT (8G)

27. HAMMERSTEIN INTRO MOVIES OF '20s.

28. FILM CLIP & SCREEN - MOVIES OF '20s.

29. HAMMERSTEIN INTRO VAUDEVILLE

30. VAUDEVILLE:

a) UNICYCLIST

b) HOW'S YOUR FILKS

31. FREAKS OF '20s (8g)

a) OLLIE (8G)

b) FILM CLIP (NEWSREEL)

c) OLLIE - LEAD-IN CHARS. BALLET (8G)

32. CHARLESTON BALLET

33. BREAKAWAY R.P. FILM (8G)

34. AFTER CRASH OF '29:

a) MURROW & SCREEN

b) FILM CLIP - BREADLINES & ROOSEVELT

c) MURROW & FDR HEADLINE

35. LOWELL THOMAS * INTRO AMOS & ANDY (8G)

36. AMOS & ANDY (8G)

a) CLOCK & RADIO

b) DINING

c) BURGLAR

d) SHAVING

e) IRONING

f) BATHROOM

36. (Cont'd)

g) RADIO FLIPS

h) LIVING ROOM

i) LOWELL THOMAS LEAD-IN CROONERS

37. CROONERS

a) VALLEE

b) CROSBY (RECORDED)

c) SINATRA (kine)

d) FISHER

38. LOWELL THOMAS - INTRO COX (8G)

39. WALLY COX - DANCE LESSON (8G)

40. OLLIE - INTRO POP. DANCING (8G)

41. POPULAR DANCING (CENTER)

42. LITERATURE (8G)

43. WALLY COX * NERVES (8G)

44. CAROUSO RECORD (8G)

45. MARION ANDERSON (CENTER)

46. MURROW & SCREEN (INTRO TO '30s) (CENTER)

47. FILM CLIP - THE '30s

48. MURROW - THE '40s

49. FILM CLIP - FDR FUNERAL

50. FLIPS - DICTATOR DEATHS (CENTER)

51. INTRO MEDLEY

52. <u>MEDLEY</u>: (CENTER)

a) MERMAN - "SHOW BIZ"

b) MARTIN - "WONDERFUL GUY"

c) DUET

53. KOREA

54. ATOM SEQUENCE (FLIPS, FILM, PANEL & R.P.)

55. HENRY FORD 2ND FILM CLIP

56. CLOSING & CRAWL

OPENING:

Credit

THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY
PRESENTS
3'30" ITS FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY SHOW

How the introduction works:

Leland Hayward describes the purpose and method of the show and introduces Ed Murrow, Mary Martin and Oscar Hammerstein.

Each of the narrators appear on the TV screen standing in front of a large screen (9 by 12) on which by rear projection we see the films, personalities, etc. as they are mentioned. The large screen is used as a kind of time and space machine whereby we move back and forth and blend our scenes freely. For instance, when Leland Hayward introduces Edward Murrow we see Ed Murrow first on screen back of Leland Hayward as camera moves up to screen wiping out Leland Hayward, bringing Ed Murrow into full image and Ed Murrow is now standing in front of screen on which film material Ed Murrow describes now appears.

THE FORD MOTOR CO.
Presents
Its 50th Anniversary Show

Rough outline of entertainment and narration sequences.

3'30"	Introduction: Leland Hayward introduces Edward Murrow, Mary Martin, Oscar Hammerstein.
5'30"	LIFE WITH FATHER.
45"	Murrow narration on the essence of the 1900-1913 period illustrated by film.
1'	Wally Cox as the aspiring male. (Live)
45"	Mary Martin narration on the status of women done as a stereopticon slide lecture. (Slides and live)
4'30"	BY THE SEA: dance comedy review of bathing suits and seaside manners. (Robbins - live)
6'	Hammerstein as the Stage Manager leads into last scene of OUR TOWN. Mary Martin plays Emily. This is performed on a bare stage. Hammerstein ends scene with speech from play on all the things in our lives that are eternal. (Live)
20"	Murrow introduces the beginning of the Big Change - THE MODEL T.
2'45"	Ollie & Kukla in wild ride to the song "There's Nothing Like A Model T."
45"	Murrow continues narration, on why 1914 marked a turning point in our lives. Forces we recognized - cheap cars, assembly-line production, $5. a day raised standard of living. (Illustrated with film.)
30"	Hammerstein narration of influence and growth of jazz into:
3'30"	Teddy Wilson jazz combination in New Orleans dive - cut to Ethel Merman singing "Alexander's Ragtime Band." (Live)
1'	Murrow narration on what was happening in Europe and its effect on us. (Film)

4' Hammerstein narration into early films clips:

NEW YORK HAT
TILLIE'S PUNCTURED ROMANCE
THE BIRTH OF A NATION
FOOL THERE WAS
FOUR HORSEMEN

3'30" Murrow narration of World War I in contrast to World War II illustrated with comparative film.

2'30" Song of World War I - "Hinky-Dinky Parlez Vous"

Merman & Wally Cox (Live)

1'30" Song of World War II - "Lili Marlene"

Marlene Dietrich (Live)

2' Murrow narration on what the boys came home to after World War I. Prohibition, unemployment, labor troubles, suffragettes. (Film)

1'30" Hammerstein narration our new heroes in sports, celebrities, gangsters. (Film)

2' Mary Martin demonstrates THE NEW WOMAN and how she got that way. (Live)

3'30" Murrow narration on the new movies: Garbo-Gilber, "The Long Kiss"; "The Covered Wagon"; "The Jazz Singer." (Film)

2'45 Murrow: "and this killed vaudeville" into

Martin and Merman pantomining old vaudeville routine to Happiness Boys' recording of "Your Folks and My Folks." (Live)

2' Ollie's private newsreel "Eyes & EArs of the World" - all the crazy stuff. Flagpole sitters, speakeasy drinks. Earl Carroll measuring babes, crazy hats - Texas Guinana (Film)

6' THE CHARLESTON - Robbins ballet on the 1920's. (Live)

1' The Crash - pantomine of sugar daddy being stripped of his babe, his car and his clothes as he reads the stock market quotations. (Robbins)

1'	Murrow narration on depression, election of Roosevelt, government agencies etc. into development of radio.
2'45"	Lowell Thomas into AMOS & ANDY.
3'30"	The great crooners: Vallee, Sinatra, Fisher.
1'	What we read.
3'45"	Development of serious music. The growth of record sales. Caruso. Marian Anderson (Live)
2'30"	Popular dancing. (Robbins)
1'	Art Dancing. (Film)
1'30"	Murrow political comment - no change in administration 'til 1952. Change in concept of government.
4'	Hammerstein narration on getting out of depression.
~~10"~~ /2'	Song review: Martin & Merman.
2'30"	Murrow into World War II into postwar activity. Death of Roosevelt. Death of enemy leaders. The record of 1947 - 1951 (from Murrow script).
	Hammerstein - at the beginning of this show we spoke of a threshold we must now step over. Ed Murrow has a letter to read - the date, August, 1939.
2'	Atom-bomb letter.
60'	Atomic material with film.
30" 45"	Closing - from OUR TOWN.
2'30"	Credits.

(Transition to Atom Bomb)

HAMMERSTEIN:

AT the beginning of this show we spoke of a threshold we must now step up to and open the door. Ed Murrow has a letter to read - the date of the letter is August, 1939.

MURROW:

(READS LETTER)

MURROW, HAMMERSTEIN AND BILL LAURANCE ON ATOMIC ENERGY.

HAMMERSTEIN:

Most everybody's asleep in Grover's Corners. There are a few lights on: Shorty Hawkins, down at the depot, has just watched the Albany train go by. And at the livery stable somebody's setting up late and talking. - Yes, it's clearing up. There are the stars - doing their old, old criss-cross journeys in the sky. Scholars haven't settled the matter yet, but they seem to think there are no living being up there. They're just chalk... or fire. Only this one is straining away, straining away all the time to make something of itself. The strain's so bad that every sixteen hours everybody lies down and gets a rest. (HE WINDS HIS WATCH) Hm... Eleven o'clock in Grover's Corners. And here. Goodnight, everybody.

Insert page 16

We turnthe corner into the new century rather easily, but the forces that makehistory were crowding us. We had started to build a great navy and Teddy Roosevelt was using it as a big stick. We were venturing out into the big world, whether we liked it or not.

(REST OF PAGE 16 AS IS)

Insert page 37 -

Henry Ford realized that if he produced cars for less money he could sell them to more people and if he paid his workers more they could buy more cars. The questionx was how to do it. The answer came in ~~xxxxx~~ two words: assembly line. You brought the pieces to the man and the man was paid $5.00 a day - half that was good pay before - skilled labor poured into Detroit—from a town it became a great city - and out of the ~~thax~~ city came a new and cheap method of transportation - the nation became mobile. Thosetwo words "assembly line" gave us two other words - mass production - less expensive goods so that more could buy.

The music of the time didn't stem from the blacksmith shop or the assembly line, but it rolled across the country from New Orleans and Memphis - mostly we called it jazz and it was in the Dixieland style.

Insert page 39 -

If you pay attention to our songs and our science you will note that immigrants have enriched both. About this time a young immigrant by the name of Irving Berlin wrote a song that became an item for export.

Insert page 45-A

In the morning of that day we were divided and debating ~~in our doing~~ - by mid-afternoon we were agreed and determined - there were none of the parades or flags of 1917, only a feeling of shock and anger. We didn't know how badly we had been hurt with the first blow, but we sensed that this war would be different. We would have to fight it on every ocean that would carry a ship. If we were to win control of hostile skies American planes would have to do it, and in World War I not a single American-Built plane was ever flown in combat.

(PICK UP PAGE 45-B AS IS)

Insert page 66 -

During the depression jobs were scarce and hope was scarcer. The bread lines and soup lines were manned by surley men who had known violence before. Most of us didn't understand what had happened, but whatever it was had meant that people who were willing couldn't work. But a land of plenty had lost its promise. Someone had to do something, and we turned increasingly to the government - unemployment insurance-old-age pensions - the government and what it did became increasingly meaningfull and important to the citizens - there began a great experiment in adult education. The citizen knew more and cared more about what his government did - the distance between Washington and Wyoming was narrowed - by magazines, newspapers, books, but most of all by a thing called radio. Mr. Roosevelt was the first to realize that he could use this gadget to persuade the voters to build a fire behind their congressmen. About this time millions of us got our news each night from a man who still wears his microphone with ease - Mr. Lowell Thomas.

Insert (I'm not sure where this goes page-wise) but it's in the 46 - 47 period.

And we won our greatest war - our enemies were defeated. Many of us thought that the world wouldn't bother us anymore - we brought the boys home - and who was responsible for that? not the president or the joint chiefs of staff, but the American people - all of us - We believed that war-time alliances would last. Overseas we left tanks to rust and aircraft to rot - we had won a warand we're accustomed to win and then relax. And then the Russians broke one agreement after another - gradually, painfully we realized that one tyrany may replace another - I think it was the murder of Czechosolvakia that did it, and we reversed our ship of state in mid-stream. First it was Greece and Turkey, then it was the Marshall plan for Western Europe, the North Atlantic Pact. We acquired our first peace-time allies. We poured out massive aid to friend and former foe alike - and gradually we came to realize that security and freedom are never paid for in a lump sum, new installments are always coming due and when the communists crossed the 38th parallel in Korea we led the free world in an unprecedented resistance to overt agression. It has cost us more than 25,000 dead. (INSERT FILM TO COME HERE) We have not won this war, but it has been demonstrated that agression does not pay even in a far off land of which we know little.

Middle break (CONCLUSION)

As nations gowe have in the last fifty years lived a life and not an apology, but we have come into our full inheritance at a tender age. We did not seek, many of us did not want, the responsibility and leadership that has been thrust upon us, but ours is the power and ours is the responsibility. We are regarded abroad with a mixture of fear and admiration. Unless we are prepared to go on indefinitely pileing up armaments ~~ultimately~~ in preparation for ultimate collision we are obligated to state the conditions, if any, upon which we are prepared to live in the same world with the Russians. We are also obliged to remember that we are an impatient, inprovident people accustomed to demand and to find easy and quick solutions. We find ourselves in a position where no such solutions are at hand. We must have recourse to patience and fortitude - the knowledge that we are unlikely to solve our problems with dollars or with bombs. It is our heritage, and it must become our habit, to remember that our example may be more important than our exchequor- to remember that in the past nations have lost their freedom while preparing to defend it. If we confuse dissent with disloyalty - if we deny the right of the individual to be wrong, unpopular, eccentric or unorthodox - if we deny the essense of ratial equality then hundreds of millions in Asia and Africa who are shopping about for a new allegience will conclude that we are concerned to defend a myth and our present priviliged status. Every act that denies or limits the freedom of the individual in this country costs us the allegience and the confidence of men and women who aspire only to that freedom and independence of which we speak and ~~afxwhichxour~~ for which our ancestors fought.

You have glimpsed some of the fun, the folly and glory of this nation during the last fifty years. Right now we are fat while the rest of the world is either lean or hungry.. the problems that power imposes press in upon us - we cannot escape them if we would, and who among us would desire to do so - ours is the opportunity of decision. We are one of the great pivots upon which history will turn. The manner in which we make up our collective mind may well determine whether the independence and the dignity of the individual purchased at such cost shall perish on this minor planet.

No one who has looked at the last fifty years would suggest that the years ahead will be easy or placid, but no one can deny that what we do will be decisive and no one should forget that James Barry once consuled us to "greet the unknown with a cheer". We have found an American industrialist who seems to share Mr. Barrys view (FORD)

Note to Hayward: The foregoing is mighty rough and can and should be broken up with Oscar any way you say. My own idea of the final switch back to you would be to have one of us say, after Ford, "two hours and fifty years ago Leland Hayward said that the Ford Motor Company had asked him to give you a glimpse of what has happened to us in the last fifty years. Here again is Mr. Hayward". From there on, aside from identifying Mr. Ford, who I think should not have been identified previously, it's your problem, chum.

Special Program
June 15, 1953.
England
Ford Show

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW:

Oscar, you know all about such things, shall we have music like we have heard tonight in the next 50 years?

HAMMERSTEIN:

Well, I don't know Ed. I think that the question is, shall we have any singers left in the next 50 years. Anybody to sing songs---?

MURROW:

Well I--- sitting there listening to this music tonight, was thinking that perhaps there might not be anybody to listen.

HAMMERSTEIN:

That could be too, because of that thing back there-- that big mushroom-shaped thing. Is there any defense against that? Do you know of any? Have you heard of anybody?

MURROW:

Well, the experts all agree that we both have it. They can deliver the bomb -- so can we. It would seem that humans having devised a method of destroying humanity must now either use it or fail to use it.

AUDIO VIDEO

HAMMERSTEIN:

You mean the people who have invented war had better invent peace?

MURROW:

It would seem so--

HAMMERSTEIN:

And if people are going to do it, then the one nation that has to start things-- that has to start a design for peace and lead-- is our own nation.

MURROW:

Well, we have the power and we also have the responsibility. You know, Oscar, we were talking the other day to Bill Lawrence of the NEW YORK TIMES, and he was drawing us a picture of the fantastic possibilities of the peace-time uses of atomic energy -- of the curing of diseases that for long have been regarded as incurable.

The matter of curing disease in plants, for example, which would create a revolution because it would mean that there would be no more hungry people in the world. And it seems to me that, basically, this is a problem in education.

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW: (CONT'D)

And if that sounds trite and a platitude -- then it must sound that way. I remember scrambling around in my third office in London during the blitz and finding a charred piece of paper. Part of a pamphlet written by an old professor of mine, and the last sentence said the most urgent task confronting the world today is education, and at that time with that hot iron flying about, it seemed to me a ridiculous statement, but the more I thought about it, the more it seems to me that he had it right on the head.

HAMMERSTEIN:

And the stakes are high, we need more than just a Bachelor's degree. This is existence we want...

MURROW:

Merely survival...

Well Oscar, you -- we have both glanced at the last 50 years here. What do you make of it -- in summary?

AUDIO VIDEO

HAMMERSTEIN:

Well, as nations go, we have in the last 50 years lived a life and not an apology. But, we have come into our full inheritance at a tender age. We didn't seek and many of us did not want the responsibility and leadership that has been thrust upon us. But as you say, ours is the power ... and ours is the responsibility. We are regarded abroad with a mixture of fear and admiration. Unless we are prepared to go on indefinitely piling up armaments in preparation for ultimate collison, we are obligated to state the conditions, if any, upon which we are prepared to live in the same world with the Russians.

MURROW:

Well Oscar, aren't we also obliged to remember that we are an impatient, improvident people demanding always quick and easy solutions and we find ourselves now in a situation where there are no easy or quick solutions. In a position where we must have recourse to patience, tolerance with our allies, and the knowledge that we are unlikely to solve our problems with either dollars or with bombs. (CONTINUED)

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW: (CONT'D)

And to remember, I would suggest too, that our example may very often be more important and more decisive than our exchequer. Nations have lost their freedom while preparing to defend it. And if we in this country confuse dissent with disloyalty-- if we deny the right to be wrong, the right to advocate minority -- unpopular -- unorthodox views, then all of the hundreds of millions of people in the world who are shopping about for a new allegiance -- for a symbol -- for a system to tie to, will be disappointed and we ourselves, can destroy ourselves from within. Because, unless we can maintain the confidence of those people who aspire only to the symbol that we have created, then we will be destroying a great deal of what our ancestors fought for.

HAMMERSTEIN:

You have glimpsed some of the fun, the folly and glory of this nation during the last 50 years. (CONTINUED)

AUDIO VIDEO

HAMMERSTEIN: (CONT'D)

Right now we are fat while the rest of the world is either lean or hungry. The problems that power imposes-- press in upon us. We cannot escape them if we would, and who among us would desire to do so? Ours is the opportunity of decision.

MURROW:

Oscar, it seems to me that we are essentially one of the great pivots upon which history is going to turn and the manner in which we make up our collective mind, may well determine whether the independence and the dignity of the individual purchased at such great cost by our ancestors will literally survive on this minor planet -- whether we will, as individuals, too -- No one who has looked at the last 50 years would suggest that the years ahead will be easy or placid. No one can give us a guarantee of success or indeed, of survival, but it seems to me, Oscar, that we might remember something that I think James Barry once said in times that were perhaps not as trouble-less as these, but almost. (CONTINUED)

AUDIO VIDEO

MURROW: (CONT'D)

He suggested that we should greet the unknown with a cheer and I think we have found at least one American businessman who is disposed to agree with Mr. Barry.

FORD:

How are you Mr. Hammerstein -- Mr. Murrow

MURROW:

Good evening.

FORD: I'm no prophet. (APPLAUSE)
But to me a few things stand out clearly. We're the strongest nation in the world -- but we still haven't found the best way to use all our strength.
We're the richest nation in the world -- but we still haven't enough good homes, good schools and good hospitals.
We have the greatest technical know-how -- but we've been slow to teach other free nations how to use it. In the next fifty years I believe we will continue to improve, and to grow.

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO VIDEO

FORD: (CONT'D)

I believe we will put atomic energy to work for humanity so that within a few years our life today will seem primitive. And I believe that within the community of nations we will accept the responsibility the world expects of us.

With God's help, we'll succeed.

Thank you, and good night.

(A P P L A U S E)

ANNOUNCER:

And now our producer, Mr. Leland Hayward:

HAYWARD:

As you all recognize that was Mr. Henry Ford, whose company made it possible for us to bring you this program tonight.

For the last few minutes of the program we'd like to have Miss Anderson sing another song for you. Another great American song.

(INTRO & APPLAUSE)

Inserts completed 6-12-4pm

Edward Murrow

FINAL

3:00
1660 Bd
Room 1002 - Rear

June 8, 1953

FORD ANNIVERSARY SHOW

THE AMERICAN ROAD

* * * * *
* * * *
* * *
* *
*

Monday, June 15, 1953
NBC-CBS -- 9:00-11:00 PM EDST

THE AMERICAN ROAD

THE FORD FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY SHOW

(M U S I C:)

AUDIO	VIDEO
FLIP #1: FORD MOTOR COMPANY PRESENTS	
FLIP #2: ITS 50TH ANNIVERSARY SHOW	

HAYWARD:

Good evening -- I'm Leland Hayward. The Ford Motor Company has asked me -- to produce a show about you -- the American people; about what has happened to us in the last fifty years.

To do a portrait of America, we are going to use live actors and singers and dancers, old movies and new movies, great music, newsreels, cartoons and parts of great plays.....

We have had a thousand heroes -- and a thousand heroines.

We have had gangsters and great inventors, labor leaders and humorists, and great rabble rousers, and men of good will.

AUDIO | VIDEO

OLLIE: (SG)

Hey! and me too.

HAYWARD:

As a nation, we've come a long way since the turn of the century. We cannot show it all -- but, we can show you some of the things that have happened to us -- to our minds, to our hearts, to our spirits.

To speak for the American mind:
Ed Murrow . . .

MURROW:

Right now, outside in New York, it's the long summer dusk -- and in California it's still bright afternoon -- but soon the night will spread across the land.
Right now -- the American mind is at work; on little changes, on fantastic and fabulous and terrible things, lonely minds, some of them, protected by armed guards because they are working on the wonders of the future.

No, no one can speak for the American mind.

AUDIO | VIDEO

HAYWARD:

To speak for the American heart:

Mary Martin . . .

MARTIN: (REWRITE)

No one can speak for the heart.

You can sing, laugh ~~it -- sometimes~~.

Sometimes you can cry. We try to cover it up, to act hardboiled -- but no one is really hardboiled. But everything we do as a nation has heart in it. Even wars.

They are the most terrible mistakes that civilization make. But sometimes we have to go to war for our own freedom or someone else's -- and freedom starts in the heart.

HAYWARD:

To speak for the American spirit:

Oscar Hammerstein . . .

HAMMERSTEIN:

It's not just things like Valley Forge and the farm boys who wanted to go home and didn't nor that hot day in July at Gettysburg; it's not even Iwo Jima. (CONTINUED)

HAMMERSTEIN:

The American Spirit is the human spirit with something American added. The human spirit makes us want to live thru bad days in the hope that good days will come. Americans work very hard to make those good days come. Our spirit is therefore dynamic, reckless, e excitable--sometimes too excitable. There was a period--the turn of the century--when life in our country was more peaceful, less excitable, a more comfortable thing. City people lived in cities; country people lived on farms. Government wasn't so much; you hardly paid any attention to it. There was a lot more plumbing outdoors than indoors. Dad shaved with a long-handle straight-edge razor; Mother's hair hung to her waist. It was a time of peace and quiet... A Sunday School kind of time...

MARTIN

I washed my hands this morning
So very clean and bright
I hold them up to Jesus
To love with all His might.

MARTIN & CHILDREN

I washed my hands this morning
So very clean and bright
I hold them up to Jesus
To love with all His might.

AUDIO	VIDEO
HAMMERSTEIN:	
And so it was a time of Sunday evening band concerts, and two dollars' worth of lamb-chops would feed everyone you knew.....	
This time was summed up in a modern classic -- a play by Howard Lindsay and Russell Crouse called "LIFE WITH FATHER," based on Clarence Day's stories about his own father.	
Howard Lindsay himself, and Miss Dorothy Stickney play their original roles.	

AUDIO	VIDEO
FATHER: Oh, God!	
VINNIE: What's the matter, Clare? What's wrong?	
FATHER: I will NOT send this person a check!	
VINNIE: Why, Clare, that's the only hat I've bought since March and it was reduced.	
FATHER: I don't question your buying the hat or what you paid for it, but the person from whom you bought it -- this Mademoiselle Mimi -- isn't fit to be in the hat business or any other.	
VINNIE: I don't see why you object to it.	
FATHER: I object to it because this confounded person doesn't put her name on her bills! Mimi what? Mimi O'Brien? Mimi Jones? Mimi Weinstein?	
VINNIE: How do I know? It's just Mimi.	

AUDIO	VIDEO
FATHER: It isn't just Mimi. She must have some other name, damn it! Now, I wouldn't make out a check payable to Charley or to Jimmy, and I won't make out a check payable to Mimi. Find out what her last name is, and I'll pay her the money.	
VINNIE: All right. All right.	
FATHER: Just a minute, Vinnie. Vinnie, you know I like to live well, and I want my family to live well. But this house must be run on a business basis. I must know how much money I'm spending and what for. For instance, if you recall, two weeks ago, I gave you six dollars to buy a new coffee pot.	
VINNIE: Yes, because you broke the old one. You threw it right on the floor.	

AUDIO	VIDEO
FATHER: I'm not talking about that. I'm simply endeavoring--	
VINNIE: But it was so silly to break that nice coffee pot, Clare, and there was nothing the matter with the coffee that morning. It was made just the same as always.	
FATHER: It was not! It was made in a damned barbaric manner!	
VINNIE: I couldn't get another important one. That little shop has stopped selling them. They said the tariff wouldn't let them. And that's your fault, Clare, because you're always voting to raise the tariff.	
FATHER: The tariff protects America against cheap foreign labor. "Now I find that ---"	
VINNIE: "The tariff does nothing but put up the prices and that's hard on everybody, especially the farmer."	

AUDIO	VIDEO
FATHER: I wish to God you wouldn't talk about matters you don't know a damn thing about!	
VINNIE: I do too know about them. Miss Gullick says every intelligent woman should have some opinion---	
FATHER: Who, may I ask, is Miss Gullick?	
VINNIE: Why, she's that current-events woman I told you about and the tickets are a dollar every Tuesday.	
FATHER: Do you mean to tell me that a pack of idle-minded females pay a dollar apiece to hear another female gabble about the events of the day? Listen to me if you want to know anything about the events of the day!	
VINNIE: But you get so excited, Clare, and besides, Miss Gullick says that our President, whom you're always belittling prays to God for guidance and----	

AUDIO	VIDEO
FATHER: Vinnie, what happened to that six dollars?	
VINNIE: What six dollars?	
FATHER: I gave you six dollars to buy a new coffee pot and now I find that you apparently got one at Lewis and Conger's and charged it. Here's their bill: "One coffee pot -- five dollars."	
VINNIE: So you owe me a dollar and you can hand it right over.	
FATHER: I'll do nothing of the kind! What did you do with that six dollars?	
VINNIE: Why, Clare, I can't tell you now, dear. Why didn't you ask me at the time?	
FATHER: Oh, my God!	
VINNIE: Wait a moment! I spent four dollars and a half for that new umbrella I told you I wanted and you said I didn't need, but I did, very much.	

AUDIO	VIDEO
FATHER: Now, wer're getting somewhere. One umbrella -- four dollars and a half.	
VINNIE: And that must have been the week I paid Mrs. Tobin for two extra days washing.	
FATHER: Mrs. Tobin.	
VINNIE: So that was two dollars more.	
FATHER: Two dollars.	
VINNIE: That makes six dollars and fifty cents. And that's another fifty cents you owe me.	
FATHER: I don't owe you anything. What you owe me is an explanation of where my money's gone! We're going over this account book item by item.	
VINNIE: I do the very best I can to keep down expenses. And you know yourself that Cousin Phoebe spends twice as much as we do.	
FATHER: Damn Cousin Phoebe! I don't wish to be told how she throws her money around.	

AUDIO	VIDEO
VINNIE: If I can't even speak of Cousin Phoebe --	
FATHER: You can speak of her all you want to -- but I won't have Cousin Phoebe or anyone else dictating to me how to run my house. Now this month's total--	
VINNIE: I didn't say a word about her dictating, Clare -- she isn't that kind!	
FATHER: I don't know what you said, now. You never stick to the point. I endeavor to show you how to run this house on a business basis and you wind up by jibbering and jabbering about everything under the sun. If you'll just explain to me --	
VINNIE: I don't know what you expect of me. I tire myself out chasing up and down those stairs all day long -- trying to look after your comfort -- to bring up your children -- I do the mending and the marketing and as if that isn't enough you want me to be an expert bookkeeper, to	

AUDIO	VIDEO
FATHER: Vinnie, I want to be reasonable; but can't you understand? I'm doing all this for your own good. (VINNIE RISES)	
VINNIE: I'll try to do better, Clare.	
FATHER: That's all I'm asking. (SHE GOES TO HIM AND PUTS HER ARM AROUND HIS SHOULDER) Well, just now I've got to do something about these damn bill you've run up. I'm going downstairs.	
VINNIE: Not before you give me that dollar and a half!	
FATHER: What dollar and a half?	
VINNIE: The dollar and a half you owe me?	
FATHER: I don't owe you any dollar and a half. I gave you money to buy a coffee pot for me and somehow it turned into an umbrella for you.	

AUDIO	VIDEO
VINNIE: Clarence Day, what kind of a man are you? Quibbling about a dollar and a half when your immortal soul is in danger? And what's more----	
FATHER: All right. All right. All right. (HE TAKES THE DOLLAR AND A HALF FROM HIS CHANGE PURSE AND GIVES IT TO HER)	
VINNIE: Thank you, Clare.	
(A P P L A U S E)	

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW: (SMILING)

So at the turn of the century it seemed like an innocent time.

(GRAVELY) But the forces ~~of~~ that make history are always in movement. We had begun to build a great Navy, and Teddy Roosevelt was using it as a Big Stick. We were getting out into the world — whether we liked it or not.

We had colonies now: Hawaii, and the Philippines.

The Wright brothers ~~started~~ got their little biplane in the air — and in that very instant the world began to shrink. We were building the Panama Canal, joining the oceans —

And forces from outside were about to change our lives. ~~Our fathers used to laugh at the newsreels of those jackbooted Germans goose-stepping by; surely they had nothing to do with us.~~

Film

Meanwhile, to strengthen himself to meet the problems of his times, the Great American Male went on trying to improve his physique.

(WALLY COX EXERCISES) (8G)

AUDIO | VIDEO

COX: (8G)

Thirty days ago I was a skinny weakling. Isn't it amazing? Now I have more zip than ever before. More dash, too. They used to push me around, but I doubt that they'll try it now. Feel that bicep... (FEELS IT) Wow! That didn't used to be there. They'll think twice before they bully me now.

(BIG HOOD SAUNTERS BY, EXITS)

I've still got a lot of reading to do.

MARTIN:

There wasn't any such thing as the Great American Female. The big question was: ARE WOMEN PEOPLE?

When we look at them now, it's a little hard to decide . . under the fuss and feathers beat the heart of rebellion. They were beginning to go to work and some daring creatures were bicycling and playing an upsy-daisy kind of tennis, but a polite social evening was spent looking into the stereoscope, with slides -- like this this - - -

AUDIO | VIDEO

OLLIE: (SG)

(PICKS UP STEREOSCOPE, LOOKS

THRU--

(SLIDES)

1. NIAGARA

2. ANNA HELD

3. BEEF TRUST GIRLS

4. OCEAN

OLLIE: (SINGS)

By the sea

By the sea

By the beautiful sea

You and me

You and me

KUKLA & OLLIE:

I wonder what they were wearing

at the beach in 1903?

AUDIO	VIDEO
NARRATOR:	(1903)((6
	((
	((2
	(
	((4
	((
	((4
	(
	(8
	(
	(8
	-
	(8
	(
	(8
	(
	(8
	(
	(8
	(8
	(
	(8
	(
	(8
	(
	(8
	(
	(8
	-
	4
	-
	(1923)(8
	(
	((6
	((
	((2
	(
	(8
	(
	(8

The bathing suit of the thirties was sort of a transition period so we don't have to dwell on it.

Thank you.

AUDIO			VIDEO
		4	
NARRATOR:	(1940)	(8	
		(8	
		(8	
		(8	
		16	
		16	
		16	
		16	
		-	
		4	
	(FINALE)	(8	
		(8	
		(8	
		(8	
		(8	
		(8	
		(8	
		(4	
		(4	

"By the sea, by the beautiful sea....."

AUDIO | VIDEO

HAMMERSTEIN:

A while back, a very fine writer Thornton Wilder wrote a very beautiful play about another aspect of the 1900's. "OUR TOWN" interests itself with the people in the smaller cities. It's a rather unusual play -- no scenery, no furniture. Starts with a Stage Manager who kind of explains things to the audience. Y'know, when I was younger, I was a Stage Manager.
So maybe it won't be so difficult to play the part.
(OPENS BOOKS);
Here's the play, "Our Town."
Mr. Wilder writes:

The scene we are going to show you takes place about 1913, but except for the ways of speech and a few local references, it might have taken place anytime. This scene starts on top of a hill, in a cemetery. (CONTINUED)

AUDIO	VIDEO
HAMMERSTEIN: (CONT'D)	
Some folks who have been up there for several years are talking about a girl named Emily, who is about to join them. Some of them remember Emily's wedding a few years ago — a lovely wedding they say it was. Then suddenly she appears among them. She comes slowly, gazing wonderingly at the dead. She smiles faintly and greets a few of them.	
EMILY:	
Oh, I wish I'd been here a long time. I don't like being new here.	
It's true, that I can go back there and live ... all those days over again?	

OUR TOWN

AUDIO | VIDEO

STAGE MGR

Yes, some have tried--but they soon come back here. It won't be what you think it'll be. You not only live it but you watch yourself living it. And as you watch it you see the thing that they-down there-never know. You see the future. You know what's going to happen afterward.

EMILY

But it's a thing I must know for myself.

STAGE MGR.

Choose the least important day in your life. It still will be important enough.

EMILY

I choose my twelfth birthday.

STAGE MGR

Do you want any special time of day?

EMILY

Oh, I want the whole day.

STAGE MGR.

Wolll begin at dawn. The sun's coming up.

EMILY

There's Main Street.... Why, that's Mr. Morgan's drugstore before he changed it...And there's the livery stable. And look, there's the old white fence that used to be around our house. (CONTD)

	AUDIO	VIDEO
EMILY: (Cont'd)	Oh, I'd forgotten that! Oh, I love it so! Are they inside?	
STAGE-MGR:	Yes, your mother'll be coming downstairs in a minute to make breakfast.	
EMILY:	Will she?	
STAGE-MGR:	And you remember: your father had been away for several days; he came back on the early morning train.	
MRS. WEBB:	Emily! .... Time to get up.	
EMILY:	Mama, here I am! Oh! How young Mama looks! I didn't know Mama was ever that young. Oh! Mama, I can't find my blue hair ribbon anywhere.	
MRS. WEBB:	Just open your eyes, dear, that's all. I laid it out for you special -- on the dresser, there. If it were a snake it would bite you.	

AUDIO	VIDEO
EMILY: Yes, yes ...	
(SHE PUTS HER HAND ON HER HEART)	
(MR. WEBB COMES ALONG MAIN STREET)	
EMILY: (WHISPERS) Papa.	
SOUND: MUFFLED FEET STAMPING OFF SNOW OUTSIDE. DOOR OPENS.	
MR. WEBB: (ENTERING) Good morning, Mother.	
SOUND: DOOR CLOSES	
MRS. WEBB: How did it go, Charles?	
MR. WEBB: Oh, fine, I guess. I told'r a few things.	
MRS. WEBB: Did you sit up on the train all night?	
MR. WEBB: Yes. Never could sleep on a Pullman anyway. Everything all right here?	

AUDIO		VIDEO
MRS. WEBB:	Yes -- can't think of anything that's happened, special. (MR. WEBB STARTS UPSTAIRS) Charles! Don't forget; it's Emily's birthday. Did you remember to get her something?	
MR. WEBB:	Yes, I've got something here.	
MRS. WEBB:	Goodness sakes! I hope she likes what I got for her. I hunted hard enough for it. Emily! Hurry up! Hurry up!	
MR. WEBB:	Where's my girl? Where's my birthday girl? (EXITS LEFT)	
EMILY:	I can't bear it. They're so young and beautiful. Why did they ever have to get old? Mama, I'm here. I'm grown up. I love you all, everything -- I can't look at everything hard enough. Good morning, Mama.	

AUDIO | VIDEO

MRS. WEBB: Well, now, dear, a very happy birthday to my girl and many happy returns. There are some surprises waiting for you on the kitchen table.

EMILY: Oh, Mama, you shouldn't have. I can't -- I can't.

MRS. WEBB: But birthday or no birthday, I want you to eat your breakfast good and slow. I want you to grow up and be a good strong girl.

EMILY: Oh, Mama, just look at me one minute as though you really saw me. Mama, fourteen years have gone by, I'm dead. You're a grandmother, Mama. I married George Gibbs, Mama. But, just for a moment now, we're together. Mama, just for a moment we're happy. Let's look at one another.

MRS. WEBB: That in the yellow paper is something I found in the attic among your grandmother's things. (CONTINUED)

	AUDIO	VIDEO
MRS. WEBB: (Cont'd)	You're old enough to wear it now, and I thought you'd like it.	
EMILY:	And this is from you. Why, Mama, it's just lovely and it's just what I wanted. It's beautiful!	
MRS. WEBB:	Well, I hoped you'd like it. Hunted all over. Your father has a surprise for you, too; don't know what it is myself. Sh-- here he comes.	
MR. WEBB:	(OFF STAGE) Where's my girl? Where's my birthday girl?	
EMILY:	I can't. I can't go on. Oh! Oh! It goes so fast. We don't have time to look at one another. I didn't realize. So all that was going on and we never noticed. Take me back -- up the hill -- to my grave. But first: Wait! One more look. Good-by, good-by, world. (CONTINUED)	

	AUDIO	VIDEO
EMILY: (Cont'd)	Good-by, Grover's Corners ... Mama and Papa. Good-by to clocks ticking ... and Mama's sunflowers. And food and coffee. And new-ironed dresses and hot baths ... and sleeping and waking up. Oh, earth, you're too wonderful for anybody to realize you. (SHE LOOKS TOWARD THE STAGE MANAGER) Do any human beings ever realize life while they live it? — every, every minute?	
STAGE-MGR:	No. (P A U S E) The saints and poets, maybe -- they do some.	
EMILY:	I'm ready to go back.	

AUDIO	VIDEO
STAGE-MGR: (Cont'd) And at the livery stable somebody's setting up late and talking. -- Yes, it's clearing up. There are the stars -- doing their old, old criss-cross journeys in the sky. Scholars haven't settled the matter yet, but they seem to think there are no living beings up there. They're just chalk ... or fire. Only this one is straining away, straining away all the time to make something of itself. The strain's so bad that every sixteen hours everybody lies down and gets a rest. (HE WINDS HIS WATCH) Hm ... Eleven o'clock in Grover's Corners.	

AUDIO | VIDEO

STAGE-MGR:

Now she knows. Now she knows what it is to be alive, to spend and waste time as though you had a million years. The dead don't stay interested in us living people for very long. They slowly get indifferent to what's going on in Grover's Corners. They're waitin'. They're waitin' for something that they feel is comin', something important and great. Aren't they waitin' for the eternal part of them to come out clear? I don't care what people say with their mouths — everybody knows that <u>something</u> is eternal, and it ain't houses and it ain't names and it ain't earth and it ain't houses and it ain't even the stars ... Everybody knows in their bones that something is eternal, and that something has to do with human beings. All the greatest people that ever lived have been telling us that for five thousand years, and yet you'd be surprised how people are always losing hold of it. There's something way down deep that's eternal about every human being.

(A P P L A U S E)

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW:

And so the great current of our life flowed on--- Changing -- in things that we didn't notice at the time.

But a big change came with the funny-looking old Model T.

THERE'S NOTHING LIKE A MODEL T

OLLIE: If I may I'd like to give
a demonstration
Of the car that's fast become
a real sensation
Pretty soon you'll see them
all across the nation
Chuggin' along
Chug, chuggin' along

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO | VIDEO

(~~8~~ 4 BAR VAMP) (WITH PITCHED HORN)

OLLIE: (CONT'D)

There's nothing like a Model T
Get in one and you'll agree
There's not a car that can
touch her for comfort
and style
Go for a ride; and you'll say
it beats walking a mile
Clink, clank,
If she won't crank,
Give her a spank.
There's nothing like a
Model "T"
For the av'rage family
It has a klaxon that makes
such a beautiful sound
Give it a honk, hear the
echo for miles all around
Sit still, here comes a hill!
Oh, what a thrill ! --

OLLIE:

"Kuk look, there's Harold Lloyd"

CHORUS: Open up, open up, give her gas
Pull aside, pull aside, let
'er pass.
Gosh all sakes alive,
Bet they're doing twenty-five
OLLIE: miles an hour!
In your future, wait and see
You will find a Model "T"
And, by the way, if you
haven't acquired one yet
Go out and put in your
order
They're easy to get
They're swell and they all
sell
Practic'ly free
There's nothing like a
Model "T"

(8 BARS)

There's nothing like a
Model "T"
For the average family -
And, by the way, if you
Haven't acquired one yet
Go on and put in your order,
They're easy to get.

AUDIO	VIDEO

MODEL T

Let the trolley car clang

CHORUS: Clang clang

Went the trolley

Let the steamer too too

CHORUS: Too too

Went the steamer

Let 'em roar

Let em bang

What is more

Let 'em hang

As for me

Honk Honk

Beep Beep

Ahoooga

I'll take that marvelous Model T

Rau rau rau rawn

MURROW:

But the Model T wasn't the only car, of course. Remember the Marmon? And the Pierce-Arrow? And the Maxwell? And the Stutz Bearcat? And the wonderful, wonderful different honks of their horns? Motoring was the most fun there was.

The old "T" has been accused of a lot of things, but it was the first car that was ever built for the average pocketbook.

Henry Ford realized if he could produce cars for less money he could sell them to more people

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW: (CONT'D)

How the former bicycle mechanic managed to produce his cars for so much less than anyone else can be told in two words: Assembly Line. ~~Here you see~~ This is how it developed. ~~This~~ The assembly line caused the deepest economic ~~and production~~ change ~~this country~~ a had ever experienced as a result of the ~~assembly line~~. Henry Ford was able to overhaul the pay envelope of the American working man. Five dollars a day -- half that was good pay before. Now into Detroit poured the skilled mechanics of the world to raise it from a town to a great city. Out of Detroit poured a new method of transportation to make America mobile. Those two words "Assembly Line," gave America two other words vital to us in the next few years: Mass Production.

Perhaps it was the changing temp of the times -- whatever the reason, a wonderful kind of music was gathering momentum in the dives of New Orleans and Memphis.

AUDIO	VIDEO
MURROW: (CONT'D)	
(PAUSE) We called it jazz and the style Dixie Land.	

AUDIO	VIDEO
MURROW: (CONT'D)	
Then a young immigrant by name	
Irving Berlin wrote a song that swept	
American Jazz into world popularity.	
ETHEL MERMAN SINGING:	

AUDIO VIDEO

ALEXANDER'S RAGTIME BAND -- Merman

Chorus: Come on and hear, come on
and hear
Alexander's Ragtime Band.
Come on and hear, come on
and hear
It's the best band in the land,
They can play a bugle call
like you never heard before
So natural that you want to go
to war;
That's just the bestest band
what am, honey lamb,
Come on along, come on along,
Let me take you by the hand,
Up to the man, up to the man
Who's the leader of the band,
And if you care to hear the
Swanee River played in ragtime
Come on and hear, come on
and hear
Alexander's Ragtime Band.

VERSE: Oh, ma honey, oh ma honey
Better hurry and let's meander
Ain't you goin', ain't you goin'
To the leader man, ragged meter man?
Oh, ma honey, oh ma honey,

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO | VIDEO

VERSE: (CONT'D)

Let me take you to Alexander's
grand stand, brass band
Ain't you comin' along?

CHORUS: Come on and hear, come on
and hear
Alexander's Ragtime Band.
Come on and hear, come on
and hear
It's the best band in the land,
They can play a bugle call
like you never heard before
So natural that you want to go
to war;
That's just the bestest band
what am, honey lamb,
Come on along, come on along,
Let me take you by the hand,
Up to the man, up to the man
Who's the leader of the band,
And if you care to hear the
Swanee River played in ragtime
Come on and hear, come on
and hear
Alexander's Ragtime Band.

AUDIO | VIDEO

HAMMERSTEIN:

That song was the rage when I went to Europe in 1914 with two other boys, all of us about 17. We travelled all through Europe ---- We "did it" as they say. We talked about the German Army, the British Navy as though they were a couple of football teams. We didn' know much about the issues involved or the people. Oh, we heard about the Kaiser and the Czar, but the name of Lenin meant nothing to us. Trotsky and Stalin were unknown. I am afraid : we were too interested in ourselves to understand Edward Gray when he said "The lights are going out all over Europe never to come on again in our lifetime." At home when the lights went out it was because we'd gone to bed early or because we'd gone to the movies. After the supper dishes were done we went downtown to get the thrill of our lives.

HAMMERSTEIN:
In 1913, a couple of yearsafter that song was written, I traveled through Europe with two other boys -- all of us about 17. Our ignorance of international problems was stupendous. We talked about the German Army, the British Navy as though they were a couple of football teams. We didn't know much about the issues involved or the people. Oh, we had heard about the Kaiser and the Czar, but the name of Lenin meant nothing to us. Trotsky and Stalin were unknown. I am afraid: we were too interested in ourselves to understand Sir Edward Grey when he said "The lights are going out all over Europe never to come on again in our lifetime." At home when the lights went out it was because we'd gone to bed early or because we'd gone out -- gone down town to get the thrill of our lives at the movies.

AUDIO	VIDEO

(MOVIES)

1. NEW YORK HAT

2. A FOOL THERE WAS

3. TILLIE'S PUNCTURED ROMANCE

4. HIS NIGHT OUT

5. BIRTH OF A NATION

6. VALENTINO

AUDIO	VIDEO
"WORLD WAR I & II CONTRASTS"	

MURROW:

Of course, we're not trying to say that this country was only interested in the movies at this time. But primarily we were interested in our own pursuits. We were making money producing goods for European countries at war and our own feeling about the war was substantially isolationist. In fact, Woodrow Wilson won his election in 1916 on the slogan: "He kept us out of war."

(PAUSE)

It took two years after the sinking of the Lusitania for President Wilson to declare war against Germany

(NEWSPAPER "LUSITANIA SUNK")

MURROW:

In 1917 in spite of the tragic realities there was a spirit of adventure almost gaiety. All we had to do was lick the Kaiser and the world would be safe for the rest of us.

(GAY PARADE)

MURROW:

Quite a difference between the attitude and events then and what took place ~~just before and~~ after this ~~announcement was made~~.

DALY:

We interrupt this program to bring you a special news bulletin - the Japanese have attacked Pearl Harbor, Hawaii by air.

(MORE)

DALY: contd.

President Roosevelt has just announced the attack also was made on all naval and military activites on the principal island of Oahu.

MURROW:

A country divided in the morning was united by mid afternoon. How? All they had in 1917 were newspapers. In 1941, they had newspapers, a nation-wide telephone system, and radio. What took 23 months in 1917 was accomplished in a few hours the second time. The second time there were very few parades, no cheering; only a feeling of shock and anger.

In World War 1 only _____ men went overseas. They fought over a relatively small part of Europe.

But as in every war, there were ____ casualty lists. Killed.....wounded....missing....

The second world war was the first scientific conflict.

It was a terribly mobile war. No trenches. When they fought, troops ran or were carried, or were landed. The American Navy, which battled only submarines and ran convoy duty in the 1st War, fought on every sea in the Second.

Most significant of all was the contrast in air warfare. In World War 1, not a single American plane was everyflown in combat.

(more)

The last time, the United States was the arsenal of the free world. In 1917, an air battle was a show, a display of skill and gallantry, a remnant of the Medieval tournament, a contest between two airborne gladiators. In World War II, for the first time since he'd been placed on earth, man looked up into the heavens and had cause to be afraid.

~~(RICKENBACHER FILM)~~

For America, World War II was war as it actually is: deadly and awful. For the bulk of Americans in 1918, that was was almost as wars should be in romantic novels: parades, unfurled banners, songs that will never be forgotten. We didn't have a song the last time that really took hold. They had a dozen, the best of which was --

HINKY DINKY PARLEZ-VOUS (MERMAN & 4 BOYS)

The Madmoiselle from Armentieres -
Parlez-Vous
The mademoiselle from Armentieres -
Parlez - Vous
The mademoiselle from Armentieres
Hasn't been hugged in forty years,
Hinky dinky parlez - vous.

The first marine went over the top -
parlez - vous
The second marine went over the top
Parlez vous
The third marine went over the top
Because they had no place to stop
Hinky dinky parlez vous.

The Eiffle Tower was quite a view -
Parlez vous
The Eiffle Tower was quite a view
Parlez vous
The Eiffle Tower was quite a view
But when she saw me she said, Woo Woo
Hinky Dinky parlez vous.

The Colonel got the Croix de Guerre
Parlez vous
The Colonel got the Croix de Guerre
Parlez vous
The Colonel got the Croix de Guerre
The sone ofagun was never there
Hinky dinky parlez vous.

(MADEMOISELLE CONT'D)

T The day we sailed away from Brest

Parlez vous

The day we sailed away from Brest

Parlez vous

The day we sailed away from Brest

We said goodbye and thought the rest

Hinky dinky parlez vous.

Mademoiselle from Armentieres

Parlez vous

Mademoiselle from Armentieres

Parlez vous

She brushed her teeth and put on her hair

To wash the Colonel's underwear

Hinky dinky parlez vous

HAMMERSTEIN:

"Oscar Hammerstein, again." I'd like to touch on -- what the boys came home to. The first change was obvious. Almost as they left the gangplank. No beer, no wine, no whiskey. What closed the saloons, what sent rivers of bourbon into the gutter, what broke the brewer's barrels? The 19th amendment to the Constitution of the United States; prohibition. Beer was denatured one half of one per cent. Wine became grape juice and whiskey was obtainable only at drugstores-- by doctor's prescription.

What else did they come home to? Trouble. The financial writers didn't use the word "panic" in 1920 and 1921, but in a sense that's what it was. Labor difficulties led to strikes.

Violent.

Bloody.

Often fatal.

To dramatize this situation of the working man, men were sold at auction each noon in Boston Commons, the historic scene of countless anti-slavery demonstrations in the past. Do you remember this?

(SHOW KU KLUX KLAN PARADE)

There were many other parades.

(SHOW SUFFRAGETTE PARADE

HAMMERSTEIN:

But almost worst of all, women had begun to assert themselves. First they marched. This kind of parade was almost equally ominous to most men, and pretty soon women had the vote. Today they have sixty-five per cent of the vote and seventy per cent of the money.

OLLIE

Seventy per cent of the money?

HAMMERSTEIN

Yes.

OLLIE (TO KUKLA)

This is getting very serious. We have never used any statistics on this show, but now we have to. Last year, over a billion dollars was spent in the United States on cosmetics for women, and over _____ was spent by women on apparel.

KUKLA

Let us examine this specimen coping with this enormous problem she has.

(INTO THE SHAPE)

AUDIO VIDEO

SHAPE - Mary Martin, Narrators

Man: The dilemma of American women!

MUSIC: (STING)

Man: What to do with their shapes!

MUSIC: (STING)

Man: Each year, fashion keeps pushing the figure around and changing the emphasis!

MUSIC: (STING)

Man: Our women face constant style change...is it in? Are they out? Is it up?...or is it down...OR do you have them at all?

MUSIC: (STING)

Man: Contour delinquency, a major problem of the 20th Century, often results in severe schizophrenic disorders.

Man: No American female wants to look like yesterday's rose, dow does she? No! She must keep up with the latest fashions.

(1903)

WOMAN: Dame Modish decrees that Milady should wear a corset that laces

AUDIO VIDEO

WOMAN: her into an hour-glass silhouette
....skirts must sweep the floor
and never, never reveal the limbs
...Mila dy must achieve the Grecian
Bend...Arch the back! Drop the shoulders!
And bosom forward for balance!
That's rather good. Now add a dashing
hat to enhance madame's crowning glory --
Adn finally, a feather boa to caress
your alabaster shoulders. Quite ravishing!
Ah, Fashion, that fickle jade, has
finally found a way to glorify the natural
female figure.
1914!

MUSIC: (STING)

WOMAN: Madame! The undulating torso is fini!

MUSIC: (STING)

woman; Tout a fait fini!

MUSIC: (STING)

Woman: The newest Paris corset is a
striaght tube from the bosom
well down. No more full skirts!
We now have an overdrape to
emphasize the roundness of the hips
and voila! the hobbleskirt!

AUDIO VIDEO

MARY: (DOES FIVE HOPS)

WOMAN: Bon. Now, lower the neckline,
a daring three inches to admit
the fresh air. Add Madame's
elegant chapeau...ravissant!
And a long-handled parasol for final
eclat. This season the one-legged
look is the dernier cri. Madame does
not walk...she minces!
What's the matter....can't sit, ah!
Then you are completely comme il faut.
Comme - il - faut.

MARY: (MUGGS)

MAN: 1925!

MUSIC: (STING)

MAN: Hey! Hey! Bay-bee...if you want
to be the cat's meow, get out of
those rags.

MUSIC: (STING)

MAN: Women have the vote, can't you read?

MUSIC: (VAMP)

MAN: Take off that skirt, if you
want to be an "IT" girl. The
hem toes up, the belt comes down.

AUDIO VIDEO

MAN: Now...identify your waistline. We don't have chests, for crying out loud. We bare our shoulders in a snazzy bateau neckline. We don a choche to make deep shadow-y pools of our eyes, don't we? (PAUSE)

MARY: (NODS)

MAN: To relieve any starkness, a simple strand of pearls -- Very snappy.

MARY: (DOES CHARLESTON)

WOMAN: At last fashion has found its groove. These clothes are so youthful and becoming to every figure that women will never, never give them up. Free from corseted conventions.. It is now chic to smoke....even in public.

MARY: (DOES LONG DRAG & COUGHS)

WOMEN: The modern cult is one of complete naturalness.

MAN: 1937

MUSIC: (STING)

WOMAN: Good Heavens! What are you doing in that get-up. The

AUDIO VIDEO

WOMAN: boyish flapper is dead...and we're all going to be very pretty now.

MARY: (NODS HAPPILY)

MUSIC:

W MAN: Up with the waistline...what's the matter can't you FIND your waistline. Down with the hem-line! Where are your shoulder-pads. This year it is smart to be the broadshouldered, healthy, independent vital American girl....Like Joan Crawford. We shash our skirts... to give a tantalizing glimpse of the knee.

MARY: (WORKS KNEE)

WOMAN: We must be provocative. As a nonchalent note...twist a turban around your curls...for a most exotic --YOU. And here we are. Above all, we have lip allure.

(MARY: (DOES CLARA BOW LIP)

WOMAN: No, no dear, we have WIDE LIPS.

MARY: (LIP SWITCH)

AUDIO VIDEO

WOMAN: No dear, our lips are delicious this year. Gowns do justice now to the freedom loving casual American woman bringing out her natural abandon.

MAN: 1953!

WOMAN: Freedom is the note...the emancipated clear-eyed, American career girl, has finally freed herself from the slave of fashion. Nowadays one basic dress.

WOMAN (contd)

with proper accessories, of course, will take her calmly through the whirl of her busy day and on into the glamour of the night..(pause) A trim, functional little dress, demurely fastened at the throat. She seizes her cape and it's off to the office -- ah, it's lunch time! The clean linesof our basic little dressare softened by a cape, swathed over the shoulders, in a leisurely manner. Ah, Cocktail Time! After the day's accomplishment! The neckline plunges low, low -- a big aloof hat gives our dynamic career girl an elusive quality. Ah! Theatre time! But no need to change the costume. The alabaster shoulders emerge, in all their fragile, trusting clinging charm. The hat - pouf! A mere pom pom. Our career girl returns home, fresh and eager for adventure as when she started forth.

MAN

The American woman faces tomorrow unafraid welcoming the next day's challenges, well knowing that she has defeated contour delinquency. Dauntless she faces the future, shoulder to shoulder with men in their basic Brooks Brothers suits, knowing that she too, is simple, basic -- and in wonderful shape! Shape marches on!

HAMMERSTEIN:

Although none of us realized it, what was taking place was the post-war economic readjustment period. Once that readjustment had been accomplished we began the wildest, most thoughtless, and most colorful decade America has ever seen; the Twenties. "How You Gonna Keep Them Down on the Farm, After They've Seen Paree?" was not only the title of a song it was also a national problem. The boys who came home brought with them a sense of excitement and exhiliration. The rest of the country picked it up. The outlet for all this energy was the hero--primarily the athletic champion.

A ballplayer; Babe Ruth.

A channel swimmer; Gertrude Ederle.

A golfer; Bobby Jones.

A couple of prizefighters; Dempsey; Tunney.

These were the individuals who are lifted to the glory of the ticker-tape. Ticker-tape parades and autograph hounds. Of course they weren't all athletes.

A pair of movie queens; Pearl White, Gloria Swanson.

A much-married chorus girl; Peggy Hopkins Joyce.

And a matinee idol; John Barrymore received their share of attention. So did a trio of Europeans; Marie of Rumania; a queen.

(MORE)

Caruso of Italy; a tenor, and Padrewski of Poland; a pianist. But no one caught the spirit or the adoration of the Twenties like the son of a Minnesota Congressman. The return of "Lucky Lindy" and the Spirit of St. Louis was the high-water mark of the era. God was in his heaven, the stock market was going up, all seemed right with the world.

AUDIO VIDEO

COX:

I used to be a wall flower at parties like this, 'til I sent away for ukelele lessons.(HOIDS UP BOOK) Now I'm the life of the party. Everybody wants to know me. They all wonder who's in the corner playing the ukulele. Well, it's me. (TAKES OUT UKE) I could play "Down by the Old Mill Stream" and make the girls cry, but I'll play something that will attract everybody. Watch. (PLAYS AND SINGS "HOME ON THE RANGE")

(LARGE MAN ENTERS EATING APPLE, STARES AT COX)

LARGE MAN:

Whatcha playin, "Home on the Range"? (COX NODS) I thought so. (EXITS)

COX:

Well, I'm not half way through the book yet.

Undoubtedly, the greatest influence on what women wore as well as how she spoke, acted, and often thought came from the motion pictures.

When John Gilbert kissed Greta Garbo the technique of romance suddenly became an acceptable topic of conversation for mixed company -- to say nothing of a feat to be imitated in a rumble seat.

Along about this time, Hollywood made a discovery. "The Covered Wagon" a saga of American pioneer life was almost as good as romance -- at least at the box office. And from that day until this, immediately after--boy meets girl-- comes the cowboys and Indians--on film.

On the evening of October 6th, 1927, the revolution occurred. Al Jolson in "The Jazz Singer". His lips not only moved but -- you could <u>Hear</u> him. And over night--the "movies" became the "talkies".

The arrival of sound put an end to vaudeville. Mercifully, the curtain dropped on such acts as this.

AUDIO - VIDEO - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

HOW'S YOUR FOLKS AND MY FOLKS -- Martin, Merman

MUSIC: 4 BAR VAMP

(DIALOGUE)

MARY: Hullo, Ernest, how are you?

ETHEL: Oh, fine, Bill - How are you?

MARY: Well, well -- I'm glad to see you.

ETHEL: Just got back today, Bill.

MARY: So did I just get back today, Ernest.

ETHEL: Yeh?

MARY: You're quite a wanderer, aren't you?

ETHEL: Yes, Bill -- I've wandered all over the world.

MARY: Yes, well you can wander all over the world, Ernest, but you have to go to Italy to roam.

ETHEL: (LAUGHS) All right, Dave -- let's sing a little song. That's a good idea.

MUSIC: 4 BAR VAMP

ETHEL: I'm a Dixie roamin' soul
Roamin' 'round all alone

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO - VIDEO - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

HOW'S YOUR FOLKS - Page 2

MARY: You've learned a lot
But what have you got?

ETHEL: Nothin' worth calling my own.
I hear that you returned from
home today.

MARY: I often wonder why you went
away.

ETHEL: I say, Bill -- how's your
folks and my folks
Down in Norfolk town

MARY: Not one word have they heard
Since you've been knocking
around

ETHEL: How's dear old Dad and Mother
And all the family
How's little Sis and Brother
Do they ever talk about me

MARY: Your old gal, your old pal
The one you left behind
Now I've found
You're always on her mind

ETHEL: I'm just an old black sheep
And I'll get no sleep
'Til I'm Virginia bound

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO - VIDEO - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

HOW'S YOUR FOLKS - Page 3

BOTH: To your folks and my folks
Down in Norfolk Town.

(DIALOGUE)

ETHEL: Say, Bill, you know it's been a long time since I was home.

MARY: Yes, it has.

ETHEL: How time does fly.

MARY: Yes, it does.

ETHEL: What makes time fly?

MARY: Well, I don't know unless it can be the spur of the moment. (LAUGHS)

ETHEL: You will have your little jokes, won't you.

MARY: Yes, I will. You know when I was taking the train back home from Norfolk last night, I asked the trainman where the train went that I saw ... and he said -- "That train goes to New York in ten minutes."

ETHEL: Ten minutes. MMMMMMMM.

MARY: Pretty fast train, so I took it. (LAUGHS)

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO - VIDEO - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

HOW'S YOUR FOLKS - Page 4

ETHEL: You know, talking about trains, Bill....

MUSIC: (SNEAK IN UNDER---)

ETHEL:	MARY:
I know when the L & N	Carry me
Is leavin in the evening	Back
But it's bound for	To old
Louisville	Virginia
And I know the B & O	That's where the
Is bound to go	Cotton and
To Baltimo and	The
Down to Jacksonville	Corn and taters grow
And they say that	That's where
Every day the Santa Fe	The birds
Is on its way out to	Warble sweet
The Golden Date	In the spring-time
But these three	That's
Don't worry me	Where my
The only place	Heart
I want to be	Is
I might as well confess	Longing to go

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO _____ VIDEO _____

HOW'S YOUR FOLKS - Page 5

BOTH: I'm just an old black sheep

And I'll get no sleep

'Till I'm Virginia Bound

To your folks and my folks

Down in Norfolk Town.

Down in Norfolk Town

Down in Norfolk Town

Down in Norfolk Town

Down in Norfolk Town

(CUTOFF)

LIVE: DOWN IN NORFOLK TOWN

AUDIO	VIDEO
FREAKS OF THE "20's" - OLLIE	

AUDIO	VIDEO
LEAD TO CHARLESTON BALLET - OLLIE	

AUDIO CENTER

CHARLESTON BALLET

W. : Newsboy -

C. : Market hits new high!

16 bars pp intro

8

8

(14) Trumpet "rip" starts 24 bar development

4

4

4

4

4

4

(39) Flappers theme for 22 bars

4

4

4

4

4

2 Flappers exit

(61) 4 bar interim to entrance of

(65) Rich couple (for 17 bars)

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO	CENTER
CHARLESTON BALLET (CONT'T)	
8	
8	
(82) Nervous couple (for 8 bars)	
4	
pause	
(90) "he" theme	
(91) "she" theme answers	
1	
(96) Collegiates - 24 bars	
4	
2	
2 1st time	
2 repeat	
2 repeat again	
4	
4	
4	
(128) Gangsters - 16 bars	
8	
8	

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO	CENTER
CHARLESTON BALLET (CONT'D)	
(144) Flappers re-enter	
8	
2	
(157) "So's your Aunt Tilly"	
1	
(159) "Mind your own Bees Wax"	
1	
(161) "Don't be an airdale"	
2	
(164) Teenagers theme - 20 bars)	
4	
4	
4	
4	
4	
(194) Fast 2 bars	
Repeat fast 2 bars	
(198) Cop passes - 2 bars	
Arthur - 4 bars	
Bill - 3 bars	
Lorraine - 3 bars	

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO CENTER

CHARLESTON BALLET (CONT'D)

(210) Charleston ensemble - 2 bars

1 bar - Door bursts open

Screan

(214) Aftermath of scream - 13 bars

(231) 4 bar phrase

Repeat 4 bar phrase

(239) Windmill stop - 13 bars

8

8

2

"Does she pet?"

"You bet".

(259) 1 bar

"Charleston"

1 bar

(271) "Charleston" ... WHEEEE

(275) Pirouette - 6 bars diminuendo

6 bars

(287) 2 bars repeated 12 times

4 (2x)

4

4

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO	CENTER
CHARLESTON BALLET (CONT'D)	
4	
4	
4	
(311) Everbody exiting - Charleston step - 12 bars	
4	
4	
4	
(323) Flappers (Backwards) 8 bars	
5 bars	
3 bars tacet	
(331) Gradual build for 4 bars	
CRASH	
	BREAKAWAY COSTUMES

AUDIO VIDEO

MURROW:

~~That was the start of a black time in America.~~ In 1930, there were 3 million unemployed. By 1933, there were 15 million. One out of every four farmers saw his land sold for taxes. 5000 banks failed. ~~About~~ over 65,000,000 of you Americans weren't even born then. You have no idea of what it was like —

MUSIC: "HAPPY DAYS ARE HERE AGAIN"

MURROW:

That was the ~~theme~~ campaign song ~~of the campaign~~ of our new President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, at his inauguration, he said — "I can quote on future" The first hundred days of the new deal were the most hectic a president had had to face since Abe Lincoln took office and found himself with a Civil War on his hands. The Washington alphabet which had started with President Hoover's RFC mushroomed to the point where the new President even became a trio of letters.

~~But out of that alphabet merged one of the greatest changes of our history . . .~~

(CONTINUED)

MURROW: While it lasted, the Depression was a searing experience. Breadlines and soup lines became battlelines, violence flared in many areas as Americans struggled with one of their greatest spiritual and economic crises. As a people, we have always rejected the thought of accepting charity, certainly from the State. So when the New Deal introduced unemployment insurance and old-age pensions, Americans gained a measure of security.

Back in 1931, men marched on Washington for a bonus and got tear gas. By the end of the Thirties, most of what labor had fought had come for came about peacefully. Sometimes by legislation, sometimes by industry, but the American concept of Government was slowly changing. City, township, county and state governments seemed to be incapable of coping with the national crises. The Federal Government grew not only in employees and bureaus, but also in the minds of Americans. As we pointed out, political figures

MURROW:

At the beginning of the century played a relatively minor part in our lives. In the Thirties we were vitally interested in all political leaders, both at home and abroad. Perhaps one of the major reasons for this was the growth in reading of magazines, newspapers, books, but most of all the increasing popularity and increasing audience in radio. Roosevelt was the first political leader to make use of radio as a means of reaching the voters. The building of this great audience began with one of the great figures in radio: Mr. Lowell Thomas, who used to bring us the news every night. What you are going to hear now is a few minutes of radio as we heard it then. What you are going to see is the recreation of a radio studio as it might have looked during the 30's--Lowell Thomas speaking!

THOMAS:

(NEWS COMMENT OF THE DAY)

(INTO AMOS & ANDY THEME)

(LOWELL THOMAS

And now, after all that news about the New Deal, let's go on to a story of heroism and romance. But alas, phony heroism and blighted romance.

A dispatch from Paris, today, tells about Georges Nicholas - who, in the war of the trenches, distinguished himself for heroism. In a night attack by the Germans, Georges was so brave that Marshall Foch, himself, decorated him with the Croix de Guerre, and made him a sergent. His home town gave a great banquet in his honor.

After the war Georges settled down and married Mademoiselle Marie Rosel. They lived happily, Georges and Marie, until Georges began playing around with another woman. Marie sued him for divorce. Then it was that the strange story came out. That night, when he was supposed to have been so brave, Georges was not there. He was scared to death. He told his sweetheart Marie Rosel that he intended to desert. She, a regular Joan of Arc, hid him, put on his uniform, and went on outpost duty for him that night. It was she who, in the confusion of fighting, performed the deeds of heroism.

(more)

When all this came out at the divorce trial, the French authorities started investigating and found that Marie was telling the truth. So it was Mademoiselle from Armentieres (I mean, Mademoiselle Marie Rosel) who was the heroine.

But it was Georges who got the Croix de Guerre. And the son-of-a-gun was never there.

And so long until tomorrow.

That's how I'd end my nightly broadcast in those days, and ever since - with something sprightly, if possible. After which the radio audience would get another program - nothing solemn either. People used to say that, when I died, my epitaph would be:

"Here lies Lowell Thomas,
To whom millions of people listened
While waiting for Amos and Andy"

A U D I O

HAMMERSTEIN:

This because the first great national phenomonon in radio. It was a craze that went on for a long time.

BILL HAY:

Today the famous Madam Queen breach-of-promise trial looks like it is coming to an end. After six weeks in Court, the public is anxiously awaiting the outcome. As the scene opens now, we find Amos, Andy, the Kingfish and Brother Crawford talking in the Courtroom just before Andy is called to the stand for cross-examination by Madame Queen's attorney. Here they are: - -

AUDIO

AMOS: Andy, don't git nervous now when you git on de stand.

ANDY: Nervous? I'se so scared, I don't know what to do. Whut kin I say, Kingfish?

KING: De main thing is, when de man asks you questions, just say you don't remember — ain't dat right, Brother Crawford.

CRAW: I think that Andrew Brown is gotta pay the piper, and if he wins this case against Madam Queen, my wife is going to be very unhappy.

JUDGE: Will the defendant, Andrew H. Brown, please take the witness stand, for cross examination.

ANDY: Comin' up dere, you honor. Since dis case started, I got palsy of de legs.

A U D I O

BAILIFF: Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you?

ANDY: Yessah.

ATTORNEY: Brown, as attorney for Madam Queen, I have some letters here written by you to this fair young creature which I have introduced as evidence as Exhibit A. In this one letter you asked her to marry you 16 different times. Will you tell me if you wrote this letter?

ANDY: Seems like I is, an' seems like I ain't, but it seems mo' like I ain't dan it do like I is.

ATTORNEY: Andrew Brown, you are evading the question. I want to know...

(WOMAN'S SCREAM)

ANDY: What done happened?

A U D I O

AMOS: Andy — dat was Madam Queen dat screamed.

KING: Look at her -- she's out cold.

ANDY: Madam Queen is done fainted.

(AD LIBS: Get some water -- give her some air -- she's keeled over -- etc. etc.)

AMOS: Awah --- Awah --- Awah --- Awah.

FADE OUT

AUDIO	VIDEO
THOMAS:	
Not only did radio bring news closer to Americans and give our comedians an audience of millions, but helped evolve another phenomena. It was the crooner craze. It started with this man:	
VALLEE:	
"MY TIME IS YOUR TIME" (LAST 8 BARS)	

AUDIO	VIDEO
"STEIN SONG"	
	(APPLAUSE)

AUDIO	VIDEO
THOMAS:	
And then there was Bing Crosby who used to sing this:	
(RECORDING "WHEN THE BLUE OF THE NIGHT"	

AUDIO	VIDEO
THOMAS:	
Another great popular singer	
was - - -	
(FILM: FRANK SINATRA)	
1. OLD BLACK MAGIC	
2. YOU GO TO MY HEAD	

AUDIO	VIDEO
THOMAS:	
And now the Ex-G.I. who is today's favorite ---	
("WISH YOU WERE HERE")	

THOMAS: It was a time of great bands, whose popularity was brought about by radio. Everybody wanted to dance. We learn how in differnet ways.....

(INTO WALLY COX DANCE)

AUDIO VIDEO

(WALLY COX----Dance)

I'm learning to dance in six easy lessons. I'll be popular at parties. It's well worth the price, don't you think? People used to think I didn't dance because I didn't want to. I did want to. Everybody wants to. I just didn't know which foot came after which. So I got this book. It teaches you in six nights. One lesson after dinner -- each night for a week and you get Sunday off. And it's so easy. All ayou have to do is follow the foot prints and arrows. If you can count up to three you can learn to waltz. I did that yesterday. Today's is harder. You have to count up to nine.

(FOOTPRINTS SPREAD FARTHER APART...HE STRADDLES THEM...)

There arestill some flaws in my technique.

M AUDIO VIDEO

OLLIE: Kuke, let*s try to find out how we've always danced in this country.

(INTO POPULAR DANCING)

AUDIO - VIDEO -

POPULAR DANCING

A) THE WALTZ

16 (8
(4
(4

B) THE CASTLE WALK

22 (8
(8
(2
(2
(2

C) THE BLACK BOTTOM

14 (6
(2
(4
(2

D) THE SHAG

10 (4
(4
(2

AUDIO - VIDEO -

76 F

POPULAR DANCING - Page 3

J) 1

"You're not Jack"

2

BOOGIE 4

K) WALTZ

8

8

8

HAMMERSTEIN:

Popular dancing is a good reflection of the times. But for an accurate picture words are needed.

In 50 years, who knows how many words were written and read in America.? We've got a magazine or two with circulations almost twice the size of the entire population of Norway. We're going to buy 250,000,000 paper-backed books this year. (CAMERA STOPS ON BIBLE) In 1903, the Holy Bible sold almost 3/4 of a million copies. That set an all-time record. Do you know how many were sold last year? Almost 8,000,000 (CAMERA STARTS TRUCK ON NON-FICTION BOOKS) Fiction doesn't come first in America, The best selling books are on religion, psychiatry, science... and books on how-to-do-it. Who buys them? Take this for an example.

(INTO WALLY COX ON BOOKS)

AUDIO VIDEO

COX:

I used to be a nervous, fidgety type but I sent away for this book. It tells you how to relax by a very simple method. It goes on the premise that if you can relax your fingers, nails and ear lobes, you can relax anything. The book comes in six volumes. The first four volumes deal with getting to know your ear lobes without letting them think you're up to something. Included in the process is learning to listen with your nostrils. That takes a big load off your ears, of course, but the book warns that for a while your finger nails may need more biting than usual.

(BITES FINGER NAILS)

This phase is only temporary.

MARTIN:

Words aren't always everything. The things you can't say, and can't write, come out somehow in music. If, in the Thirties, we took to serious books, we also began to show a marked preference for serious music. And, it was then, that American was given a great voice. Toscannini said, "A voice like this is heard only once in a hundred years." Miss Marian Anderson.

(INTO MARIAN ANDERSON.)

AUDIO VIDEO

He's got the Whole World -
in His hands;
He's got the big, roun' World -
in His hands;
He's got the wide World -
in His hands;
He's got the Whole World
in His hands.
He's got the wind and the rain -
in His hands;
He's got the sun and the moon
right in his hands;
He's got the wind and the rain -
in His hands;
He's got the Whole World
in His hands.
He's got that gamblin' man -
in His hands;
He's got that ly-in man -
in His hands;
He's got that crap shoot-in' man
right in His hands;
He's got the Whole World
in His hands;

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO VIDEO

He's got that little bitsy baby
in His hands;
He's got that tiny little baby
right in His hands;
He's got that little bitsy baby
in His hands;
He's got the Whole World
in His hands.
He's got you an' me, Brudder,
in His hands;
He's got you an' me
right in His hands;
He's got you an' me Sister,
in His hands;
He's got the Whole World
in His hands.
He's got ev'ry body
in His hands;
He's got ev'ry body
in His hands;
He's got ev'ry body
in His hands;
He's got the Whole World
in His hands!

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW:

While it lasted, the Depression was a searing experience. The '30's left big scars on America. Breadlines and the souplines became battlelines.
Men marched on Washington for a bonus ... and got tear-gas.

But most of what labor had fought for came about peacefully in the Thirties. Sometimes by Act of Congress, sometimes from industry itself. Americans reject the thought of accepting charity, certainly from the State. But for many the only alternative was starvation. So when the New Deal introduced unemployment insurance and old-age pensions, Americans gained a measure of security. The American concept of government was slowly changing. City, township, county and state governments seemed to be incapable of coping with the national crisis. The Federal Government grew not only in employees and bureaus but also in the minds of Americans.

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW:

While we in America had been fighting off a depression and unemployment ~~there was much to think about across the two great oceans~~. The ~~Prophetic~~ warnings of ~~world~~ conflict ~~began in '32 with~~ which was to come actually started in the 30's Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy and Ethiopia, Spain and Manchuria. No matter how strong our desire to turn our backs, our hearts and our natural ties made us watch its terrible progress daily in the newspaper and listen to it hourly on the radio. When war broke out, most of us realized that to some degree we would have to become involved in it.

HAMMERSTEIN:

I know this will embarrass you, Ed, but the sound most of us remember the best during these years was this (RECORD OF EDWARD MURROW SAYING "THIS IS LONDON CALLING")

MURROW (contd)

In my mind what brought the war closest to America were the words said by a man who was half American.

CHURCHILL

"The battle of France is over. The battle of britain is about to begin. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this Island or lose the war. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duty - and so bare ourselves that if the British Empire and its Commonwealth will last for a 1000 years men will still say - this was their finest hour.

MURROW:

We fought two completely separate wars on two sides of the earth. We lost a lot in the war. We lost a man who had been our leader for many years -- almost from the beginning of the depression. Most of us looking at this program tonight remember vividly.....

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW: (RECORD)

Arthur Godfrey an old Wahington hand described it.

GODFREY:

The drums are wrapped in black crepe and are muffled as you can hear - and the pace of the musicians is so slow and behind them these are Navy boys.

And now just..just coming past the Treasury I can see the horses drawing the caison. And most generally folks having as tough a time as I am trying to see it.

And behind it---behind it is the car bearing the man on who's shoulders now fall the terrific burdens and responsibilities that were handled so well by the man to whose body we're paying our last respects now--God bless him-President Truman. We return you now to the studio.

AUDIO VIDEO

(ARTHUR GODFREY RECORD OF FDR's FUNERAL)

MURROW:

Three other men died shortly
who are not remembered the same way.

Adolf Hitler. Fuehrer.
Chancellor, and Supreme Commander
of the Greater German Reich.
Born: April 20, 1889. He said:

VOICE I:

The German National Socialist
Party will last for a thousand years.

MURROW:

Died by his own hand, May 1, 1945:

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW: (CONT'D)

Benito Mussolini, Premier of the Italian Empire and Duce of the Italian Fascist Party. Born: July 29, 1883. He said:

VOICE II:

The Mediterranean is an Italian Lake.

Died by hanging at the hands of his own people, April 28, 1945.

Hideki Tojo. Premier and Minister of War of the Imperial Japanese Government. Born _____ 1884. He said:

VOICE III:

I intend to dictate the peace in Washington.

MURROW:

Died by hanging after sentence was passed by his conquerors in Tokyo, December 23, 1948.

AUDIO VIDEO

THERE'S NO BUSINESS LIKE SHOW BUSINESS - Merman

There's no business like show business

Like no business I know

You get word before the show has started

That your fav'rite Uncle died at dawn

Top of that your Pa and Ma have parted

You're broken hearted but you go on

They're no people like show people.

They don't run out of dough

Yesterday they told you you would not go far

That night you open and there you are

Next day on your dressing room they've hung a star

Let's go - on with the show.

VERSE:

The costume

The scenery

The make-up

The props

The audience that lifts you when you're down -

The headaches
The heartaches
The bachaches
The flops

The sheriff who escorts you out of town

The Opening when your heart beats like a drum

The Closing when the customers won't come -

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO VIDEO

THERE'S NO BUSINESS LIKE SHOW BUSINESS (CONT'D)

There's no business like show business

Like no business I know

Everything about it is appealing

Everything the traffic will allow

Nowhere could you get that happy feeling

When you are stealing that extra bow

There're no people like show people

They smile when they are low

Even with a turkey that you know will fold

You may be stranded out in the cold

Still you wouldn't change it for a sack of gold

Let's go on with the show.

A WONDERFUL GUY - Martin

I'm as corny as Kansas in August

I'm as normal as blue-berry pie

No more a smart little girl with no heart

I have found me a wonderful guy

I am in a conventional dither

With a conventional star in my eye

And you will note there's a lump in my throat

When I speak of that wonderful guy!

I'm as trite and as gay as a daisy in May

A cliche coming true

I'm bromidic and bright as a moon-happy night

Pouring light on the dew

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO VIDEO

A WONDERFUL GUY - Martin (CONT'D)

I'm as corny as Kansas in August -

High as a flag on the Fourth of July!

If you'll excuse an expression I use

I'm in love, I'm in love, I'm in love, I'm in love

I'm in love with a wonderful guy!

(MUSICAL INTERLUDE)

BY THE LIGHT OF THE SILVERY MOON - Merman

By the light

Of the silvery moon

I want to spoon

To my honey

I'll croon love's tune.

AUDIO VIDEO

WAIT 'TIL THE SUN SHINES, NELLIE - Martin

Wait till the sun shines, Nellie,

When the clouds go drifting by, (8)

We will be happy Nellie

Don't you cry (16)

THE SHEIK OF ARABY - Merman

I'm the shiek of Araby

Your love belongs to me

At night when you're asleep

Into your tent I'll creep

WHEN THE RED RED ROBIN - Both

When the red, red, robin

Comes Bob Bob bobbin' along, along

There'll be no more sobbin'

When he starts throbbin' his old sweet song,

Wake up, wake up, you sleepy head,

Get up, get up, get out of bed

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO VIDEO

WHEN THE RED RED ROBIN (CONT'D)

Cheer up, cheer up, the sun is red

Live, live laugh and be happy

What if I've been blue now

I'm walking through fields of flowers

Rain may glisten but still I listen for hours and hours

I'm just a kid again, doin' what I did again

Singing a song

When the red, red, robin comes bob, bob, bobbin along,

MY MELANCHOLY BABY - Martin

Come to me My Melancholy Baby

Cuddle up and don't be blue

All your fears are foolish fancy maybe

You know dear, that I'm in love with you

YOU MADE ME LOVE YOU - Merman

You made me sigh for,

I didn't wanna tell you

I didn't wanna tell you

I want some love that's true

Yes, I do, you know I do,

Gimme, gimme what I cry for,

You know you got the brand of kisses

That I'd die for

You know you made me love you.

AUDIO VIDEO

MISSISSIPPI MUD - Martin

When the sun goes down, the tide goes out
The people gather 'round and they all begin to shout
"Hey, Hey! Uncle Dud
It's a treat to beat your feet on the Mississippi Mud
It's a treat to beat your feet on the Mississippi Mud"
What a dance do they do
Lordy, how I'm tellin' you
They don't need no band
They keep time by clappin' their hand
Just as happy as a cow, chewin' on a cud
When the people beat their feet on the Mississippi Mud.
Lordy, how they play it
Goodness, how they sway it,
Uncle Joe, Uncle Jim
How they pound the mire with vigor and vim
Joy! That music thrills me
Boy! It nearly kills me
What a show when they go
Say, they beat it up either fast or slow.
When the sun goes down, the tide goes out
The people gather 'round and they all begin to shout,
"Hey, hey! Uncle Dud.
It's treat to beat your feet on the Mississippi Mud
It's a treat to beat your feet on the Mississippi Mud
What a dance they do, Lordy, how I'm tellin' you

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO VIDEO

MISSISSIPPI MUD (CONT'D)

They don't need no band

They keep time by clappin' their hand

Just as happy as a cow, chewin'

When the people beat their feet on the Mississippi Mud.

"I" MEDLEY - Merman & Martin

ETHEL: I cried for you

MARY: I'm forever blowing bubbles

ETHEL: I'm always chasing rainbows

MARY: I'm in the mood for love

ETHEL: I love a parade

MARY: I'd climb the highest mountain

If I knew that when I climbed that mountain

ETHEL: I'm sittin' on top of the world

MARY: I gotta a feelin' you're foolin'

ETHEL: I can't give you anything but love

MARY: I'll get by as long as I have you

ETHEL: I hear singing and there's no one there

MARY: I'm gonna wash that man right outa my hair

And send him on his way

I get no kick from Champagne

Mere alcohol doesn't thrill me at all

So tell me why should it be true

That I get a kick out of you.

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO | VIDEO

"I" MEDLEY - (CONT'D)

I get no kick in a plane
Flying so high with some guy
In the sky is my idea
Of nothing to do
Cause I get a kick out of you.

MERMAN

I get a kick
every time I see
you standing there before me
I get a kick tho
it's plain to see
You obviously
don't adore me

Some like their perfume from Spain
I'm sure that if I took
even one whiff
It would bore me terrifically too,
Cause I get a kick out of you.

MARTIN

I've got you under my skin
I've got you deep
in the heart of me
So deep in the heart
that you're really
a part of me
I've got you under my skin.

AUDIO VIDEO

MY HEART BELONGS TO DADDY - Martin

While tearing off a game of golf
I may make a play for the caddy
But when I go I don't follow through
'Cause my heart belongs to Daddy.
If I invite a boy some night
To dine on my finnan haddie
I just adore his asking for more
But my heart belongs to Daddy.
Yes, my heart belongs to Daddy
So I simply couldn't be bad
Yes my heart belongs to Daddy
Dada, dada, dada, da da dada
So I want to warn you, laddie
Tho' I know you're perfectly swell
That my heart belongs to Daddy
'Cause my Daddy he treats it so well.

I GOT RHYTHM - Merman

I got rhythm, I got music
I got my man who could ask for anything more,
I get daisies, in green pastures
I got my man who could ask for anything more.
Old man Trouble I don't mind him
You won't find him - 'round my door
I got starlight, I got sweet dreams (28)
I got my man who could ask for anything more
Who could ask for anything more.

AUDIO VIDEO

TEA FOR TWO Merman, Martin Duet

MERMAN:

Picture you upon my knee
Just tea for two & 2 for tea
Just me for you & you for
me alone

MARTIN:

When I'm calling you
000 000
While you answer too
000 000

(DOUBLE TIME)

BOTH:

Nobody near us to see us or hear us
No friends or relations
On week-end vacations
We won't have it known, dear
That we own a telephone, dear.

MERMAN:

Don't know why
There's no sun up in the sky
Stormy weather
Since my man and I
ain't together
Keeps rainin' all the time

MARTIN:

Picture you upon my knee
Just tea for two
And two for tea
Just me for you
And you for me alone.

TEA FOR TWO (contd)

(8 bars double time)

BOTH: Nobody near us to see us or hear us
We won't have it known dear
That we own a telephone, dear.

MERMAN:
I got rhythm, I got music
I got my man
Who could ask for anything more?

MARTIN:
Isn't it romantic
Music in the Night
Oldest magic word.

BOTH: We will raise a family
A boy for you, a girl for me
Can't you see how happy we will be?

(MURROW - HAMMERSTEIN)

HAMMERSTEIN:

And now we're down to now.

MURROW:

What kind of a world do we have today? A couple of things stand out. We're the strongest nation in the world.

HAMMERSTEIN:

-- And we live in a climate of fear.

MURROW:

We have 160,000,000 people.

HAMMERSTEIN:

-- And not enough hospital beds.

MURROW:

We have three million square miles of land.

HAMMERSTEIN:

-- And too many slums.

MURROW:

In 1903, there were only 15 million kids in school -- now there are 52,000,000.

HAMMERSTEIN:

What are they learning? Is it any better than McGuffey's Readers?

MURROW:

Last year we bought ten times as many Bibles as in 1903.

HAMMERSTEIN:

Yes, and we spent $1,400,000,000 for cosmetics -- and one-third of that was for men.

And we still have prison, we have polluted rivers and crooked politicians, and too much discrimination....

MURROW:

I'm just saying that we're trying.

HAMMERSTEIN:

And I'm just saying that it's not all Happy Talk, Ed -- some of the things haven't changed at all: the worn places in the churches, where Americans kneel...

MURROW:

And the circuses are the same -- and the crackerjack is just as sticky....

HAMMERSTEIN:

We didn't have psychiatrists then...

MURROW:

But we had those medicine men, selling you snake-oil that would cure everything.

HAMMERSTEIN:

Some things stay the same.....trout-fishing, and merry-go-rounds, and hot biscuits.. ..but we've lost something, Ed -- that innocence, that kind of

HAMMERSTEIN (Cont'd)

youthful ignorance we had....

MURROW:

And we've gained something. We've grown up, the hard way. We've learned the wisdom of experience....that we must stay alert, on guard.

HAMMERSTEIN:

First the Cold War, and then the Iron Curtain, and then the realization that we had spies and traitors and fellow-travelers.

MURROW:

And we risked a Dunkirk in Korea rather than face a Munich. The last casualty count was 134,958 Americans killed.

HAMMERSTEIN:

But, Ed, if that's the world today, what will it be tomorrow? Like Korea? Like lots of Koreas? Where's the hope? What about the next fifty years?

(LIVE & FILM - MURROW ON THE ATOM)

Corrected 6/11/53

Mary Hunter

June 12, 1953

LELAND HAYWARD

presents

THE FORD 50TH ANNIVERSARY SHOW

* * * * *
* * * *
* * *
* *
*

MONDAY, JUNE 15, 1953
NBC-CBS -- 9:00-11:00 PM EDST

THE AMERICAN ROAD

THE FORD FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY SHOW

(M U S I C:)

AUDIO	VIDEO
FLIP #1: FORD MOTOR COMPANY PRESENTS	
FLIP #2: ITS 50TH ANNIVERSARY SHOW	

HAYWARD:

Good evening -- I'm Leland Hayward. The Ford Motor Company has asked me -- to produce a show about you -- the American people; about what has happened to all of us in the last fifty years.

To do a portrait of America, we are going to use live actors and singers and dancers, old movies and new movies, great music, newsreels, cartoons and parts of great plays.....

During the past half century we have had a thousand heroes -- and a thousand heroines.

We have had gangsters and rabble rousers, and men of good will, and humorists.

AUDIO | VIDEO

OLLIE: (SG)

Hey! and me too.

HAYWARD:

Yes and you too Ollie. As a nation, we've come a long way since the turn of the century. We cannot show it all -- but, we can show you some of the things that have happened to us — to discuss what has shaped our minds, touched hearts, lifted spirits.

To speak for the American mind: Ed Murrow . . .

MURROW:

Right now, outside in New York, it's the long summer dusk — and in California it's still bright afternoon — but soon the night will spread across the land.

Right now — the American mind is at work; on little changes, on fantastic and fabulous and terrible things, lonely minds, some of them, protected by armed guards because they are working on the wonders of the future.

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW: (CONT'D)

No, no one can speak for the American mind.

HAYWARD:

To speak for the American heart:

Mary Martin . . .

MARTIN: (REWRITE)

No one can speak for the heart.

You can sing-- laugh--

Sometimes you can cry.

HAYWARD:

To speak for the American spirit:

Oscar Hammerstein . . .

HAMMERSTEIN:

The American Spirit is the human spirit with something American added. The human spirit makes us want to live thru bad days in the hope that good days will come. Americans work very hard to make those good days come. Our spirit is therefore dynamic, reckless, excitable -- sometimes too excitable. (CONTINUED)

AUDIO | VIDEO

HAMMERSTEIN: (CONT'D)

There was a period -- the turn of the century -- when life in our country was more peaceful, less excitable, a more comfortable thing. City people lived in cities; country people lived on farms. Government wasn't so much; you hardly paid any attention to it. There was a lot more plumbing outdoors than indoors. Dad shaved with a long-handle straight-edge razor; Mother's hair hung to her waist. It was a time of peace and quiet... A Sunday School kind of time...

MARTIN:

I washed my hands this morning
So very clean and bright
I hold them up to Jesus
To love with all His might.

MARTIN & CHILDREN:

I washed my hands this morning
So very clean and bright
I hold them up to Jesus
To love with all His might.

AUDIO	VIDEO
HAMMERSTEIN:	
And so it was a time of Sunday evening band concerts, and two dollars' worth of lamb-chops would feed a good sized family. What did people do for excitement?	
Well, witness the following scene from an American classic -- a play by Howard Lindsay and Russell Crouse called "LIFE WITH FATHER," based on Clarence Day's stories about his own father.	
Howard Lindsay himself, and Miss Dorothy Stickney will play their original parts.	

LIFE WITH FATHER (8G)

AUDIO	VIDEO
FATHER: Oh, Vinnie -- Vinnie	
VINNIE: What's the matter, Clare? What's wrong?	
FATHER: I will NOT send this person a check!	
VINNIE: Why, Clare, that's the only hat I've bought since March and it was reduced.	
FATHER: I don't question your buying the hat or what you paid for it, but the person from whom you bought it -- this Mademoiselle Mimi -- isn't fit to be in the hat business or any other.	
VINNIE: I don't see why you object to it.	
FATHER: I object to it because this confounded person doesn't put her name on her bills! Mimi what? Mimi O'Brien? Mimi Jones? Mimi Weinstein?	
VINNIE: How do I know? It's just Mimi	

AUDIO | VIDEO

FATHER: It isn't just Mimi. She must have some other name, confound it! Now, I wouldn't make out a check payable to Charley or to Jimmy, and I won't make out a check payable to Mimi. Find out what her last name is, and I'll pay her the money.

VINNIE: All right. All right.

FATHER: Just a minute, Vinnie.

VINNIE: ~~But~~ yes Clare, dear -

FATHER: Sit down, Vinnie, you know I like to live well, sit down and I want my family to live well. But this house must be run on a business basis. I must know how much money I'm spending and what for. For instance, if you recall, two weeks ago, I gave you six dollars to buy a new coffee pot.

VINNIE: Yes, because you broke the old one. You threw it right on the floor.

AUDIO	VIDEO
FATHER: I'm not talking about that. I'm simply endeavoring --	
VINNIE: But it was so silly to break that nice coffee pot, Clare, and there was nothing the matter with the coffee that morning. It was made just the same as always.	
FATHER: It was not! It was made in a blasted barbaric manner!	
VINNIE: I couldn't get another imported one. That little shop has stopped selling them. They said the tariff wouldn't let them. And that's your fault, Clare, because you're always voting to raise the tariff.	
FATHER: The tariff protects America against cheap foreign labor. "Now I find that ---"	
VINNIE: "The tariff does nothing but put up the prices and that's hard on everybody, especially the farmer."	

AUDIO	VIDEO
FATHER: I wish to Heaven you wouldn't talk about matters you don't know a thing about!	
VINNIE: I do too know about them. Miss Gullick says every intelligent woman should have some opinion --	
FATHER: Who, may I ask, is Miss Gullick?	
VINNIE: Why, she's that current-events woman I told you about and the tickets are a dollar every Tuesday.	
FATHER: Do you mean to tell me that a pack of idle-minded females pay a dollar apiece to hear another female gabble about the events of the day? Listen to me if you want to know anything about the events of the day!	
VINNIE: But you get so excited, Clare, and besides, Miss Gullick says that our President, whom you're always belittling prays to God for guidance and ----	

AUDIO	VIDEO
FATHER: Vinnie, what happened to that six dollars?	
VINNIE: What six dollars?	
FATHER: I gave you six dollars to buy a new coffee pot and now I find that you apparently got one at Lewis and Conger's and charged it. Here's their bill : "One coffee pot -- five dollars."	
VINNIE: So you owe me a dollar and you can hand it right over.	
FATHER: I'll do nothing of the kind! What did you do with that six dollars?	
VINNIE: Why, Clare, I can't tell you now, dear. Why didn't you ask me at the time?	
FATHER: Oh, my Lord!	
VINNIE: Wait a moment! I spent four dollars and a half for that new umbrella I told you I wanted and you said I didn't need, but I did, very much.	

AUDIO	VIDEO
FATHER: Now, we're getting somewhere. One umbrella -- four dollars and a half.	
VINNIE: And that must have been the week I paid Mrs. Tobin for two extra days washing.	
FATHER: Mrs. Tobin.	
VINNIE: So that was two dollars more.	
FATHER: Two dollars.	
VINNIE: That makes six dollars and fifty cents. And that's another fifty cents you owe me.	
FATHER: I don't owe you anything. What you owe me is an explanation of where my money's gone! We're going over this account book item by item.	
VINNIE: I don't know what you expect of me. I tire myself out chasing up and down those stairs all day long -- trying to look after your comfort -- to bring up your children --	

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO	VIDEO
VINNIE: (CONT'D) I do the mending and the marketing and as if that isn't enough you want me to be an expert bookkeeper, too.	
FATHER: Vinnie, I want to be reasonable; but can't you understand? Well, I suppose I'll just have to go on paying the bills and hoping there's enough money in the bank to meet them. But it's very discouraging.	
VINNIE: I'll try to do better, Clare.	
FATHER: That's all I'm asking. (SHE GOES TO HIM AND PUTS HER ARM AROUND HIS SHOULDER) Well, just now I've got to do something about these bills you've run up. I'm going downstairs.	
VINNIE: Not before you give me that dollar and a half!	

AUDIO	VIDEO
FATHER: What dollar and a half?	
VINNIE: The dollar and a half you owe me?	
FATHER: I don't owe you any dollar and a half. I gave you money to buy a coffee pot for me and somehow it turned into an unbrella for you.	
VINNIE: Clarence Day, what kind of a man are you? Quibbling about a dollar and a half when your immortal soul is in danger? And what's more ---	
FATHER: All right. All right. All right. (HE TAKES THE DOLLAR AND A HALF FROM HIS CHANGE PURSE AND GIVES IT TO HER)	
VINNIE: Thank you, Clare. Now the accounts are straight.	
(A P P L A U S E)	

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW: (on camera)

We turn ~~ed~~ the corner into the new century rather easily, ~~but the forces that make history were crowding us.~~ We had started to build a great Navy and Teddy Roosevelt was using it as a Big Stick. We were venturing out into the big world, whether we liked it or not. FILM

~~We had colonies now: Hawaii, and the Philippines.~~

The Wright Brothers got their little biplane in the air -- and in that very instant the world began to shrink. We were building the Panama Canal, joining the oceans --

~~And forces from outside were about to change our lives.~~

~~FILM:~~

Meanwhile, to strengthen himself to meet the problems of his times, the Great American Male embodied by Mr. Wally Cox. went on trying to improve his physique.

(WALLY COX EXERCISES) (8G)

(W. COX MUSCLE BLDG) (ST. SLIDE)

AUDIO | VIDEO

COX:

Thirty days ago I was a skinny, miserable weakling. Isn't it amazing? I hate to seem immodest, but just look at me. Before I bought this book, I had no physique at all. Anybody could push me around. But look at me now. I'm sort of big now, aren't I? Anybody want to tussle? You'd think twice, wouldn't you? Now I have more zip than ever before. More dash, too. Feel that bicep....(FEELS IT) Wow! That didn't used to be there. They'll think twice before they bully me now.

(BIG HOOD ENTER, LOOK, EXIT)

Well, I'm not half-way through the book yet.

(A P P L A U S E)

— Ollie + Kukla (get copy)

MARTIN:

There wasn't any such thing as the Great American Female. The big question was: ARE WOMEN PEOPLE? When we look at them now, it's a little hard to decide... under the fuss and feathers beat the heart of rebellion. (CONTINUED)

AUDIO | VIDEO

MARTIN: (CONT'D)

They were beginning to go to work and some daring creatures were bicycling and playing an upsy-daisy kind of tennis, but a polite social evening was spent looking into the stereoptican, with slides -- like this -- (PICKS IT UP)

AUDIO | VIDEO

OLLIE: (SG)

(PICKS UP STEREOSCOPE, LOOKS THRU---

(SLIDES)

1. NIAGARA
2. ANNA HELD
3. BEEF TRUST GIRLS
4. OCEAN

OLLIE: (SINGS)

By the sea
By the sea
By the beautiful sea
You and me
You and me

KUKLA:

Bet there have been lots of changes in the bathing since 1903.

OLLIE:

I don't remember myself but my mother told me all about it. Now, 1903 was known as the Age of Modesty.

AUDIO	VIDEO
NARRATOR:	(1903)((6
	((
	((2
	(
	((4
	((
	((4
	(
	(8
	(
	(8
	-
	(8
	(
	(8
	(
	(8
	(
	(8
	(8
	(
	(8
	(
	(8
	(
	(8
	-
	4
	-
	(1923)(8
	(
	((6
	((
	((2
	(
	(8
	(
	(8

The bathing suit of the thirties was sort of a transition period so we don't have to dwell on it.

Thank you.

AUDIO			VIDEO
		4	
		-	
NARRATOR:	(1940)		
		(8	
		(	
		(8	
		(	
		(8	
		(	
		(8	
		16	
		16	
		16	
		16	
		-	
		4	
	(FINALE)	(8	
		(	
		(8	
		(	
		(8	
		(	
		(8	
		(8	
		(	
		(8	
		(	
		(8	
		(	
		(4	
		(	
		(4	

"By the sea, by the beautiful sea....."

(A P P L A U S E)

AUDIO VIDEO

HAMMERSTEIN:

A very fine writer -- Thornton Wilder -- wrote a play about a small town in the early 1900's -- "OUR TOWN." It's a rather unusual play -- no scenery. Starts with a Stage Manager who kind of explains things to the audience. Y'know, when I was younger, I was a Stage Manager. So maybe it won't be so difficult to play the part. (OPENS BOOK) Except for a few local references, it might have taken place anywhere in this country.

That'll be me.

The scene we're showing you starts on top of a hill, in a cemetery.

AUDIO | VIDEO

HAMMERSTEIN:

A while back, a very fine writer Thornton Wilder wrote a very beautiful play about another aspect of the 1900's. "OUR TOWN" interests itself in the people in the small towns. It's a rather unusual play --- no scenery. Starts with a Stage Manager who kind of explains things to the audience. Y'know, when I was younger, I was a Stage Manager.

So maybe it won't be so difficult to play the part.

(OPENS BOOKS);

Here's the play, "Our Town."

Mr. Wilder writes:

The scene we are going to show you takes place about 1913, but except for the ways of speech and a few local references, it might have taken place anytime. This scene starts on top of a hill, in a cemetery. (CONTINUED)

AUDIO | VIDEO

HAMMERSTEIN: (CONT'D)

Some folks who have been up there for several years are talking about a girl named Emily, who is about to join them. Some of them remember Emily's wedding a few years ago — a lovely wedding they say it was. Then ~~suddenly~~ slowly she appears among them. ~~She comes slowly, gazing wonderingly at the dead... a little dazed~~.

Pat

EMILY:

Oh, I wish I'd been here a long time. I don't like being new here.

It's true, that I can go back there and live there again?

STAGE MANAGER:

Yes, some have tried — but they soon come back here. It won't be what you think it'll be. You not only live it but you watch yourself living it. ~~And as you watch it you see the thing that they — down there — never know. You see the future.~~ And You know what's going to happen afterward.

AUDIO	VIDEO
EMILY:	
But it's a thing I must know for myself.	
STAGE MANAGER:	
Choose the least important day in your life. It still will be important enough.	
EMILY:	
I choose my twelfth birthday.	
STAGE MANAGER:	
Do you want any special time of day?	
EMILY:	
Oh, I want the whole day.	
STAGE MANAGER:	
We'll begin at dawn. The sun's coming up.	
EMILY:	
There's Main Street.... Why, that's Mr. Morgan's drugstore before he changed it... And there's the livery stable. And look, there's the old white fence that used to be around our house. (CONTINUED)	

	AUDIO	VIDEO
EMILY: (Cont'd)	Oh, I'd forgotten that! Oh, I love it so! Are <u>they</u> inside?	
STAGE-MGR:	Yes, your mother'll be coming downstairs in a minute to make breakfast.	
EMILY:	Will she?	
STAGE-MGR:	And you remember: your father had been away for several days; he came back on the early morning train.	
MRS. WEBB:	Emily! .... Time to get up.	
EMILY:	Mama, here I am! Oh! How young Mama looks! I didn't know Mama was ever that young. Oh! Mama, I can't find my blue hair ribbon anywhere.	
MRS. WEBB:	Just open your eyes, dear, that's all. I laid it out for you special — on the dresser, there. I~~f it were a snake it would bite you~~.	

AUDIO		VIDEO
EMILY:	Yes, yes ... (WHISPERS) Papa.	
MR. WEBB:	(ENTERING) Good morning, Mother.	
MRS. WEBB:	How did it go, Charles?	
MR. WEBB:	Oh, fine, I guess. I told'm a few things.	
~~MRS. WEBB:~~	~~Did you sit up on the train all night?~~	
MR. WEBB:	~~Yes. Never could sleep on a Pullman anyway.~~ Everything all right here?	
MRS. WEBB:	Yes — can't think of anything that's happened, special. (MR. WEBB STARTS UPSTAIRS) Charles! Don't forget; it's Emily's birthday. Did you remember to get her something?	
MR. WEBB:	Yes, I've got something here.	
MRS. WEBB:	Goodness sakes! I hope she likes what I got for her. I hunted hard enough for it. Emily! Hurry up! Hurry up!	

	AUDIO	VIDEO
MR. WEBB:	Where's my girl? Where's my birthday girl? (EXITS LEFT)	
EMILY:	~~I can't bear it.~~ They're so young and beautiful. Why did they ever have to get old? Mama, I'm here. I'm grown up. I love you all, everything — I can't look at everything hard enough. Good morning, Mama.	
MRS. WEBB:	Well, now, dear, a very happy birthday to my girl and many happy returns. There are some surprises waiting for you on the kitchen table.	
EMILY:	Oh, Mama, you shouldn't have. ~~I can't — I can't.~~	
MRS. WEBB:	But birthday or no birthday, I want you to eat your breakfast good and slow. I want you to grow up and be a good strong girl.	

AUDIO		VIDEO
EMILY:	Oh, Mama, just look at me one minute as though you really saw me. Mama, fourteen years have gone by. I'm dead. But, just for a moment now, we're together. Mama, just for a moment we're happy. Let's look at one another.	
MRS. WEBB:	That in the yellow paper is something I found in the attic among your grandmother's things. ~~You're old enough to wear it now, and I thought you'd like it.~~	
EMILY:	~~And this is from you.~~ Why, Mama, it's just lovely and it's just what I wanted. It's beautiful!	
MRS. WEBB:	Well, I hoped you'd like it. ~~Hunted all over.~~ Your father has a surprise for you, too; don't know what it is myself. Sh--- here he comes.	

	AUDIO	VIDEO
MR. WEBB:	(OFF STAGE) Where's my girl? Where's my birthday girl?	
EMILY:	I can't. I can't ~~go on.~~ Oh! Oh! It goes so fast. We don't have time to look at one another. I didn't realize. So all that was going on and we never noticed. Take me back -- up the hill -- to my grave. But first: Wait! One more look. Good-by, good-by, world. Good-by, Grover's Corners ... Mama and Papa. Good-by to clocks ticking ... and my butternut tree. And food and coffee. And new- ironed dresses and hot baths ... and sleeping and waking up. Oh, earth, you're too wonderful for anybody to realize you. (SHE LOOKS TOWARD THE STAGE MANAGER) Do any human beings ever realize life while they live it? -- every, every minute?	

AUDIO	VIDEO
STAGE-MGR: No. (P A U S E).	
The saints and poets,	
maybe -- they do some.	
EMILY: I'm ready to go back.	

AUDIO | VIDEO

STAGE-MGR:

Now she knows. Now she knows what it is to be alive, to spend and waste time as though you had a million years. The dead don't stay interested in us living people for very long. ~~They slowly get indifferent to what's going on in Grover's Corners. They're waitin'.~~ They're waitin' ~~for something that they feel is comin', something important and great. Aren't they waitin'~~ for the eternal part of them to come out clear? I don't care what people say with their mouths -- everybody knows that <u>something</u> is eternal, ~~and it ain't houses and it ain't names and it ain't earth and it ain't houses and it ain't even the stars ...~~ Everybody knows in their bones that something is eternal, and that something has to do with human beings. All the greatest people that ever lived have been telling us that for five thousand years, and yet you'd be surprised how people are always losing hold of it. There's something way down deep that's eternal about every human being.

(A P P L A U S E)

AUDIO	VIDEO
MURROW: On camera And so the ~~great~~ current of our life flowed on—— Changing -- in things that we didn't notice at the time. But a big change came with the funny-looking old Model T.	

THERE'S NOTHING LIKE A MODEL T

AUDIO | VIDEO

OLLIE: (CONT'D)

I don't mean to knock those
  awful Stanley Steamers
But they're sold to folks who
  must be strictly dreamers
Give the Model "T" a try;
You'll surely love her
  and here's why:
There's nothing like a Model "T
Get in one and you'll agree
There's not a car that can
  touch her for comfort
  and style
Go for a ride; you will say
  it beats walking a mile
Clink, clank,
If she won't crank,
Give her a spank.
There's nothing like a
  Model "T"
For the av'rage family
It has a klaxon that makes
  such a beautiful sound
Give it a honk, hear the
  echo for miles all around

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO VIDEO

CHORUS: Open up, open up, giver her gas
Pull aside, pull aside, let ¢er pass.
Gosh all sakes alive,
Bet they're doing twenty-five
OLLIE: miles an hour!
CHORUS: In your future, wait and see
You will find a Model "T"
And, by the way, if you
haven't acquired one yet
Go out and put in your order
They're easy to get
They're swell and they all sell
Practic'ly free
There's nothing like a Model "T"

(8 BARS)

There's nothing like a Model "T"
For the average family -
And, by the way, if you
Haven't acquired one yet
Go on and put in your order,
They're easy to get.
They're swell -
and they all sell
Practic'ly free
There's nothing like
A Model "T".

	AUDIO	VIDEO
MODEL T		
	Let the trolley car clang	
CHORUS:	Clang clang	
	Went the trolley	
	Let the steamer too too	
CHORUS:	Too too	
	Went the steamer	
	Let 'em roar	
	Let em bang	
	What is more	
	Let 'em hang	
	As for me	
	Honk Honk	
	Beep Beep	
	Ahoooga	
	I'll take that marvelous Model T	
	Rau rau rau rawn	
	(A P P L A U S E)	

AUDIO	VIDEO
MURROW:	
But the Model T wasn't the only car, of course. Remember the Marmon? And the Pierce-Arrow? And the Maxwell? And the Stutz Bearcat? And the wonderful, wonderful different honks of their horns?	
The old "T" has been accused of a lot of things, but it was the first car that was ever built for the average pocketbook.	

AUDIO 1' 9" film VIDEO

MURROW:

Henry Ford realized that if he produced cars for less money he could sell them to more people and if he paid his workers more they could buy more cars. The question was how to do it. The answer came in two words: assembly line. You brought the pieces to the man and the man was paid $5.00 a day -- half that was good pay before -- skilled labor poured into Detroit, from a town it became a great city -- and out of the city came a new and cheap method of transportation -- the nation became mobile. Those two words, "assembly line," gave us two other words -- "mass production" -- less expensive goods so that more could buy.

The music of the time didn't stem from the blacksmith shop or the assembly line, but it rolled across the country from New Orleans and Memphis -- mostly we called it jazz and it was in the Dixieland style.

AUDIO	VIDEO
MURROW:	
If you pay attention to our songs and our science you will note that immigrants have enriched both. About this time a young immigrant by the name of Irving Berlin wrote a song that became an item for export.	
Merman Singing	

AUDIO VIDEO

ALEXANDER'S RAGTIME BAND -- Merman

Chorus: Come on and hear, come on
and hear
Alexander's Ragtime Band.
Come on and hear, come on
and hear
It's the best band in the land,
They can play a bugle call
like you never heard before
So natural that you want to go
to war;
That's just the bestest band
what am, honey lamb,
Come on along, come on along,
Let me take you by the hand,
Up to the man, up to the man
Who's the leader of the band,
And if you care to hear the
Swanee River played in ragtime
Come on and hear, come on
and hear
Alexander's Ragtime Band.

VERSE: Oh, ma honey, oh ma honey
Better hurry and let's meander
Ain't you goin', ain't you goin'
To the leador man, ragged meter man?
Oh, ma honey, oh ma honey,

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO | VIDEO

VERSE: (CONT'D)

Let me take you to Alexander's
grand stand, brass band
Ain't you comin' along?

CHORUS: Come on and hear, come on
and hear
Alexander's Ragtime Band.
Come on and hear, come on
and hear
It's the best band in the land,
They can play a bugle call
like you never heard before
So natural that you want to go
to war;
That's just the bestest band
what am, honey lamb,
Come on along, come on along,
Let me take you by the hand,
Up to the man, up to the man
Who's the leader of the band,
And if you care to hear the
Swanee River played in ragtime
Come on and hear, come on
and hear
Alexander's Ragtime Band.

AUDIO | VIDEO

HAMMERSTEIN:

In 1913, a couple of years after that song was written, I travelled through Europe with two other boys - - all of us about 17. Our ignorance of international problems was stupendous. We talked about the German Army, the British Navy as though they were a couple of football teams. ~~We didn't know much about the issues involved, or the people.~~ Oh, we had heard about the Kaiser and the Czar, but the name of Lenin meant nothing to us. Trotsky and Stalin were unknown. I am afraid we were too interested in ourselves to understand Sir Edward Grey when he said "The lights are going out all over Europe never to come on again in our lifetime." At home when the lights went out it was because we'd gone to bed early or because we'd gone out -- gone down town to get the thrill of our lives at the movies.

(LEADIN TO MOVIES)

("A FOOL THERE WAS")

HAMMERSTEIN:

Imagine trying to scare Theda Bara with apistol.

("TILLIE'S PUNCTURED ROMANCE")

HAMMERSTEIN:

The little one's Charlie Chaplin -- the big one is Marie Dressler.

("BITH OF ANATION")

HAMMERSTEIN:

We used to think Plainsmen were heroes. Maybe we are getting smart.

(VALENTINO)

HAMMERSTEIN:

Imagine him today in 3-D. It would be almost too much for the girls to stand.

AUDIO	VIDEO
(M O V I E S)	
1. NEW YORK HAT	
2. A FOOL THERE WAS	
3. TILLIE'S PUNCTURED ROMANCE	
4. HIS NIGHT OUT	
5. BIRTH OF A NATION	
6. VALENTINO	

AUDIO VIDEO

MURROW:

We all hoped and most of us believed the rest of the world wouldn't bother us.

We went into the First World War with joy and singing. We entered the Second one with more grimness and no singing. There were other differences, too.

(BEGINNING SHOTS OF AIR TYPES IN FIRST WORLD WAR INTO SECOND WITH CONTRAST OF AIRCRAFT)

MURROW:

This is for those of you who remember:

(INTO ETHEL MERMAN SINGING "HINKY-DINKY PARLEZ-VOUS")

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW:

Of course, we're not trying to say that this country was only interested in the movies at this time. But primarily we were interested in our own pursuits. We were making money producing goods for European countries at war and our own feeling about the war was substantially isolationist. In fact, Woodrow Wilson won his election in 1916 on the slogan: "He kept us out of War."

(PAUSE)

It took two years after the sinking of the Lusitania for President Wilson to declare war against Germany.

(NEWSPAPER "LUSITANIA SUNK")

MURROW:

In 1917 in spite of the tragic realities there was a spirit of adventure, almost gaiety. All we had to do was lick the Kaiser and the world would be safe for the rest of us.

(GAY PARADE)

MURROW:

Quite a difference between the attitude and events then and what took place after this.

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW:

In the morning of that day we were divided and debating -- by mid-afternoon we were agreed and determined -- there were none of the parades or flags of 1917, only a feeling of shock and anger. We didn't know how badly we had been hurt with the first blow, but we sensed that this war would be different. We would have to fight it on every ocean that would carry a ship. If we were to win controo of hostile skies American planes would have to do it, and in World War I not a single American-built plane was ever flown in combat.

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO VIDEO

MURROW: (CONT'D)

The last time, the United States was the arsenal of the free world. In 1917, an air battle was a show, a display of skill and gallantry, a remnant of the Medieval tournament, a contest between two airborne gladiators. In World War II, for the first time since he'd been placed on earth, men looked up into the heavens and had cause to be afraid.

For America, World War II was war as it actually is: deadly and awful. For the bulk of Americans in 1918, that war was almost as wars should be in romantic novels: parades, unfurled banners, songs that will never be forgotten. We didn't have a song the last time that really took hold. They had a dozen, the best of which was --

AUDIO | VIDEO

HINKY-DINKY PARLEZ-VOUS (MERMAN & 4 BOYS)

The Mademoiselle from Armentieres --
Parlez-Vous
The mademoiselle from Armentieres --
Parlez-Vous
The mademoiselle from Armentieres
Hasn't been hugged in forty years,
Hinky dinky parlez-vous.

The first marine went over the top --
Parlez-Vous
The second marine went over the top
Parlez-Vous
The third marine went over the top
Because they had no place to stop
Hinky dinky parlez vous.

The Eiffle Tower was quite a view -
Parlez-Vous
The Eiffle Tower was quite a view
Parlez-Vous
The Eiffle Tower was quite a view
But when she saw me she said, Woo Woo
Hinky Dinky Parlez-Vous.

The Colonel got the Croix de Guerre
Parlez-Vous
The Colonel got the Croix de Guerre
Parlez-Vous
The Colonel got the Croix de Guerre
The son of a gun was never there
Hinky dinky parlez-vous.

AUDIO VIDEO

HINKY DINKY PARLEZ-VOUS (CONT'D)

The day we sailed away from Brest

Parlez-Vous

The day we sailed away from Brest

Parlez-Vous

The day we sailed away from Brest

We said goodbye and thought the rest

Hinky dinky parlez-vous.

Mademoiselle from Armentieres

Parlez-Vous

Mademoiselle from Armentieres

Parlez-Vous

She brushed her teeth and put on her hair

To show the colonel's savoir faire

Hinky dinky parlez-vous

(A P P L A U S E)

AUDIO	VIDEO
HAMMERSTEIN:	
Oscar Hammerstein, again. I'd like to touch on -- what the boys came home to. It was women -- as usual. Let's examine a member of the female species.	
(INTO MARY MARTIN IN "THE SHAPE")	— go to p. 47
(ALTERNATE: Begin with Ollie instead of Hammerstein)	

AUDIO | VIDEO

HAMMERSTEIN:

"Oscar Hammerstein, again." I'd like to touch on — what the boys came home to. The first change was obvious. Almost as they left the gangplank. No beer, no wine, no whiskey. What closed the saloons, what sent rivers of bourbon into the gutter, what broke the brewer's barrels? The 19th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States; prohibition. Beer was denatured one half of one per cent. Wine became grape juice and whiskey was obtaintable only at drugstores — by doctor's prescription.

What else did they come home to? Trouble and unemployment.

To dramatize this situation of the working man, men were sold at auction each noon in Boston Commons.

Do you remember this?

(SHOW KU KLUX KLAN PARADE)

AUDIO | VIDEO

HAMMERSTEIN:

But almost worst of all, women had begun to assert themselves. First they marched. This kind of parade was almost equally ominous to most men, and pretty soon women had the vote. Today they have sixty-five per cent of the vote and seventy per cent of the money.

OLLIE:

Seventy per cent of the money?

HAMMERSTEIN:

Yes.

OLLIE: (TO KUKLA)

This is getting very serious. Last year, over a billion dollars was spent in the United States on cosmetics for women, and over _____ was spent by women on apparel.

KUKLA:

Let us examine this specimen coping with this enormous problem she has.

(INTO THE SHAPE)

AUDIO VIDEO

SHAPE - Mary Martin, Narrators:

MAN: The dilemma of American women!

(MUSIC: (STING)

MAN: What to do with their shapes!

MUSIC: (STING)

MAN: Each year, fashion keeps pushing the figure around and changing the emphasis!

(MUSIC: (STING)

MAN: Our women face constant style change ... is it in? Are they out? Is it up? ... or is it down ... OR do you have them at all?

MUSIC: (STING)

WOMAN: Contour delinquency, a major problem of the 20th Century, often results in severe schizophrenic disorders.

WOMAN: No American female wants to look like yesterday's rose, now does she? No! She must keep up with the latest fashions.

(1903)

WOMAN: Dame Modish decrees that Milady should wear a corset that laces her into an hour-glass silhouette ...

AUDIO | VIDEO

WOMAN: (CONT'D)

skirts must sweep the floor and never, never reveal the limbs ... Milady must achieve the Grecian Bend ... Arch the back! Drop the shoulders! And bosom forward for balance! That's rather good. Now add a dashing hat to enhance madame's crowning glory -- and finally, a feather boa to caress your alabaster neck. Quite ravishing! Ah, Fashion, that fickle jade, has finally found a way to glorify the natural female figure.

MAN: 1914!

MUSIC: (STING)

WOMAN: Madame! The undulating torso is fini!

MUSIC: (STING)

WOMAN: Tout a fait fini!

MUSIC: (STING)

WOMAN: The newest Paris corset is a straight tube from the bosom well down. No more full skirts! We now have an overdrape to emphasize the roundness of the hips and voila! The Hobbleskirt!

AUDIO	VIDEO
MARY: (DOES FIVE HOPS)	
WOMAN: Bon. Now, lower the neckline, a daring three inches to admit the fresh air. Add Madame's elegant chapeau ... ravissant! And a long-handled parasol for final eclat. This season the one-legged look is the dernier cri. Madame does not walk ... she minces! What's the matter ... can't sit, ah! Then you are completely comme il faut. Comme - il - faut.	
MARY: (MUGGS)	
MAN: 1925!	
MUSIC: (STING)	
MAN: Hey! Hey! Bay-bee ... if you want to be the cat's meow, get out of those rags.	
MUSIC: (STING)	
MAN: Women have the vote, can't you read?	
(MUSIC: (VAMP)	
MAN: Take off that skirt, if you want to be an "IT" girl. The hem goes up, the belt comes down.	

AUDIO	VIDEO
MAN: Now blowse your jumper, Kiddo! ... identify your waistline. We don't have chests, for crying out loud. We bare our shoulders in a snazzy bateau neckline. We don a cloche to make deep shadow-y pools of our eyes, don't we? (PAUSE)	
MARY: (NODS)	
MAN: To relieve any starkness, a simple strand of pearls -- very snappy.	
MARY: (DOES CHARLESTON)	
WOMAN: At last fashion has found its groove. These clothes are so youthful and becoming to every figure that women will never, never give them up. Free from corseted conventions ... It is now chic to smoke ... even in public.	
MARY: (DOES LONG DRAG & COUGHS)	
WOMEN: The modern cult is one of complete naturalness.	
MAN: 1937	
MUSIC: (STING)	
WOMAN: Good Heavens! What are you doing in that get-up. The boyish	

AUDIO | VIDEO

WOMAN: CONT'D)

flapper is dead ... and we're all going to be very pretty this season. NOW ---

MARY: (NODS HAPPILY)

MUSIC:

WOMAN: Up with the waistline ... what's the matter, can't you FIND your waistline. Down with the hem-line! Where are your shoulder-pads? This year it is smart to be the broadshouldered, healthy, independent vital American girl ... Like Joan Crawford. We slash our skirts ... to give a tantalizing glimpse of the knee.

MARY: (WORKS KNEE)

WOMAN: We must be provocative. As a nonchalant note ... twist a turban around your curls ... for a most exotic -- YOU. And here we are. Above all, we have lip allure.

MARY: (DOES CLARA BOW LIP)

WOMAN: No, no dear, we have WIDE LIPS.

MARY: (LIP SWITCH)

AUDIO	VIDEO
WOMAN: No dear, our lips are delicious this year. Gowns do justice now to the freedom loving casual American woman bringing out her natural abandon.	
MAN: 1953!	
WOMAN: Freedom is the note ... the emancipated clear-eyed, American career girl, has finally freed herself from the slave of fashion. Nowadays one basic dress, with proper accessories, of course, will take her calmly through the whirl of her busy day and on into the glamour of the night... (PAUSE) She seizes her cape and it's off to the office -- ah, it's lunch time! The clean lines of our basic little dress are softened by a cape, swathed over the shoulders, in a leisurely manner. Ah, Cocktail Time! After the day's accomplishment! The neckline plunges low, low -- a big aloof hat gives our dynamic career girl an elusive quality.	

AUDIO | VIDEO

WOMAN: (CONT'D)

Ah! Theatre time! But no need to change the costume. The alabaster shoulders emerge, in all their fragile, trusting clinging charm. The hat - pouf! A mere pom pom. Our career girl returns home, fresh and eager for adventure as when she started forth.

MAN: The American women faces tomorrow unafraid welcoming the next day's challenges, well knowing that she has defeated contour delinquency. Dauntless she faces the future, shoulder to shoulder with men in their basic Brooks Brothers suits, knowing that she too, is simple, basic -- and in wonderful shape!

Shape marches on!

AUDIO | VIDEO

HAMMERSTEIN:

Although none of us realized it, what was taking place in the early 20's was the post-war economic readjustment period. Once that readjustment had been accomplished we began the wildest, most thoughtless, and most colorful decade America has ever seen; the Twenties. "How You Gonna Keep Them Down on the Farm, After They've Seen Paree?" was not only the title of a song it was also a national problem. The boys who came home brought with them a sense of excitement and exhiliration. The rest of the country picked it up. The outlet for all this energy was the hero -- primarily the athletic champion.

Ollie + Ruckla to do all film of '20's. film runs 44"

A ballplayer; Babe Ruth.
A channel swimmer; Gertrude Ederle.
A golfer; Bobby Jones.
A couple of prizefighters; Dempsey; Tunney.
These were the individuals who are lifted to the glory of the ticker-tape. Ticker-tape parades and autograph hounds. Of course they weren't all athletes.

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO	VIDEO
HAMMERSTEIN: (CONT'D)	
A pair of movie queens; Pearl White,	
Gloria Swanson.	
A much-married chorus girl;	
Peggy Hopkins Joyce.	
Paderewski of Poland; a pianist.	
But no one caught the spirit or the	
adoration of the Twenties like the	
son of a Minnesota Congressman. The	
return of "Lucky Lindy" and the Spirit	
of St. Louis was the high-water mark of	
the era. God was in his heaven, the	
stock market was going up, all seemed	
right with the world.	

AUDIO | VIDEO

COX:

I used to be a wall flower at parties like this, 'til I sent away for ukelele lessons.(HOLDS UP BOOK) Now I'm the life of the party. Everybody wants to know me. They all wonder who's in the corner playing the ukulele. Well, it's me. (TAKES OUT UKE) I could play "Down by the Old Mill Stream" and make the girls cry, but I'll play something that will attract everybody. Watch. (PLAYS AND SINGS "HOME ON THE RANGE")

(LARGE MAN ENTERS EATING APPLE, STARES AT COX)

LARGE MAN:

Whatcha playin, "Home on the Range"? (COX NODS) I thought so. (EXITS)

COX:

Well, I'm not half way through the book yet.

(A P P L A U S E)

AUDIO | VIDEO

HAMMERSTEIN:

Undoubtedly, the greatest influence on what women wore as well as how she spoke, acted, and often thought came from the motion pictures.

When John Gilbert kissed Greta Garbo the technique of romance suddenly became an acceptable topic of conversation for mixed company — to say nothing of a feat to be imitated in a rumble seat.

Along about this time, Hollywood made a discovery. "The Covered Wagon" a saga of American pioneer life was almost as good as romance — at least at the box office. And from that day until this, immediately after -- boy meets girl — comes the cowboys and Indians -- on film.

On the evening of October 6th, 1927, the revolution occurred. Al Jolson in "The Jazz Singer". His lips not only moved but — you could hear him. And over night — the "movies" became the "talkies".

The arrival of sound put an end to vaudeville. Mercifully, the curtain dropped on such acts as this.

AUDIO	VIDEO
HOW'S YOUR FOLKS AND MY FOLKS -- MERMAN & MARTIN	
1. ANNOUNCEMENT & FORMAT OF OPENING TO VAUDEVILLE	
2. (CARD)	
3. (END OF ACT)	
4. (FLOURISH & BOW)	
5. (EXITS & CURTAIN)	
6. (NEW CARD DROPS)	
7. (MERMAN & MARTIN ENTER)	

AUDIO - VIDEO - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

HOW'S YOUR FOLKS AND MY FOLKS -- Martin, Merman

MUSIC: 4 BAR VAMP

(DIALOGUE)

MARY: Hullo, Ernest, how are you?

ETHEL: Oh, fine, Bill - How are you?

MARY: Well, well -- I'm glad to see you.

ETHEL: Just got back today, Bill.

MARY: So did I just get back today, Ernest.

ETHEL: Yeh?

MARY: You're quite a wanderer, aren't you?

ETHEL: Yes, Bill -- I've wandered all over the world.

MARY: Yes, well you can wander all over the world, Ernest, but you have to go to Italy to roam.

ETHEL: (LAUGHS) All right, Dave -- let's sing a little song. That's a good idea.

MUSIC: 4 BAR VAMP

ETHEL: I'm a Dixie roamin' soul
Roamin' 'round all alone

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO _____ VIDEO _____

HOW'S YOUR FOLKS - Page 2

MARY: You've learned a lot
But what have you got?

ETHEL: Nothin' worth calling my own.
I hear that you returned from
home today.

MARY: I often wonder why you went
away.

ETHEL: I say, Bill -- how's your
folks and my folks
Down in Norfolk town

MARY: Not one word have they heard
Since you've been knocking
around

ETHEL: How's dear old Dad and Mother
And all the family
How's little Sis and Brother
Do they ever talk about me

MARY: Your old gal, your old pal
The one you left behind
Now I've found
You're always on her mind

ETHEL: I'm just an old black sheep
And I'll get no sleep
'Til I'm Virginia bound

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO _____ VIDEO _____

HOW'S YOUR FOLKS - Page 3

BOTH: To your folks and my folks
Down in Norfolk Town.

(DIALOGUE)

ETHEL: Say, Bill, you know it's been a long time since I was home.

MARY: Yes, it has.

ETHEL: How time does fly.

MARY: Yes, it does.

ETHEL: What makes time fly?

MARY: Well, I don't know unless it can be the spur of the moment. (LAUGHS)

ETHEL: You will have your little jokes, won't you.

MARY: Yes, I will. You know when I was taking the train back home from Norfolk last night, I asked the trainman where the train went that I saw ... and he said -- "That train goes to New York in ten minutes."

ETHEL: Ten minutes. MMMMMMMM.

MARY: Pretty fast train, so I took it. (LAUGHS)

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO - VIDEO - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

HOW'S YOUR FOLKS - Page 4

ETHEL: You know, talking about trains, Bill....

MUSIC: (SNEAK IN UNDER---)

ETHEL:	MARY:
I know when the L & N	Carry me
Is leavin in the evening	Back
But it's bound for	To old
Louisville	Virginia
And I know the B & O	That's where
	the
Is bound to go	Cotton and
To Baltimo and	The
Down to Jacksonville	Corn and taters
	grow
And they say that	That's where
Every day the Santa Fe	The birds
Is on its way out to	Warble sweet
The Golden Date	In the spring-
	time
But these three	That's
Don't worry me	Where my
The only place	Heart
I want to be	Is
I might as well confess	Longing to go

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO - VIDEO - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

HOW'S YOUR FOLKS - Page 5

BOTH: I'm just an old black sheep
And I'll get no sleep
'Till I'm Virginia Bound
To your folks and my folks
Down in Norfolk Town.
Down in Norfolk Town
Down in Norfolk Town
Down in Norfolk Town

(CUTOFF & SCRATCH)

LIVE: DOWN IN NORFOLK TOWN

(CURTAIN CALLS)

(A P P L A U S E)

AUDIO | VIDEO

FREAKS OF THE "20's" - OLLIE

AUDIO	VIDEO
LEAD TO CHARLESTON BALLET - OLLIE	

AUDIO		VIDEO
CHARLESTON BALLET		
X) Vamp	4	
A) Cop	6	
	5	
B) Flappers	17	
	8	
C)	3	
	1 "Hotcha"	
	3	
	1 "Whoopee"	
D)	8	
E)	6	
	2	
F) Rich Couple	8	
G)	5	
	2	

AUDIO		VIDEO
H) Nervous girl	4	
	4	
	6	
I) Collegiate couple	4	
	4	
J)	2	
	2	
	2	
	2	
K)	6	
	2	
L)	2	
	2	
	4	
M) Gangsters	6	
	4	
N)	2	
Cop	4	

AUDIO		VIDEO
O) Flappers re-enter	2	
	2	
	4	
P)	1	
"Mind your own beeswax"		
	1	
"Don't be an airdale"		
	1	
"So's your Aunt Tilly"		
	2	
Q) Teenagers	8	
R)	7	
"You're the cat's pajamas"		
S)	7	
"You're a red hot mama"		
T)	6	
	2	
	2	

	AUDIO	VIDEO
U)	Cop enters	3
		1 "Hotcha"
		2
		1 "Hotcha"
		2
		1 "Hotcha"
V)		5 ((2 ((3 (1 (1 (1
		SCREAM
W)		8
X)		9
Y)		8
		7 ((4 (((2 (1
		"WHOOPEE"
Z)		10
AA)	"Does she pet?"	

	AUDIO	VIDEO
	"You bet"	
	2	
	2	
	1	
	1	
	1	
	1	
BB)	1	
	"Charleston"	
	1	
	"Charleston"	
	"Whoopee"	
	4	
CC)	"WHEE" 4	
	2	
	6	
DD)	"WHOOPEE" 8	
EE)	8	
FF)	6	

	AUDIO	VIDEO
GG)	6	
HH)	14	
II) Exit	8	
JJ)	8	

CODA

~~MURROW:~~ Don Pardo

The Golden Twenties were fabulous indeed, but the big binge had to come to an end sometime.

(COUPLES GO BACK IN SPEAKEASY)

(BREAKAWAY FILM)

AUDIO VIDEO

MURROW: (10' lead-in to come.) 45" film

In 1930, there were 3 million unemployed. By 1933, there were 15 million. One out of every four farmers saw his land sold for taxes. 5,000 banks failed. Over 65,000,000 of you Americans weren't even born then. You have no idea of what it was like --

MUSIC: "HAPPY DAYS ARE HERE AGAIN"

MURROW:

That was the campaign song of our new President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. At his inauguration he said,

ROOSEVELT:

"There is nothing to fear but fear itself."

MURROW:

The new President came to be known merely by his initials, and he was much loved and much hated. Men who were willing could not work. The land seemed to have lost its promise.

Wait for film + 2 sigs

AUDIO VIDEO

MURROW:

In 1930, there were 3 million unemployed. By 1933, there were 15 million. One out of every four farmers saw his land sold for taxes. 5000 banks failed. Over 65,000,000 of you Americans weren't even born then. You have no idea of what it was like —

MUSIC: "HAPPY DAYS ARE HERE AGAIN"

MURROW:

That was the campaign song of our new President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. At his inauguration he said,

ROOSEVELT:

"There is nothing to fear but fear itself."

MURROW:

The first hundred days of the new deal were the most hectic a president had had to face since Abe Lincoln took office and found himself with a Civil War on his hands. The Washington alphabet which had started with President Hoover's RFC mushroomed to the point where the new President even became a trio of letters.

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW:

During the depression, jobs were scarce and hope was scarcer. The breadlines and souplines were manned by surly men who had known violence before. Most of us didn't understand what had happened, but whatever it was meant that people who were willing couldn't work. But a land of plenty had lost its promise. Someone had to do something, and we turned increasingly to the government — unemployment insurance — old-age pensions — the government and what it did became increasingly meaningful and important to the citizens — there began a great experiment in adult education. The citizen knew more and cared more about what his government did — the distance between Washington and Wyoming was narrowed — by magazines, newspapers, books, but most of all by a thing called radio. Mr. Roosevelt was the first to realize that he could use this gadget to persuade the voters to build a fire behind their Congressmen.

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO	VIDEO
MURROW: (CONT'D) About this time millions of us got our news each night from a man who still wears his microphone with ease — Mr. Lowell Thomas. . .	

AUDIO | VIDEO

LOWELL THOMAS:

And now, after all that news about the New Deal, let's go on to a story of heroism and romance. But alas, phony heroism and blighted romance.

A dispatch from Paris, today, tells about Georges Nicholas — who, in the war of the trenches, distinguished himself for heroism. In a night attack by the Germans, Georges was so brave that Marshall Foch, himself, decorated him with the Croix de Guerre, and made him a sergeant. His home town gave a great banquet in his honor.

After the war Georges settled down and married Mademoiselle Marie Rosel. They lived happily, Georges and Marie, until Georges began playing around with another woman. Marie sued him for divorce. Then it was that the strange story came out. That night, when he was supposed to have been so brave, Georges was not there. He was scared to death. He told his sweetheart Marie Rosel that he intended to desert.

(CONTINUED)

Thomas: Cut to 30 sec. news story on alphabet soup

AUDIO to be changed to 30" spot. VIDEO

LOWELL THOMAS: (CONT'D)

She, a regular Joan of Arc, hid him, put on his uniform, and went on outpost duty for him that night. It was she who, in the confusion of fighting, performed the deeds of heroism.

When all this came out at the divorce trial, the French authorities started investigating and found that Marie was telling the truth. So it was Mademoiselle from Armentieres (I mean, Mademoiselle Marie Rosel) who was the heroine.

But it was Georges who got the Croix de Guerre. And the son-of-a-gun was never there.

And so long until tomorrow.

That's how I'd end my nightly broadcast in those days, and ever since -- with something sprightly, if possible. After which the radio audience would get another program -- nothing solemn either. People used to say that, when I died, my epitaph would be:

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO	VIDEO
LOWELL THOMAS: (CONT'D)	
"Here lies Lowell Thomas,	
To whom millions of people listened	
While waiting for Amos and Andy"	
(A P P L A U S E)	

AUDIO VIDEO

BILL HAY:

Today the famous Madam Queen breach-of-promise trial looks like it is coming to an end. After six weeks in Court, the public is anxiously awaiting the outcome. As the scene opens now, we find Amos, Andy, the Kingfish and Brother Crawford talking in the Courtroom just before Andy is called to the stand for cross-examination by Madame Queen's attorney. Here they are: -

AUDIO	VIDEO
AMOS: Andy, don't git nervous now when you git on de stand.	
ANDY: Nervous? I'se so scared, I don't know what to do. Whut kin I say, Kingfish?	
KING: De main thing is, when de man asks you questions, just say you don't remember — ain't dat right, Brother Crawford.	
CRAW: I think that Andrew Brown is gotta pay the piper, and if he wins this case against Madam Queen, my wife is going to be very unhappy.	
JUDGE: Will the defendant, Andrew H. Brown, please take the witness stand, for cross examination.	
ANDY: Comin' up dere, you honor. Since dis case started, I got palsy of de legs.	

A U D I O | VIDEO

BAILIFF: Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you?

ANDY: Yessah.

ATTORNEY: Brown, as attorney for Madam Queen, I have some letters here written by you to this fair young creature which I have introduced as evidence as Exhibit A. In this one letter you asked her to marry you 16 different times. Will you tell me if you wrote this letter?

ANDY: Seems like I is, an' seems like I ain't, but it seems mo' like I ain't dan it do like I is.

ATTORNEY: Andrew Brown, you are evading the question. I want to know...

(WOMAN'S SCREAM)

ANDY: What done happened?

A U D I O	VIDEO
AMOS: Andy -- dat was Madam Queen dat screamed.	
KING: Look at her -- she's out cold.	
ANDY: Madam Queen is done fainted.	
(AD LIBS: Get some water -- give her some air -- she's keeled over -- etc. etc.)	
AMOS: Awah --- Awah --- Awah --- Awah.	
FADE OUT	
(A P P L A U S E)	

AUDIO	VIDEO
THOMAS:	
Not only did radio give entertainment and world events an audience of millions, it also helped evolve another phenomenon ... The crooner craze. Originally it started in the 20's with this man.	
VALLEE:	
"MY TIME IS YOUR TIME" (LAST 8 BARS)	

AUDIO	VIDEO
"STEIN SONG"	
(A P P L A U S E)	

AUDIO	VIDEO
THOMAS:	
and then in the 30's came Bing Crosby.	3
(RECORDING "WHEN THE BLUE OF THE NIGHT")	
(A P P L A U S E)	

AUDIO	VIDEO
THOMAS:	
--- In the 40's the craze continued with Frank Sinatra.	
(FILM: FRANK SINATRA)	
1. OLD BLACK MAGIC	
2. YOU GO TO MY HEAD	
	Approx. 45"
(A P P L A U S E)	

AUDIO | VIDEO

THOMAS:

And now the Ex-G.I. who is today's favorite ---

~~("WISH YOU WERE HERE")~~
"I'm Walking Behind You"

(A P P L A U S E)

AUDIO	VIDEO
THOMAS:	
It was a time of great bands, whose popularity was brought about by radio. Everybody wanted to dance. We learn how in different ways....	
(INTO WALLY COX DANCE)	

AUDIO | VIDEO

(WALLY COX — DANCE)

WALLY COX:

I'm learning to dance in six easy lessons. I'll be popular at parties. It's well worth the price, don't you think? People used to think I didn't dance because I didn't want to. I did want to. Everybody wants to. I just didn't know which foot came after which. So I got this book. It teaches you in six nights. One lesson after dinner — each night for a week and you get Sunday off. And it's so easy. All you have to do is follow the foot prints and arrows. If you can count up to three you can learn to waltz. I did that yesterday. Today's is harder. You have to count up to nine.

(FOOTPRINTS SPREAD FARTHER APART... HE STRADDLES THEM...)

There are still some flaws in my technique.

(A P P L A U S E)

AUDIO	VIDEO
OLLIE:	
Kuke, let's try to find out how we've always danced in this country.	
(INTO POPULAR DANCING)	

AUDIO - VIDEO -

POPULAR DANCING

A) THE WALTZ

16 (8
(4
(4

B) THE CASTLE WALK

22 (8
(8
(2
(2
(2

C) THE BLACK BOTTOM

14 (6
(2
(4
(2

D) THE SHAG

10 (4
(4
(2

AUDIO - VIDEO -

POPULAR DANCING - Page 2

E)

8 (4
(4

F) BOOGIE

22 (8
(8
(4
(2

G) LINDY

16 (2
(8
(6

H) 2

BOOGIE 2

SHAG 2

B.B. 2

CASTLE 2

I) WALTZ 2

2

2

AUDIO - VIDEO -

POPULAR DANCING - Page 3

J) 1

"You're not Jack"

2

BOOGIE 4

K) WALTZ

8

8

8

(A P P L A U S E)

AUDIO	VIDEO
HAMMERSTEIN:	
Popular dancing is a good reflection of the times. But for an accurate picture words are needed.	
In 50 years, who knows <u>how</u> many words were written and read in America? We've got a magazine or two with circulations almost twice the size of the entire population of Norway. We're going to buy 250,000,000 paper-backed books this year.	
(CAMERA STOPS ON BIBLE)	
In 1903, the Holy Bible sold almost 3/4 of a million copies. That set an all-time record. Do you know how many were sold last year? Almost 8,000,000.	
(CAMERA STARTS TRUCK ON NON-FICTION BOOKS)	
Fiction doesn't come first in America. The best selling books are on religion, psychiatry, science... <u>and</u> books on how-to-do-it. Who buys them? Take this for an example.	
(INTO WALLY COX ON BOOKS)	

AUDIO | VIDEO

MARTIN: on camera

~~Words aren't always everything~~. The ~~things you can't say, and can't write~~, ~~come out somehow in music~~. ~~If~~, In the Thirties, we took to serious books, we ~~also~~ began to show a marked preference for serious music. And, it was then, that America was given a great voice. Toscanini said, "A voice like this is heard only once in a hundred years."

Miss Marian Anderson.

(INTO MARIAN ANDERSON)

AUDIO | VIDEO

He's got the Whole World -
in His hands;
He's got the big, roun' World -
in His hands;
He's got the wide World -
in His hands;
He's got the Whole World
in His hands.
He's got the wind and the rain -
in His hands;
He's got the sun and the moon
right in his hands;
He's got the wind and the rain -
in His hands;
He's got the Whole World
in His hands.
He's got that gamblin' man -
in His hands;
He's got that ly-in man -
in His hands;
He's got that crap shoot-in' man
right in His hands;
He's got the Whole World
in His hands;

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO | VIDEO

He's got that little bitsy baby
in His hands;
He's got that tiny little baby
right in His hands;
He's got that little bitsy baby
in His hands;
He's got the Whole World
in His hands.
He's got you an' me, Brudder,
in His hands;
He's got you an' me
right in His hands;
He's got you an' me Sister,
in His hands;
He's got the Whole World
in His hands.
He's got ev'ry body
in His hands;
He's got ev'ry body
in His hands;
He's got ev'ry body
in His hands;
He's got the Whole World
in His hands!

(A P P L A U S E)

→ Wally Cap 81 A

AUDIO | VIDEO

(W. COX - TABLE R.P.#1)

COX:

I used to be a nervous, fidgety type. I used to bite my fingernails and everything. But I sent away for this book. It tells you how to relax by a very simple method. You just get your muscles to relax one at a time, and then you're all relaxed. The way you do that is, you talk to them. You say soothing things to them. You might tell your calf muscles about some green meadow, with a brook on it and a cow in it. You sort of follow yourself around and catch yourself being nervous. And then tap yourself on the shoulder and say to your back muscles, "I know where there's a quiet mountain lake, with water lilies on it." You see? Just keep following yourself around, tap... tap... tap... That's what I do. It has only one disadvantage. It makes me very nervous.

(A P P L A U S E)

AUDIO VIDEO

MURROW:

In the '30's, we began to hear names: Hitler, Mussolini in Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain -- but most of us didn't understand. When war came, in 1939, we thought ourselves safe behind our ocean -- then there were more names: Poland, France, Belgium -- until only Britain stood alone. And most of us remember the words of that rather considerable man who was half-American.

(INTO CHURCHILL: RECORD:)

"The battle of France is over. The battle of Britain is about to begin. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this Island or lose the war. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duty -- and so bare ourselves that if the British Empire and its Commonwealth will last for a 1,000 years man will still say -- this was their finest hour.

MURROW:

And our enemies were all defeated... and no man can count the cost or the loss. We also lost our leader. Arthur Godfrey -- an old Washington hand, described it:

GODFREY: (RECORD:)

The drums are wrapped in black crepe and are muffled as you can hear -- and the pace of the musicians is so slow and behind them those are Navy boys.

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW:

While we in America had been fighting off a depression and unemployment the warnings of conflict which was to come actually started in the 30's with Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy and Ethiopia, Spain and Manchuria. No matter how strong our desire to turn our backs, our hearts and our natural ties made us watch its terrible progress daily in the newspaper and listen to it hourly on the radio. When war broke out, most of us realized that to some degree we would have to become involved in it.

In my mind what brought the war closest to America were the words said by a man who was half American.

CHURCHILL: (RECORD)

"The battle of France is over. The battle of Britain is about to begin. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this Island or lose the war.

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO | VIDEO

CHURCHILL: (CONTINUED)

Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duty -- and so bare ourselves that if the British Empire and its Commonwealth will last for a 1000 years men will still say -- this was their finest hour.

MURROW:

We fought two completely separate wars on two sides of the earth. We lost a lot in the war. We lost a man who had been our leader for many years -- almost from the beginning of the depression. Most of us looking at this program tonight remember vividly.....

Arthur Godfrey an old Washington hand described it.

GODFREY: (RECORD)

The drums are wrapped in black crepe and are muffled as you can hear -- and the pace of the musicians is so slow and behind them those are Navy boys.

AUDIO | VIDEO

GODFREY: (CONT'D)

And now just ... just coming past the Treasury I can see the horses drawing the caison. And most generally folks having as tough a time as I am trying to see it.

And behind it — behind it is the car bearing the man on who's shoulders now fall the terrific burdens and responsibilities that were handled so well by the men to whose body we're paying our last respects now — God bless him — President Truman.

We return you now to the studio.

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW:

Three other men died shortly who are not remembered the same way.

Adolf Hitler. Fuehrer. Chancellor, and Supreme Commander of the Greater German Reich. Born: April 20, 1889. He said:

VOICE I:

The German National Socialist Party will last for a thousand years.

MURROW:

Died by his own hand, May 1, 1945:

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW: (CONT'D)

Benito Mussolini, ~~Premier of~~ the ~~Italian Empire and~~ Duce ~~of the Italian Fascist Party. Born~~: ~~July 29, 1883.~~ He said:

VOICE II:

The Mediterranean is an Italian Lake.

Died by hanging at the hands of his own people, April 28, 1945.

Hideki Tojo. Premier and Minister of War of ~~the Imperial Japanese Government. Born 1884.~~ He said:

VOICE III:

I intend to dictate the peace in Washington.

MURROW:

Died by hanging after sentence was passed by his conquerors in Tokyo, December 23, 1948.

AUDIO VIDEO

MURROW:

~~And we won our greatest war --~~ our ~~enemies~~ were all defeated. ~~Many of us thought that the world wouldn't bother us anymore~~ Another — we brought the boys home — and who was responsible for that? Not the president or the Joint Chiefs of Staff, but the American people -- all of us. ~~We believed that wartime alliances would last.~~ Overseas we left tanks to rust and aircraft to rot -- we had won a war and were accustomed to win and then relax. And then the Russians broke one agreement after another — gradually, painfully we realized that one tyranny may replace another — I think it was the murder of Czechoslovakia that did it, and we reversed our ship of state in midstream. First it was Greece and Turkey, then it was the Marshall Plan for Western Europe, the North Atlantic Pact. We acquired our first peacetime allies. We poured out massive aid to friend and former foe alike — (CONTINUED)

AUDIO	VIDEO
MURROW: (CONT'D)	
and gradually we came to realize that security and freedom are never paid for in a lump sum, new installments are always coming due and when the Communists crossed the 38th Parallel in Korea we led the free world in an unprecedented resistance to avert aggression. It has cost us more than 25,000 dead. —	
(INSERT FILM: (TO COME)	

AUDIO VIDEO

MURROW: (CONT'D)

We have not won this war, but it has been demonstrated that agression does not pay, even in a far-off land of which we know little.

6/14/53

(New transition from Korean war speech - from end of present p. 102E.)

(CUT TO KUKLA & OLLIE (8G)

OLLIE:

Well, Kukla, there have been a lot of troubled times in this country, but it seems that we always got through them. You know, the American people always sing their way through their troubles. I got a couple of good girl singers who are real fun -- let's listen to them.

(INTO MARTIN-MERMAN SONG MEDLEY)

(END OF SONG MEDLEY:)

(TO CLOSE APPLAUSE, CUT TO OLLIE AND KUKLA, WHO ARE ALSO APPLAUDING. Lines to come from Burr Tilstrom.)

(THEN BACK TO MURROW & HAMMERSTEIN)

AUDIO VIDEO

MURROW:

In good times and bad, in war and in peace, this was a singing country and those of us who can't sing like to be sung to.

(INTO:
MARTIN-MERMAN MEDLEY)

(P. 102-D follows:)

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW:

Our whole world started to change so swiftly, so enormously, that no man's mind could take it all in. We took the greatest Navy the world had ever seen off the Seven Seas, wrapped it in cellophane, and tucked it away. We left thousands of tanks to rust in the rain. We broke up the most powerful Army in the world to yank every yank back home. We left millions of dollars worth of planes to rot away overseas -- there was no one to fly them back, because we had already brought the boys home to their mothers and sweethearts.

What did they find when they came home? The factories dumped their war machinery outdoors, and started making washing machines and building materials home freezers and station wagons. But the greatest change was physical. The whole country moved around in the biggest migration since the Covered Wagon Days.

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW: (CONT'D)

People left the hard luck towns and the bad lands and headed straight for the boom towns and the good earth.

The housing shortage is over now — but it was rough while it lasted. There were two families in every garage — and no cars. There used to be a lot of haunted houses in America — but they all had people in them now. We wanted everything streamlined, and streamlined with foam rubber pillows. We were tired of problems. We wanted joy and gaiety. We wanted to feel good. We wanted to sing -- or even better, to be sung to:

(MARTIN, MERMAN MEDLEY)

AUDIO VIDEO

THERE'S NO BUSINESS LIKE SHOW BUSINESS - Merman

There's no business like show business

Like no business I know

You get word before the show has started

That your fav'rite Uncle died at dawn

Top of that your Pa and Ma have parted

You're broken hearted but you go on

They're no people like show people.

They don't run out of dough

Yesterday they told you you would not go far

That night you open and there you are

Next day on your dressing room they've hung a star

Let's go - on with the show.

VERSE:

The costume

The scenery

The make-up

The props

The audience that lifts you when you're down -

The headaches
The heartaches
The backaches
The flops

The sheriff who escorts you out of town

The Opening when your heart beats like a drum

The Closing when the customers won't come -

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO VIDEO

THERE'S NO BUSINESS LIKE SHOW BUSINESS (CONT'D)

There's no business like show business

Like no business I know

Everything about it is appealing

Everything the traffic will allow

Nowhere could you get that happy feeling

When you are stealing that extra bow

There're no people like show people

They smile when they are low

Even with a turkey that you know will fold

You may be stranded out in the cold

Still you wouldn't change it for a sack of gold

Let's go on with the show.

A WONDERFUL GUY - Martin

I'm as corny as Kansas in August

I'm as normal as blue-berry pie

No more a smart little girl with no heart

I have found me a wonderful guy

I am in a conventional dither

With a conventional star in my eye

And you will note there's a lump in my throat

When I speak of that wonderful guy!

I'm as trite and as gay as a daisy in May

A cliche coming true

I'm bromidic and bright as a moon-happy night

Pouring light on the dew

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO | VIDEO

A WONDERFUL GUY - Martin (CONT'D)

I'm as corny as Kansas in August -
High as a flag on the Fourth of July!
If you'll excuse an expression I use
I'm in love, I'm in love, I'm in love, I'm in love
I'm in love with a wonderful guy!

(MUSICAL INTERLUDE)

BY THE LIGHT OF THE SILVERY MOON - Merman

By the light
Of the silvery moon
I want to spoon
To my honey
I'll croon love's tune.

AUDIO VIDEO

WAIT 'TIL THE SUN SHINES, NELLIE - Martin

Wait till the sun shines, Nellie,

When the clouds go drifting by, (8)

We will be happy Nellie

Let me hear you make a sigh

Let me hear you make a sigh

THE SHEIK OF ARABY - Merman

I'm the shiek of Araby

Your love belongs to me

At night when you're asleep

Into your tent I'll creep

WHEN THE RED RED ROBIN - Both

When the red, red, robin

Comes Bob Bob bobbin' along, along

There'll be no more sobbin'

When he starts throbbin' his old sweet song,

Wake up, wake up, you sleepy head,

Get up, get up, get out of bed

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO VIDEO

WHEN THE RED RED ROBIN (CONT'D)

Cheer up, cheer up, the sun is red

Live, live laugh and be happy

What if I've been blue now

I'm walking through fields of flowers

Rain may glisten but still I listen for hours and hours

I'm just a kid again, doin' what I did again

Singing a song

When the red, red, robin comes bob bob, bobbin along,

MY MELANCHOLY BABY - Martin

Come to me My Melancholy Baby

Cuddle up and don't be blue

Smile my honey, dear

While I kiss away each tear -

Or else I will be melancholy too.

YOU MADE ME LOVE YOU - Merman

You made me sigh for,

I didn't wanna tell you

I didn't wanna tell you

I want some love that's true

Yes, I do, you know I do,

Gimme, gimme what I cry for,

You know you got the brand of kisses

That I'd die for

You know you made me love you.

AUDIO VIDEO

MISSISSIPPI MUD - Martin

When the sun goes down, the tide goes out

The people gather 'round and they all begin to shout

"Hey, Hey! Uncle Dud

It's a treat to beat your feet on the Mississippi Mud

It's a treat to beat your feet on the Mississippi Mud"

What a dance do they do

Lordy, how I'm tellin you

They don't need no band

They keep time by clappin' their hand

Just as happy as a cow, chewin' on a cud

When the people beat their feet on the Mississippi Mud.

"I" MEDLEY - Merman & Martin

ETHEL: I cried for you

MARY: I'm forever blowing bubbles

ETHEL: I'm always chasing rainbows

MARY: I'm in the mood for love

ETHEL: I love a parade

MARY: I'd climb the highest mountain

If I knew that when I climbed that mountain

ETHEL: I'm sittin' on top of the world

MARY: I gotta feelin' you're foolin'

ETHEL: I can't give you anything but love

MARY: I'll get by as long as I have you

ETHEL: I hear singing and there's no one there

MARY I'm gonna wash that man right outa my hair

And send him on his way

(CONTINUED)

AUDIO | VIDEO

"I" MEDLEY (CONT'D)

ETHEL: I get no kick from Champagne
Mere alcohol doesn't thrill me at all
So tell me why should it be true
That I get a kick out of you.

MERMAN

Some like their perfume from Spain
I'm sure that if I took
even one whiff
It would bore me terrifically too,
Cause I get a kick out of you.

MARTIN

I've got you under my skin
I've got you deep
in the heart of me
So deep in the heart
that you're really
a part of me
I've got you under my skin.

AUDIO VIDEO

MY HEART BELONGS TO DADDY - Martin

While tearing off a game of golf
I may make a play for the caddy
But when I go I don't follow through
'Cause my heart belongs to Daddy.
If I invite a boy some night
To dine on my finnan haddie
I just adore his asking for more
But my heart belongs to Daddy.
Yes, my heart belongs to Daddy
So I simply couldn't be bad
Yes my heart belongs to Daddy
Dada, dada, dada, da da dada
So I want to warn you, laddie
Tho' I know you're perfectly swell
That my heart belongs to Daddy
'Cause my Daddy he treats it so well.

I GOT RHYTHM - Merman

I got rhythm, I got music
I got my man who could ask for anything more,
I get daisies, in green pastures
I got my man who could ask for anything more.
Old man Trouble I don't mind him
You won't find him - 'round my door
I got starlight, I got sweet dreams (28)
I got my man who could ask for anything more
Who could ask for anything more.

AUDIO | VIDEO

TEA FOR TWO Merman, Martin Duet

MERMAN:

Picture you upon my knee
Just tea for two & 2 for tea
Just me for you & you for me alone

MARTIN:

When I'm calling you
000 000
While you answer too
000 000

(DOUBLE TIME)

BOTH:

Nobody near us to see us or hear us
No friends or relations
On week-end vacations
We won't have it known, dear
That we own a telephone, dear.

MERMAN:

Don't know why
There's no sun up in the sky
Stormy weather
Since my man and I ain't together
Keeps rainin' all the time

MARTIN:

Picture you upon my knee
Just tea for two
And two for tea
Just me for you
And you for me alone.

AUDIO | VIDEO

TEA FOR TWO (CONT'D)

(8 bars double time)

BOTH: Nobody near us to see us or hear us
We won't have it known dear
That we own a telephone, dear.

MERMAN:
I got rhythm, I got music
I got my man
Who could ask for anything more?

MARTIN
Isn't it romantic
Music in the Night
on such a night as this
Isn't it romantic
Oldest magic word.

BOTH: We will raise a family
A boy for you, a girl for me
Can't you see how happy we will be?

AUDIO VIDEO

THERE'S NO BUSINESS LIKE SHOW BUSINESS -- Both

BOTH: There's no business like show business

Like no business I know

ETHEL: You get word before the show has started

MARY: That your fav'rite Uncle died at dawn

ETHEL: Top of that your Pa and Ma have parted

MARY: You're broken hearted

ETHEL: but you go on

BOTH: They're no people like show people.

They don't run out of dough

Yesterday they told you you would not go far

That night you open and there you are

Next day on your dressing room they've hung a star

Let's go -- on with the show

Let's go -- on with the show

(A P P L A U S E)

Wendy

AUDIO VIDEO

MURROW:

As nations go, we have in the last fifty years lived a life and not an apology, but we have come into our full inheritance at a tender age. We did not seek, many of us did not want, the responsibility and leadership that has been thrust upon us, but ours is the power and ours is the responsibility. We are regarded abroad with a mixture of fear and admiration. Unless we are prepared to go on indefinitely piling up armaments in preparation for ultimate collision, we are obligated to state the conditions, if any, upon which we are prepared to live in the same world with the Russians.

We are also obliged to remember that we are an impatient, improvident people accustomed to demand and to find easy and quick solutions. We find ourselves in a position where no such solutions are at hand. We must have recourse to patience and fortitude — the knowledge that we are unlikely to solve our problems with dollars or with bombs. (CONTINUED)

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW: (CONT'D)

It is our heritage, and it must become our habit, to remember that our example may be more important than our exchequor -- to remember that in the past, nations have lost their freedom while preparing to defend it. If we confuse dissent with disloyalty -- if we deny the right of the individual to be wrong, unpopular, eccentric or unorthodox -- if we deny the essence of racial equality, then hundreds of millions in Asia and Africa who are shopping about for a new allegiance will conclude that we are concerned to defend a myth and our present privileged status. Every act that denies or limits the freedom of the individual in this country costs us the allegiance and the confidence of men and women who aspire only to that freedom and independence of which we speak and for which our ancestors fought.

You have glimpsed some of the fun, the folly and glory of this nation during the last fifty years. Right now we are fat while the rest of the world is either lean or hungry... (CONTINUED)

AUDIO VIDEO

MURROW: (CONT'D)

the problems that power imposes press in upon us — we cannot escape them if we would, and who among us would desire to do so — ours is the opportunity of decision. We are one of the great pivots upon which history will turn. The manner in which we make up our collective mind may well determine whether the independence and the dignity of the individual purchased at such cost shall perish on this minor planet.

No one who has looked at the last fifty years would suggest that the years ahead will be easy or placid. No guarantee of Success or Survival. but no one can deny that what we do will be decisive and no one should forget that James Barry once counceled us to "greet the unknown with a cheer." We have found an American industrialist who seems to share Mr. Barry's view.

(F O R D)

AUDIO | VIDEO

HAMMERSTEIN:

And now we're down to now.

MURROW:

What kind of a world do we have today? A couple of things stand out. We're the strongest nation in the world.

HAMMERSTEIN:

--And we live in a climate of fear.

MURROW:

We have 160,000,000 people.

HAMMERSTEIN:

-- And not enough hospital beds.

MURROW:

We have three million square miles of land.

HAMMERSTEIN:

-- And too many slums.

MURROW:

In 1903, there were only 15 million kids in school -- now there are 52,000,000.

HAMMERSTEIN:

What are they learning? Is it any better than McGuffey's Readers?

AUDIO VIDEO

MURROW:

Last year we bought ten times as many Bibles as in 1903.

HAMMERSTEIN:

Yes, and we spent $1,400,000,000 for cosmetics -- and one-third of that was for men.

And we still have prisons, we have polluted rivers and crooked politicians, and too much discrimination.

MURROW:

I'm just saying that we're trying.

HAMMERSTEIN:

And I'm just saying that it's not all Happy Talk, Ed -- some of the things haven't changed at all: the worn places in the churches, where Americans kneel...

MURROW:

And the circuses are the same -- and the crackerjack is just as sticky...

HAMMERSTEIN:

We didn't have psychiatrists then...

AUDIO | VIDEO

MURROW:

But we had those medicine men, selling you snake-oil that would cure everything.

HAMMERSTEIN:

Some things stay the same .... trout-fishing, and merry-go-rounds, and hot biscuits ... but we've lost something, Ed -- that innocence, that kind of youthful ignorance we had...

MURROW:

And we've gained something. We've grown up, the hard way. We've learned the wisdom of experience....that we must stay alert, on guard.

HAMMERSTEIN:

First the Cold War, and then the Iron Curtain, and then the realization that we had spies and traitors and follow-travelers.

MURROW:

And we risked a Dunkirk in Korea rather than face a Munich. The last casualty count was 134,958 Americans killed.

AUDIO	VIDEO
HAMMERSTEIN:	
But, Ed, if that's the world today,	
what will it be tomorrow? Like Korea?	
Like lots of Koreas? Where's the hope?	
What about the next fifty years?	
(LIVE & FILM — MURROW ON THE ATOM)	

AUDIO VIDEO

HENRY FORD, II:

Everything we've seen tonight is simply a beginning, a mere scratch on the road to the future. The hardest thing in the world for us to realize is that the great times ahead will make our life today seem almost primitive.

Let's take one thing. If we can use the atom for peacetime power development we may never have to build another dam in the United States. The Grand Coulee may be the last.

But it won't all be rosy.

We must straighten out a lot of things, lick a lot of problems, to make way for the world we all hope for. It will take a lot of hard common sense -- and common sense isn't a science -- yet.

But Americans have lots of common sense, and brains, and muscles we haven't even used. Our great task is to put them all together -- in the atmosphere of freedom which is our breath of life.

We are travelling a road that no one -- no nation -- has ever travelled before. To keep going up that road will take all we've got.

AUDIO	VIDEO
HENRY FORD, II:	
But we can be proud, too. Because in no other country could these things happen, the things you've seen tonight. And no other country has the chance we have.	
People need hope to go on, hope for tomorrow. I want to tell you that from where I stand I see more reason to hope for good times ahead than ever before in American history.	
....	
Thank you .... and good night!	

AUDIO	VIDEO
STAGE-MGR: (Cont'd) And at the livery stable somebody's setting up late and talking. -- Yes, it's clearing up. There are the stars -- doing their old, old criss-cross journeys in the sky. Scholars haven't settled the matter yet, but they seem to think there are no living beings up there. They're just chalk ... or fire. Only this one is straining away, straining away all the time to make something of itself. The strain's so bad that every sixteen hours everybody lies down and gets a rest. (HE WINDS HIS WATCH) Hm ... Eleven o'clock in Grover's Corners.	

"RESOURCES FOR FREEDOM"

January 10, 1954

Edward R. Murrow, Narrator. Produced by the Public Affairs Division of CBS Television. This program is the summary of volume one of the Report of the President's Materials Policy Commission, William S. Paley, Chairman. The Report is in 5 volumes and covers a year-and-a-half of work.

Transcript attached

CBS NEWS
A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
524 West 57 Street
New York, New York 10019
(212) 765-4321

Dear Eleanor: December 17, 1973

We did do a transcript of the broadcast "Resources for Freedom." Enclosed is a copy for Mr. Murrow's file. Thank you for taking your time to search for a copy.

Hope you have a happy holiday.

Sincerely,

May

May M. Dowell
Director of Special Projects

Mrs. Eleanor Horan
Tufts University
The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy
The Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy
Medford, Massachusetts 02155

TRANSCRIPT

All copyright and right of copyright in this transcript and in the broadcast are owned by CBS. This transcript may not be copied or reproduced or used in any way (other than for purposes of reference, discussion and review) without the written permission of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

"Resources For Freedom"

as broadcast over the

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

Sunday, January 10, 1954

3:00 - 4:00 PM, EST

With Narrator Edward R. Murrow

PRODUCED BY THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS DIVISION OF CBS TELEVISION

THIS IS RECYCLED PAPER

NARRATOR: Take a good look at these hills. They won't be here much longer, because they're resting on top of millions of tons of copper ore - and we need copper. We need it so bad we're willing to move mountains to get it.

[Explosion; music, and under]

EDWARD R. MURROW: Yes, they're moving mountains to get copper in Arizona. They're scouring the earth for iron. All over America and all over the world, you'll find men drilling holes three miles deep for oil, or walking along dry creek beds with Geiger counters, or traveling 5,000 miles to find a special kind of mud. One way or another, turning everything upside down. You may not know it, but they're doing this for you.

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, I'm Ed Murrow, and this evening CBS Television is bringing you a program that has to do with some mighty important things, things I never thought very much about until recently. I found them in a volume called "Resources For Freedom," published by a Presidential commission. It first caught my attention by telling me that last year I personally used up some 18-tons of various kinds of stuff just to feed and clothe and shelter myself and generally to keep going.

Well, if you think that was more than my share, you use just as much yourself, for that figure is a national average for the United States. There never was a nation that consumed so much coal and steel and oil and copper and lumber and water and strange minerals and everything that comes out of the earth, and at the same time gave so little thought to where it comes from. You may get a jolt this evening to realize that, although America is the land of plenty, the plenty can give out.

Here in America today demand - your demand as the biggest consumer in the world - is growing, but supply is shrinking. Where might this leave us after a while? To begin with, I want you to meet Mr. Ernest R. Breech, who's Executive Vice President of the Ford Motor Company out in Dearborn, Michigan.

BREECH: We use and need more copper all the time. It's indispensable for ignition systems, radiators and many other components. We're using larger quantities of all materials today, of course, than in the time of the first Henry Ford.

MURROW: Henry Ford's first Model-T back in 1913 weighed about 1200 pounds, but today's 1953 Ford car weighs almost three times as much. Everybody wants and needs more material. One man who knows this, who has seen this country live through two world wars and grow into the leadership of the whole Free World, is America's elder statesman, Bernard Baruch.

BARUCH: Throughout my life I've seen the demand for all materials - minerals and metals and lumber and energy and water, too - growing and growing, especially as our standard of living go higher, as they should. But the supply has not been growing, and that puts you younger people face to face with a very serious problem. Within the next 25 years it is estimated that the population of this country will be about 200-million - one-third greater than it is now. That means more goods, more services; and what are you going to do and how are you going to meet that demand? Mind you, I'm only talking of normal requirements by 1975. Do we have or can we get these vast supplies? The answer is, "Yes," because it must be, "Yes." Otherwise, the country will stop growing.

MURROW: Well, of course, this country can't stop growing. But how do you grow iron or copper? What do you do if war cuts you off from the things you must have? Everybody remembers how American science and industry produced synthetic rubber when we were cut off from the natural stuff in World War II; but there's no such thing as a synthetic metal - not yet. And plastics, useful as they may be, can't be substituted efficiently for metals like copper, iron and aluminum in building ships and houses and guns. So, mining engineers and geologists are going to be increasingly important people in our national future. Let's meet one.

DONALD McLAUGHLIN: My name is Donald McLaughlin, and I have been engaged in mining and geological work practically all my professional life. I have read the report of the President's Materials Policy Commission, entitled "Resources For Freedom," with very great interest. And though I don't agree with every word, the report makes a number of very important points. For example, it shows that we are no longer self-sufficient in raw materials; we once were, but today it's a very different story, quite different.

MURROW: Think back to that 18-tons of materials you and I and everybody else in America needs to keep going for a year. There's no consumption like it anywhere else in the world. The United States has only 10 percent of the world's population, but we chew up half the Free World's raw materials. So it isn't surprising that we've started to import a lot of things from other nations. The plain fact is we used to produce more raw materials than we needed at home, so we sold the surplus abroad. But now it's the other way around: we use up more raw materials than we produce. For example, there are only two metals - two out of a hundred - in which we're completely self-sufficient now; we have to import some or all of the rest. But increasing imports won't solve the whole problem. We'll have to learn to get more from our own mines and oil fields, more from our soil and our timber and our water resources.

Metals and minerals are particularly tough. On an average, we use six times more of them than we did when this century was beginning; all the way from three times more copper to 30 times more crude oil. In the

lifetime of a young man or woman 35 years old, the United States alone has used up more minerals than the entire world did from the dawn of history down to World War I. It's small wonder engineers like Mr. McLaughlin have new problems finding ores.

McLAUGHLIN: In the old days a prospector with a pick and shovel could go out and find practically any of the exposed deposits. That's out now. We've found most of those easily found ore bodies. Finding the new ones, especially at great depths, is going to require new devices invented especially for the purpose. For example, one of them is the airborne magnetometer. There it is now, in the lower left-hand corner of the picture. The recording device itself is inside the plane.

MURROW: And just what is an airborne magnetometer? A gadget that catches and records the strength of the earth's magnetic field from place to place. When a geologist sees tiny bumps like these on his recording line, he gets excited because they tell him about the shape of the great magnetic rocks far beneath him, and far beneath the surface of the earth. The more he knows about these, the better the chance he has of looking in the right place for the right thing. Here's one of those geologists now.

GEOLOGIST: Putting a magnetometer map together is a complicated affair. First, we have to find the track of the aircraft, either by radar or by means of the 70-millimeter camera which is taking photographs in the air at the same time that the magnetometer record is being made. Then we have to make a number of mathematical adjustments.

MURROW: It's quite a job to put together a three-dimensional contour map from all this, but that's what has to be done. That's what the geologists and the geophysicists need to do their work. The airborne magnetometer doesn't actually find oil or ore, you know; and the contour map doesn't say, "It's here!" either. What these things do is narrow the search for the hidden treasure, and that's the big thing. But there's still only one way of really finding the real stuff.

MAN: Finding new sources of metals is one thing; getting at them is another. We can't use airplanes underground; we have to go down in the mine and drill for it. Like us here. We have reason to believe that there are thousands of tons of mineable copper ore under this tunnel. This tunnel is approximately a mile long; intersects another shaft; and before we're through prospecting, we will have it drilled on sections of from 500 to a thousand feet. For this purpose, we use a diamond drill, which is essentially a hollow tube at the end of which is a reamer and a bit, which is set with industrial diamonds. She'll cut through almost anything if you spin it fast enough. What this drill does is to cut a core, like an apple core, that is a few feet to several hundred feet in length. If we want to go deeper than 500 feet, we will have to use a larger drill. We take the core to a geologist, and the assayers tell us whether we have any metal in it.

If we find none, we drill some more holes. After we find ore, then the large-scale mining begins. But even my job - drilling - takes a lot of time and money. Up in Minnesota where they are mining taconite for iron ore, drillers like me spent over two years and have drilled 12 miles in holes to develop the large iron ore bodies.

MURROW: Taconites are tough, low-grade iron ores nobody would touch until our high-grade stuff began running out. You have to use new techniques and new machines to get at them and make them useful. Up at a place called Mountain Iron, Minnesota, engineers like Gus Toriano are working on this problem.

TORIANO: When we were reasonably certain that this taconite on the eastern Mesabi here north of Duluth would be-- was rich enough, we immediately went to work to get it out. And-- But that wasn't easy, since it cannot be mined like coal but has to be quarried like stone. That machine up on the hill there helps solve a lot of our problems.

MAN: Does the job all right - jet-bursting machine. Drills a seven-inch hole about 18- to 20-feet an hour. After we get them to the right depth, we load them with explosives, blast them, and get taconite like this.

ARTHUR BUNKER: Of course, this taconite rock has to go through some expensive and complicated processing before it's graded up in iron content to this pellet form, which is now ready for the blast furnace and ready to be converted into steel. My name is Arthur Bunker. I'm a businessman, and I was one of the members of the President's Material Policy Commission. The iron and steel people have known about taconite ores and their existence for some 30 years or more. There's never been a great incentive to try to use this low-grade material, which contains about 25 percent iron, until technology within the last few years developed a method of making it available for economical and competitive treatment with high-grade iron ores; this has now been accomplished. In the case of many other metals that we need just as badly as iron, the situation is not as happy. Many times now we have to rely on leaner and leaner ores which cost more to work. I believe that the crux of the whole material resources problem is a question of costs, real costs. That is, the expenditure of labor and energy and capital in producing a given amount of materials or goods. On the other hand, the Commission doesn't think that's any reason to alarm us unless we should adopt an unrealistic economic policy of self-sufficiency, requiring us to expend enormous amounts of labor and energy and capital to produce goods we-- we could readily obtain at reasonable costs and prices from abroad, from the very people to whom we wish to sell our own finished goods in their markets. The Commission feels that this trade is indispensable to the economic health of both countries, our countries and their countries. We also feel there is no such thing as isolated prosperity, that no one nation for long can be prosperous unless the other nations of the free world are also prosperous. Now, everyone doesn't agree with us. For example, Senator Dworshak has strongly contrary views.

SENATOR DWORSHAK: Last September at Denver the American Mining Congress sponsored a panel discussion of the so-called "Paley Commission Report." I was invited to take part in that discussion. I had not studied the voluminous report, but I was aware that a new policy was being proposed whereby it was being contended that the United States was rapidly becoming a have-not nation, which meant that in the future we would be con-- rely-- have to rely to a large extent upon production of strategic and essential minerals abroad. Because of that fact, I opposed the-- the principles and the conclusions of the Paley Report, because I know that throughout our Western states are vast, undeveloped mineral resources. To be explicit, I want to point out what happened at Skibnite, Idaho, where we have a-- an antimony refinery and operations which produced a few years ago about 90 percent of our entire production of antimony. However, because of the purchase abroad of antimony, that operation shut down, and today we are virtually dependent to a-- entirely, you might say, upon foreign production. So far as I am concerned, I am unwilling to accept all of the recommendations of that commission.

MURROW: Well, Mr. McLaughlin, you're a mining engineer. What do you think of that argument?

McLAUGHLIN: I think it is essential that we should maintain an economic climate under which our mines could operate profitably. I am not in favor, however - and neither is the commission - of subsidizing obviously uneconomic production. Why we could probably mine tin here if we cared to invest the necessary labor and fuel and materials in its production; but such tin would cost nearly a thousand times more than the tin that we could import from Malaya or from Bolivia. Obviously, that would be economic nonsense. No, it clearly makes more sense to buy our raw materials as cheaply as possible, except where this runs counter to military and economic security, and to utilize our available capital and energy and power for profitable enterprises that benefit the country as a whole. That's why I agree with the commission when it recommends lowering the barriers and removing the handcuffs on international trade. And not merely the barriers that we have set up; we must remove also the barriers that are set up by friendly nations.

MURROW: What Mr. McLaughlin is talking about is just about the most important thing in the world. Raw materials hold within them the forces that make for war or for peace, for depression or for prosperity. The whole trade of the Free World consists of lugging these materials from where they were to where they're needed. They involve north and south, east and west. Listen now to the grave words of a lady who is ambassador to the United Nations from a great nation newly free, Madam Pandit of India.

MADAM PANDIT: The East as a whole is suspicious of the West. Many countries in Asia and in Africa as well are fearful of economic exploitation by the U.S.A. Memories of past exploitation are still

vivid in their mind and they hesitate to release their natural resources. Gradually, however, the idea is gaining ground that a free inter-- interchange of natural resources among nations is advisable. My own country is among those who have accepted this idea. Our five year plan for developing India and her natural resources is being considerably helped by the technical assistance received under your Point Four program. We also encourage the investment of foreign capital in our industrial enterprises.

MURROW: Of course, when we help free nations like India develop their natural resources, we're also helping ourselves. India and Turkey and the nations of Africa and South America have many materials we need to buy to keep our factories going - hemp, chrome, graphite and uranium to mention just a few. What's more, what we don't buy the Russians will try to. Most nations would rather sell to us, if we'll let them. Let's ask the opinion of one of this country's great economists, who was also a member of the President's Materials Policy Commission, Dr. Edward S. Mason, Dean of the School of Public Administration at Harvard University.

Dr. Mason, what would you say about how the United States and the rest of the Free World can best cooperate to solve their materials problem?

MASON: I would say there's no such thing as an absolute shortage of materials. Within the confines of the Free World, there's enough to go around, both now and 25 years from now. But the stuff is geographically so distributed that no one country can go it on its own. Interdependence is not just a fancy idea; it's one of the hard facts of life. Take our own position. For some time now, we have not been able to meet our own requirements from our own resources. We have been dependent on exports from other countries; and the chances are that we are going to become increasingly dependent as our demand increases. That is true even for such a basic resource as energy.

MURROW: Energy? Since when has energy been a material? The answer is that we get energy from material, and material from energy. We produce energy from burning up coal or oil or natural gas, and from falling water. This gives us power to dig with great shovels, move millions of tons of earth, and melt out metals from their ores. Listen now to another member of the Materials Policy Commission, Mr. George Rufus Brown, a Texas industrialist with much experience in the energy field.

BROWN: For 50 years we have had and have used more energy than any nation on earth. This is one of the factors that have made us what we are today. But the demands for our goods and services are climbing so rapidly that we will have to increase the output of our total energy 100 percent in the next 25 years. How? The answer could be in the practical application of atomic energy and solar energy. But it is too early to estimate the contributions from these sources. For quite a

while we will have to rely on the so-called conventional sources. First, petroleum from new and previously untapped fields.

MURROW: It's not much more than two years ago that big news broke in the world of oil. That was when they brought in a gusher in Clarence Iverson's farm in North Dakota in the heart of the Williston Basin, now America's newest major oil field. The Williston Basin is a formation of rock lying like a great bowl hundreds of miles across from rim to rim underneath parts of Canada, North and South Dakota and Montana. It was sparse country until the big oil news broke. Now, today, Williston is short of stores, short of schools, short of churches; it has to import its houses; it's short of everything but oil.

HORTON: This is another busy washday for we ladies up here. It's a new life to us; this living in trailers is new. My husband's with Halliburton Oil Well Cementing Company, and I'm Mrs. Horton. We started out from Colorado two years ago, and here we are now in this little town. [Children yelling]

MARION JOHNSON: I'm Marion Johnson, Principal of the Richards school, which opened this September, 1952. At that time the school was overcrowded with children. Evidently, an oil boom means a boom of children.

MAN: Three sections of Sunday school and three morning services cannot any longer accomodate all who would come and worship with us. The booming growth of Williston has brought so many new people to our church that we must have immediate and heroic actions.

MAN: You have to watch your step nowadays crossing the main street of Williston. Two years ago you could have pitched a tent out there in Main Street and it wouldn't have made too much difference. Of course, that's before they hit oil out at the Clarence Iverson place.

MAN: Yes, this is it. This is the first oil well in North Dakota, brought in the 5th of April, 1951. I'll never forget this day, and I cannot forget those engineers, either. They had to go down two miles to get it. They told me there's oil here long after I'd forgotten. I got three oil wells now. I'll have 14 more when they get-- get this drilled out.

GREG KILDARE: I'm Greg Kildare, an oil broker up here making a play here in the Williston Basin. I think this is Texas 40 years ago. I moved my wife and baby up here, and plan on being here the rest of my life. And that-- that's a lot for a Texan to say.

MURROW: Yes, I guess it will turn into a big thing. That's what makes a business like oil exciting. You never can tell when you're going to make a great new strike. But there are some other problems that can't be met this way. We're never going to discover a new forest in the United States, or a great new river, or a million acres of farmland

we didn't know we had. Our natural resources of wood, water and land are all known. So, with these there are only two paths to follow: use things better, and waste things less. Let's hear from an expert on that, Mr. Howard Coonley, head of an organization which has been warring on waste for years.

COONLEY: This problem of waste is complex. Nobody ever spends a dime to recover a penny, nor should he; but it indicates that some waste is unavoidable. And it makes no sense to hoard materials in the thought that tomorrow they will be more scarce. We'd probably find we'd made a bad mistake. If our ancestors, who lived by lamp light, had hoarded their whale oil in order to give it to us, their great-great grandchildren, we would probably have given them little thanks. We need it no longer. We live on kilowatts of electricity that come from coal and from petroleum and from falling water. Still, even though we should not be misers, we must be prudent. In the past we've left too much coal in the mines, about 50 percent of it; and in some mines we can't go back and get it out. That's bad waste. We're steadily doing better, however, in oil. We leave much less behind when we finish with an oil field, but we must do better still. We don't have a good record on natural gas. We've burned off too much of it in the fields where it's produced - flaring, that's called - because once we didn't know how to do anything better. Even a few years ago we wasted enough natural gas to do all the heating and cooking for 11-million homes. Why? You may find it hard to believe, but it was because the gas was so cheap. It was so cheap that it didn't pay anyone to lay the pipes or do the pumping to bring it to the markets where it could be burned usefully. Now that gas costs more, we waste it less. The older we grow, the more we must learn to use, and the less we should have to discard.

MURROW: That general warning by Mr. Coonley applies to many specific resources. Take wood. Only about two-thirds of that average tree that is cut down ends up as useful material. That's better than we did a few years ago, and it seems likely we can increase the useful percentage even more. In some ways we're suffering from the sins of the past. In building our nation, we removed about 90 percent of our original timber stands. A little more than a third went for lumber and other useful products; the rest was taken by fire, insects, diseases and old age. In the past, we did only a fair job in helping nature replace our forests. But nowadays big timber companies grow trees as a crop. They put their forests on what is called a "sustained yield" basis, which means roughly that you cut only as much wood as you grow. When seed sources are lacking in nature, men plant trees to help her out. Trees are a pretty slow crop. It takes longer than a man's lifetime to plant and harvest a big one. So here is one place in particular where men must plant what they may never reap but which will benefit their children. Nobody can tell how much wood we lost for ourselves before we began managing our forests on a sustained yield basis on tree farms, and protecting them from fire. Some small cutters do not do it even yet. But the wood we lost was enough to have built millions of homes. We have a hard time catching up here, but we must. And we must grow more crops of pretty nearly

everything, edible or non-edible, as our population grows and our standard of living rises, as we intend it shall. Fortunately, our technology is in good shape here. American chemists and engineers have done such a good job that experts think the same amount of land could produce double or triple as much as it does today if every farmer would use the right fertilizer and other known helps up to the limit. Is he going to?

I think a lot of that depends on you, on me and on every American who likes to eat, wear clothes and sleep indoors on cold nights. Each of us, you see, consumes some 5,700 pounds of agricultural material every year. We'll be wanting and needing more of them - that's what the report predicts - in each of the years that are ahead. We may not get more, though - either from our own farms or from our factories - unless we come to grips, and fairly soon, with a problem we've barely considered so far - that's water.

Maybe you didn't think water was a problem, except for droughts, but it is. Mr. Abel Wohlman, Professor of Sanitary Engineering at Johns Hopkins University, can tell you how and why.

WOHLMAN: We do have a water supply problem. Demand is outrunning supply. It takes about 250 tons of water to make a ton of steel. It takes about 18 barrels of water to make a barrel of oil. It takes 64-thousand gallons of water to make a ton of paper. So that the most in-- important ingredient in industry is probably water. And in addition, it has to be better than ninety-nine-and-fourty-four-hundreds percent pure. During World War II, for example, industries had to be moved and at times reconstructed because either the quantity of water necessary was not available or the quality did not meet the requirements of industry. On the Pacific coast, in addition, where irrigation water has always been a subject of demand, engineers are looking forward, decade by decade, to some technique of removing salt either from brackish or from the ocean water into-- in order to produce the required fresh water supply.

MURROW: Now, right here let's sum up for a moment how it looks for the materials we'll need in 1975 compared to 1950. Most of the increases the Materials Policy Commission foresaw are mighty, mighty big. Industrial water need might rise 170 percent. Demand for minerals might almost double. Timber products might rise only ten percent. All agricultural products, 40. But demand for energy of all kinds would soar: for liquid fuels - more than double; for electricity - triple.

Let's stay with this subject of energy for a moment. We meet it everywhere. Because if materials are the eggs, energy is the hen; and the most dependable hen in the barnyard of America's natural resources is coal. Coal has been in a decline for many years. Crude oil and natural gas drove coal out of many of its old long established markets. But coal will come back in a new and bigger and better way. And at least some sectors of the industry are trying to hasten that day

by updating their mining and processing techniques. One good example is the preparation plant of the Hanna Coal Company in Georgetown, Ohio. Coal comes into this plant from nearby mines on conveyor belts at the rate of 1,500-tons an hour. That's quite a lot. A man with a 10-room house in a cold climate couldn't use up in his lifetime as much coal as runs through this plant in 60 minutes. First of all it gets sorted for size, and goes through jigs and onto vibrating screens, and to something called a "dyster table." And the net effect of all this knocking about is to bring it out of the plant cleaned of slate and other refuse ready for market.

The modern coal producers are using very modern techniques to produce and prepare coal for use - that is, in the lump form. But what are they doing to modernize their technology. to unleash fully the tremendous energy potential and the chemical treasure chest that lump coal contains? Mr. James Hislip of the Hanna Coal Company has something to say about that.

HISLIP: We're attempting to face the fact that the industry has not made sufficient progress in recent years to meet the challenge of today and tomorrow. The fact that we have lost 150-million tons of market to the oil and gas industry is a sufficient incentive to increase our efforts along this line. Speaking for management, I am sure you can count on the coal industry to prepare adequately to meet the demands of 1975.

MURROW: It's always interesting to get another viewpoint.

MAN: By 1975 coal will again be powering railroads, and probably millions of automobiles - not as a solid, but as a liquid synthetic fuel. Coal's conversion into liquid fuel is a reality. In the next generation our coal, because of efficient production methods - we now produce seven tons per man per work shift as against the one ton produced by our nearest competitor nation - our coal will play an increasingly important role in bolstering the economy of our allies in Europe and Asia.

MAN: You know, it's all well and good for John L. Lewis and the big operators to sound off on spending money for the development of new techniques and technology. I'm lucky if I can meet-- make expenses by using the equipment that's been developed in the past years. All the savings in labor has been passed on to the miner in the form of higher wages and welfare benefits. There's been nothing passed on in the way of savings to the users of coal. All of my customers have gone to oil and gas. It makes-- It makes sense. You can't burn coal in an oil furnace or a gas burner. There's just no demand for coal today. Now I understand that in the next 20 years there'll be a great demand for coal - 70 percent more than now. Well, that'll be fine. I just hope that I can stay in business until then and have money to buy the equipment that'll be necessary to mine and prepare coal for its new uses.

MAN: When I was out in Pennsylvania there, I was talking to one of the foremans out there, and he said they was mining twice as much coal as the United States was using now.

MAN: These small mines around here, we can't compete with these big mines because they have so much modern equipment. Maybe if we get some modern equipment we can work too.

MAN: Well, yeah, if we get more modern equipment around here we'll have a lot less men working around here. We used to have three times as many men around here as we got now.

MAN: I've worked here for 20 years now, and it looks like things is getting worser, and bills coming in. I don't know what's going to happen.

MURROW: Neither do I. But this I do know - great things are in the air. There are revolutionary plans afoot for coal, and some day they will change its whole future and perhaps yours too, and all for the better. Coal by the lump is on the way out. Chemists and chemical engineers now know how to transform coal from a solid into a liquid, or into a high-pressure, high-heat-containing gas. Once they can do that, they can pump it in pipes from the mines to the great cities or the towns where it is needed. Or they could make it into gasoline for your car. When they can do this cheaply enough, the fuel revolution will be at hand. Here I'm going to turn you over to Mr. Paul Alspaugh, one of the country's leading chemical engineers, because he's one man who knows this process backwards and forwards, and that's the way it has to be known.

ALSPAUGH: We're in the coal hydrogenation plant of Carbide and Carbon Chemicals Company at Institute, West Virginia. Here we make chemicals from coal. The process is specifically adapted to do that; but with reasonable changes, one could make synthetic liquid fuels from coal. As a matter of interest, it was in this general area that the synthetic rubber program was started during the War. Here we have again the start of a new process, that of making chemicals from coal. If you'll come along with me, I'll show you about the process.

We have here a chart showing a simplified flow diagram of the process. On this chart I can show you some of the more important features of the process. We start with coal, coal that you would burn, ordinary coal. It goes into part of the process where it's pulverized. To it oil from the process is added to make a paste. The paste is delivered into the high-pressure reaction unit the second another raw material, hydrogen, is compressed and delivered also into the high-pressure reaction unit. Here at high pressure - on the order of 6,000 pounds - high temperature - 600 to a thousand degrees Fahrenheit - the reactions occur which convert the coal into oil and gases. The products flow into several units where separations are made, where the gases are separated into fuel; methane, a constituent of natural gas; propane and butane, the bottled gases. The oils are separated in the chemical

units into the chemical products. Some of these products we make now: naphthalene - you know it as mothballs. It's the chemical intermediate or raw material of the creosotes and xylenotes - disinfectants. Phenol. Phenol for plastics. Bakelite plastic is the common one. These are just a few of the chemicals that we're now making. We know we can make upwards of a hundred, and that's just the beginning.

MURROW: We're about to meet now one of the great men in American science and engineering, the head of the Office of Scientific Research and Development during the war.

DR. VANNEVAR BUSH: Even when the scientific and technological problems of coal are completely solved, there will still be plenty for the scientist and technologist to do in this enormously important field of materials. It is not good enough for us to use at the moment merely the materials that are least expensive without thought for the next generation. We must be wiser than that. And one aspect of wisdom is to have plenty of good scientific research on our problem. Of course, there is plenty of research going on in certain fields. For example, where industry sees a great opportunity, it is likely to be aggressively at work; and we have such a situation as that today in titanium. There is plenty of titanium ore. The metal itself is very strong, highly non-corrosive. The military need it for their purposes. It would be a very valuable metal, and a whole new section of industry could be created if only the scientist and the engineers would learn how to reduce titanium economically from its ores - and this they have not yet done. There is also a great deal of fundamental research underway in the universities and in the scientific institutions; and most of it is long range research that will come to fruition many years from now in ways that we cannot now envisage. But between fundamental research and immediate applied research there is a gap. The universities quite rightly in working on fundamental research do so in order to add to knowledge, without immediate concern as to the applications. And industry, again quite properly, works on the problems that are now before it; and for this purpose, scientists and engineers are scarce. They will always be scarce because there is so much for science and engineering to do. But this problem of producing new materials, adapting old ones, finding better ways of doing things with materials, is so important that it warrants the best attention of the finest scientists and the best teams of engineers that this country can muster.

MURROW: Thank you, Dr. Bush. Nothing could make clearer the importance and the difficulty of the materials problem. This atomic age is calling for strange new materials every day - like zirconium and hafnium, for example. A few years ago nobody had heard of these metals except the writers of chemistry textbooks; but today they're needed, and badly needed, by engineers for use in atomic energy work. Engineers want graphite by ton after ton - perhaps a million dollars worth of graphite, such as you find in a lead pencil but a hundred percent purer - for just one atomic reactor. To produce big quantities of electrical power, they want a kind of water - heavy water - that costs $50 an ounce. That's a

pretty expensive drink, but an atomic furnace may need it. More and more, we turn to chemistry to help solve such problems. I'd like you to meet the chairman of the board of the Manufacturing Chemists Association, Mr. Charles S. Munson.

MUNSON: The chemical industry has made its greatest progress during the last few years by working with so-called "organic" substances, chiefly coal and petroleum. Out of these raw materials, our industry have made drugs and dyes and such new fabrics as nylon, dynel and dacron; and such innumerable amount of plastics that the volume today is greater than the volume of all metals excepting iron and steel. The plastic industry was generally unknown 50 years ago, or for that matter 25 years ago. But at the rate that chemical research is progressing today, it's quite possible that 25 years from now half of our working population will be producing and selling materials that are not known today. As it is, today we pour a million tons of plastics into the market every year, and this output replaces a variety of metals or glass, or natural substances like expensive ivory or bone. But this has not lessened the consumption of metals. We keep right on using more copper, lead, zinc and tin than we ever did before. It looks as if the whole plastic output were just being swallowed up in our great expanding economy. Nowadays, our industry is turning back to pay more attention to inorganic materials: minerals like sulphur, silicon; and soft metals like sodium and potassium that industry once had not much use for; the rare earths, and so forth. We must try to find ways to make materials in high demand more plentiful, and also to find ways of getting at materials we have in abundance but can't get into the stream of use.

MURROW: It isn't just a shortage of wealth in the ground waiting to be dug up that's the problem. That's only part of it, as Mr. Munson has said. You can see what he means if you'll join me now in a flying trip to Cuba. In Cuba, and throughout a great part of the tropical Americas, there are enormous metal resources. These are what geologists call the lateritic ores, or laterites - soft rock that lies like a blanket over thousands of square miles of land. United States engineers from mining companies are down there working on the laterites, but they're working shorthanded.

MAN: [Speaking Spanish, apparently acting as a teacher]

MAN: [Response in Spanish]

MAN: [Speaking Spanish]

MAN: [Response in Spanish]

MAN: Yes, we could use a few more engineers. There's a lot of mineral here in Cuba. What we're standing in right now is a lateritic ore deposit, one of the many that cover a good part of-- of the flat land around certain parts of tropical countries. This material here contains

iron, some nickel, some cobalt and a little chromium. If we were able to maintain a process that would completely extract all of these four metals and utilize them, we would get much more benefit out of the ore body. As it is, we're mining only the nickel, and the iron is lost. We don't save the cobalt and we don't save the chromium. These lateritic deposits lay over a good part of this part of Oriente, the province of Oriente in Cuba, and they're right on the surface, the sort of thing that you can pick up with a drag line, load into cars, take it away to the plant.

MURROW: There's more to the materials problem than just finding ores. You've got to have a good paying process for getting the metal out of them. And with the laterite, that's just what we haven't got, yet.

MAN: It's going to take an awful lot of engineers and trained personnel to crack this nut, and right now we simply don't have as many trained personnel as we really need. It's going to take more to do the job.

MURROW: You see, the materials problem has another problem inside it, the manpower problem. Let's listen now to another member of the Presidential commission that studied the materials problem, Mr. Eric Hodgins, a member of the Board of Editors of Fortune magazine.

HODGINS: For the world's most highly industrialized nation, the United States has a remarkably small working force of researchers - some 76,000 scientists, 59,000 engineers. If all our industries were as progressive as the chemical industry or the oil industry, there might be ten times that number that work on research. But they aren't. The great industrial procession in the U. S. has some stragglers. Our commission studies of what is ahead from now until 1975 made us feel that industries that depend upon chemical engineering and physics are pretty far out in front of those that must depend upon metallurgy and the so-called earth sciences. Yet it is upon these latter that we must rely for increasing our supplies from natural resources and making them go further and serve better in use. In the United States, we pour out nearly $3-billion a year on research, and 60 cents out of every dollar is spent by government, mostly by the Department of Defense. So, it's a fair guess that the majority of this research goes into activities that consume materials by burning them out and blowing them up without enough balancing activity in research that would increase the supply and lower the cost. Right now we have nowhere a consciously designed, broad-gauge research program to meet the materials problem on all fronts. The commission thinks it's high time we developed such a program and put it to work.

MURROW: A comprehensive program for materials. That would certainly seem to be just what we haven't got. We have great wealth, great talent and great willingness; but these all must be harnessed together if we're to cope with this great problem in what we like to call the

American way. How does the Materials Policy Commission suggest we go about it? Well, the commission made 78 recommendations on that subject, 78 proposals to guard America's materials position and protect us against rising costs that might torpedo our national and personal security. Now, here are five of those recommendations.

Recommended: Take a mineral census every five years. Speed up geological mapping. Step up and improve exploration programs. Give better financial aid to small miners and to prospectors seeking strategic ores.

Recommended: Open up federally owned commercial timber lands by building 6,000 miles of access roads. Stop destructive timber cutting on private land. Create a national system of forest credit and forest insurance. Step up fire protection.

Recommended: Make new agreements with friendly resource countries that will encourage and protect U. S. investment. Expand technical aid to underdeveloped countries who want to sell us materials we need. Get rid of tariffs that keep out of our country materials we need.

Recommended: Make a thorough study on how to advance our coal technology most rapidly. Develop our water power potential to the full, particularly on the St. Lawrence, Niagara and Columbia Rivers. Encourage government and industry cooperation to develop commercial electric power from atomic energy. Allow the National Science Foundation to sponsor some of the basic research we are falling behind on.

And recommended: Use military materials more efficiently. Review current policies for conserving scarce materials, and to increase scrap recovery. Keep on stockpiling strategic and critical materials at minimum cost for value received.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, nobody is asking you to agree with every detail of these five proposals, or with every one of the rest of the commission's 78 recommendations. No one is saying to you, "Here's the works. Take it or leave it!" No indeed. But it is right and proper to ask you - and I think you're going to want - to read these recommendations in full and study them for yourselves, and then make up your own minds. And for your good, and for your children's, we do ask you to think not just about materials, but about the materials problem and how it is best going to be met over the crucial next quarter-century that lies ahead.

And now, I'd like to introduce to you a man who has done considerable thinking on this problem, the Chairman of the President's Materials Policy Commission throughout the year-and-a-half of work that went into preparing this five-volume report titled "Resources For Freedom," Mr. William S. Paley.

PALEY: Our commission came up with some sobering facts which translate into some sobering problems. If we are watchful and alert, we can meet these facts and we can solve these problems. The only cause for alarm would be if we closed our eyes to the threat of creeping scarcities and higher costs and pretended that somehow the materials problem would blow over. It won't. Short of a miracle, we must regard it as permanent, just like the need for defense. Now, the government plays an important role on the materials front. It controls much of the land on which we find and grow materials. It is the largest purchaser and user of materials. And through the regulation of such matters as tariff and taxes, it exercises a significant influence on the supply and costs of materials. A good many of our recommendations, therefore, call for legislative or administrative action by government. However, we believe that the main burden for protecting our capacity to keep on growing falls on the workings of the free enterprise system. We of the commission have full faith in that system, just as we have full faith in the future long-term course of freedom, both here and abroad. But this faith must be accompanied by foresight and action. At home, we must strengthen our own resources position by ceasing to take our riches for granted, and by applying our initiative and our inventiveness in anticipation of our great materials needs. Abroad, we must make new and better arrangements for trade between our friends and allies. The materials problem is tied in with such tremendous issues as lasting prosperity and the hope of peace for our own and future generations. This is why the materials problem is everybody's problem. I hope you'll make it yours.

MURROW: Ladies and gentlemen, this program has been brought to you as a feature of the Public Affairs Division of CBS Television. If you'd like to know more about what the United States and the Free World are up against in materials, I suggest you send 30 cents to the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., 25, and ask him for a copy of the summary. Remember, the summary of volume one of the report, "Resources For Freedom."

Thank you, and good night.

[Music]

Resources for Freedom
Special Program

No Ans.

February 1, 1954

Mr. Wm. S. Paley
Chairman, Board of Directors
CBS, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Paley:

We broadcast the CBS film, RESOURCES FOR FREEDOM, on WWTV on Sunday, January 31st at 5:00 P.M. Please accept our most sincere congratulations to you, to Ed Murrow, and to all the CBS Public Affairs Staff for this outstanding presentation.

As a newspaperman for twenty years prior to my recent entry into broadcasting, I am fully aware of the problem involved in telling effectively the type of story which your Commission has to tell. I am confident that Ed Murrow's as always masterful presentation, plus the obvious extensive resource effort of the CBS Public Affairs Staff, told this important story in a way which must have held the sustained interest of a large percentage of our viewers. Such a presentation increases our pride in affiliation with CBS.

We are extremely happy over having the opportunity to present this film to our audience.

Sincerely,

L. T. Matthews
General Manager

LTM:DM

cc: Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Public Affairs Department
CBS Television Network
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.
and
Mr. C. A. Snyder
Director, Station Relations
CBS Television Network
New York, N. Y.

Post

Radio & Television

'Resources for Freedom' Helps TV Gain Maturity

By Lawrence Laurent

THE SOBER study of economics rarely turns up in television schedules. Generally, this specialized field is avoided and termed not sufficiently interesting to the viewing public.

Laurent

There was a notable exception yesterday and this exception may mark a new level in television's climb toward maturity.

"Resources for Freedom" (CBS, WTOP-TV, 3-4 p. m.) was a special hour program based on the report of the President's Materials Policy Commission. The report filled five volumes with detailed information on the natural resources of the United States and the free world.

Why was such a report transformed and made into a TV program? CBS Director of News and Public Affairs Sig Mickelson answered the question this way: "It is our belief that the American public has a great deal of thinking to do about our country's basic economic policy for the future, and it is our hope that "Resources for Freedom" will help the viewers appraise the many factors insolved.

REDOUBTABLE Edward R. Murrow was assigned to narrate the program, for Murrow has a special touch with a documentary. He opened with something of a shocker, " . . . last year I personally used up some 18 tons of various kinds of stuff to feed and clothe and shelter myself, and generally keep going. If you think this was more than my share—you used just as much yourself."

A little later, Murrow established the theme of the program with the words, ". . . although America is the Land of Plenty, the Plenty can give out."

Murrow was backed up by film clips. The film was gathered from CBS camera crews and reporters who had traveled more than 22,000 miles in North and Latin America to interview political and industrial leaders.

The films were of people with famous names like Bernard Baruch, scientist Vannevar Bush, labor leader John L. Lewis, Harvard Dean Dr. Edward S. Mason, Mme. Vijaya Lakshm Pandit, president of the United Nations General Assembly, and Sen. Henry C. Dworshak (R-Ida.).

The persons with famous names, do not however, make a complete program. The audience needs someone with whom to identify itself. "Resources for Freedom" producer Roy Lockwood used a large number of those persons who are sometimes referred to as the "little people."

COAL MINERS in West Virginia sat and talked about technological unemployment without using the economists's term. One concluded the discussion with, "I don't know what's going to happen." His boss, operator of a small mine, didn't have the answers, either.

The viewer, I believe, got the main idea from the industrial giants and the workmen: resaurces are a problem which concerns all.

Murrow closed by pointing out that the viewer didn't have to agree with the Commission proposals.

"Resources for Freedom" was television at its expository best. A problem was explained. Varying views were expressed. Possible answers were offered, then you were asked to make up your mind.

Surprising, perhaps, it was also an entertaining hour of TV.

Singer, Russel
Special Progra

January 21, 1954

Dear Russel:

Very many thanks for your letter of January 18th and kind comments.

This is just a note to tell you that the script for RESOURCES FOR FREEDOM is not available at the moment, but as soon as it is I will send you one.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Russel Singer
Executive Vice President
American Automobile Association
Washington, D.C.

rh

American Automobile Association
Washington, D.C.

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

January 18, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Following our telephone conversation concerning your outstanding program on Sunday, January 10th, based on the resources report, I got in touch with Dr. William Carr, Executive Secretary of N.E.A.

He had not seen your program, but several had spoken to him about it. He observed that the schools generally prefer to deal with commercial organizations which make films available to the schools on a sale or rental basis, such as the Encyclopedia Britannica.

He wasn't inclined to pick up my suggestion that the N.E.A. write you suggesting that this picture be made available to the schools, so I guess another good idea goes down the drain.

Maybe C.B.S. will do it anyway, because this program should be seen by every boy and girl in the country.

In fact, it is so good I wish C.B.S. would show it again. You said I might have a copy of the script. I should be most grateful for it.

You are doing a great job, Ed. I hope you are holding up well.

Every good wish,

Russell E. Singer
Executive Vice-President

RES:Mc

Good
2 copy
Ed

"SEE IT NOW"

McCARTHY PROGRAMS

MURROW'S REPORT ON SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY - March 9, 1954

McCARTHY's REPLY - April 6, 1954

MURROW'S COUNTER-REBUTTAL TO McCARTHY - April 6, 1954

MURROW ROOM FILE #7, DRAWERS "A" and "B" CONTAIN ALL MATERIALS PERTAINING TO SENATOR McCARTHY and McCARTHYISM.

Ex. Commerce

SEE IT NOW with EDWARD R. MURROW - MARCH 9,1954

MURROW: Good evening. Tonight SEE IT NOW devotes its entire half hour to a report on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy told mainly in his own words and pictures. But first ALCOA would like you to meet a man who has been with them for 50 years.

(COMMERCIAL)

MURROW: Because a report on Senator McCarthy is by definition controversial we want to say exactly what we mean to say and I request your permission to read from the script whatever remarks Murrow and Friendly may make. If the Senator believes we have done violence to his words or pictures and desires to speak, to answer himself, an opportunity will be afforded him on this program. Our working thesis tonight is this question.

"If this fight against Communism is made a fight between against America's two great political parties the American people know that one of these parties will be destroyed and the Republic cannot endure very long as a one party system."

We applaud that statement and we think Senator McCarthy ought to. He said it, 17 months ago in Milwaukee.

MC CARTHY: The American people realize this cannot be made a fight between America's two great political parties. If this fight against Communism is made a fight between America's two great political parties the American people know that one of those parties will be destroyed and the Republic cannot endure very long as a one party system.

MURROW: Thus on February 4th,1954, Senator Mc Carthy spoke of one party's treason. This was at Charleston, West Virginia where there were no cameras running. It was recorded on tape.

MC CARTHY: The issue between the Republicans and Democrats is clearly drawn. It has been deliberately drawn by those who have been in charge of 20 years of treason. The hard fact is - the hard fact is that those who wear the label, those who wear the label Democrat wear it with the stain of a historic betrayal.

MURROW: 17 months ago Candidate Eisenhower met Senator McCarthy in Green Bay, Wisconsin and he laid down the ground rules on how he would meet Communism if elected.

EISENHOWER: This is a pledge I make. If I am charged by you people to be the responsible head of the Executive Department it will be my initial responsibility to see that subversion, disloyalty, is kept out of the Executive Department. We will always appreciate and welcome Congressional investigation but the responsibility will rest squarely on the shoulders of the Executive and I hold that there are ample powers in the government to get rid of these people if the Executive Department is really concerned in doing it. We can do it with absolute assurance.

(APPLAUSE)

This is America's principle; Trial by jury, of the innocent until proved guilty, and I expect to stand to do it.

MURROW: That same night in Milwaukee, Senator McCarthy stated what he would do if the General was elected.

MC CARTHY: I spent about a half hour with the General last night. While I can't -- while I can't report that we agreed entirely on everything -- I can report that when I left that meeting with the General, I had the same feeling as when I went in, and that is that he is a great American, and will make a great President, an outstanding President. But I want to tell you tonight, tell the American people as long as I represent you and the rest of the American people in the Senate, I shall continue to call them as I see them regardless of who happens to be President.

MURROW: November 24th, 1953.

MC CARTHY: A few days ago I read that President Eisenhower expressed the hope that by election time in 1954 the subject of Communism would be a dead and forgotten issue. The raw, harsh unpleasant fact is that Communism is an issue and will be an issue in 1954.

MURROW: On one thing the Senator has been consistent... Often operating as a one-man committee, he has traveled far, interviewed many, terrorized some, accused civilian and military leaders of the past administration of a great conspiracy to turn the country over to Communism, investigated and substantially demoralized the present State Department, made varying charges, of espionage at Fort Monmouth. (The Army says it has been unable to find anything relating to espionage there.) He has interrogated a varied assortment of what he calls "Fifth Amendment Communists." Republican Senator Flanders of Vermont said of McCarthy today;

"He dons war paint; he goes into his war dance; he emits his war whoops; he goes forth to battle and proudly returns with the scalp of a pink Army dentist."

Other critics have accused the Senator of using the bull whip and smear. There was a time two years ago when the Senator and his friends said he had been smeared and bull whipped.

MR. KEEFE: You would sometimes think to hear the quartet that call themselves "Operation Truth" damning Joe McCarthy and resorting to the vilest smears I have ever heard. Well, this is the answer, and if I could express it in what is in my heart right now, I would do it in terms of the poet who once said:

Ah 'tis but a dainty flower I bring you,
Yes, 'tis but a violet, glistening with dew,
But still in its heart there lies beauties concealed
So in our heart our love for you lies unrevealed.

MC CARTHY: You know, I used to pride myself on the idea that I was a bit tough, especially over the past 18 or 19 months when we have been kicked around and bull whipped and damned. I didn't think that I could be touched very deeply. But tonight, frankly, my cup and my heart is so full I can't talk to you.

MURROW: But in Philadelphia, on Washington's Birthday, 1954, his heart was so full he could talk. He reviewed some of the General Zwicker testimony and proved he hadn't abused him.

MCCARTHY: Nothing is more serious than a traitor to this country in the Communist conspiracy. Question: Do you think stealing $50 is more serious than being a traitor to the country and a part of the Communist conspiracy?
Answer: That, sir, was not my decision.

Shall we go on to that for a while? I hate to impose on your time. I just got two pages. This is the abuse which is... the real meat of abuse, this is the Official reporter's record of the hearing. After he said he wouldn't remove that General from the Army who cleared Communists, I said: "Then General, you should be removed from any Command. Any man who has been given the honor of being promoted to General, and who says,'I will protect another general who protects Communists,' is not fit to wear that uniform, General."

(APPLAUSE)

"I think it is a tremendous disgrace to the Army to have to bring these facts before the public but I intend to give it to the public, General, I have a duty to do that. I intend to repeat to the press exactly what you said so that you can know that and be back here to hear it, General."

And wait 'til you hear the bleeding hearts scream and cry about our methods of trying to drag the truth from those who know, or should know, who covered up a Fifth Amendment Communist Major. But they say, 'Oh, it's all right to uncover them but don't get rough doing it, McCarthy.'

MURROW: But two days later, Secretary Stevens and the Senator had lunch, agreed on a memorandum of understanding, disagreed on what the small type said.

STEVENS: I shall never accede to the abuse of Army personnel under any circumstance including committee hearings. I shall not accede to them being brow beaten or humiliated. In the light of those assurances although I did not propose cancellation of the hearing, I acceded to it. If it had not been for these assurances, I would never have entered into any agreement whatsoever.

MURROW: Then President Eisenhower issued a statement that his advisers thought censored the Senator, but the Senator saw it as another victory, called the entire Zwicker case "a tempest in a teapot."

MC CARTHY: If a stupid, arrogant or witless man in a position of power appears before our Committee and is found aiding the Communist Party, he will be exposed. The fact that he might be a General places him in no special class as far as I am concerned. Apparently --apparently, the President and I now agree on the necessity of getting rid of Communists. We apparently disagree on on how we should handle those who protect Communists. When the shouting and the tumult dies the American people and the President will realize that this unprecedented mud slinging against the Committee by the extreme left wing elements of press and radio was caused solely because another Fifth Amendment Communist was finally dug out of the dark recesses and exposed to the public view.

MURROW: Senator McCarthy claims that only the left wing press criticized him on the Zwicker case. Of the 50 large circulation newspapers in the country, these are the left wing papers that criticized. These are the ones which supported him. The ratio is about three to one against the Senator. Now let us look at some of these left wing papers that criticized the Senator.

The Chicago Tribune; McCarthy will better serve his cause if he learns to distinguish the role of investigator from the role of avenging angel.

The New York Times; The unwarranted interference of a demagogue - a domestic Munich.

The Times Herald, Washington: Senator McCarthy's behavior towards Zwicker is not justified.

Then Herald Tribune of New York: McCarthyism involves assault on Republican assets.

Milwaukee Journal: The line must be drawn and defended or McCarthy will become the government.

The Evening Star of Washington: It was a bad day for everyone who resents and detests the bully boy tactics which Senator McCarthy often employs.

The New York World Telegram: Bamboozling, bludgeoning, distorting.

St. Louis Post Dispatch: Unscroupulous bullying. What tragic irony - the President's advisers keep him from doing what ever decent instinct must command him to do.

That is the ratio from three to one of the left wing press.

There was one other interesting quote on the Zwicker controversy, and it came from the Senator himself.

MCCARTHY: May I say that I was extremely shocked when I heard that Secretary Stevens told two Army officers they had to take part in the cover up of those who promoted and coddled Communists. As I read his statement, I thought of that quotation "On what meat doth this, our Caesar, feed?"

MURROW: And upon what meat does Sen. McCarthy feed? Two of the staples of his diet are the investigations (protected by immunity) and the half truth. We herewith sumbit samples of both. First, the half truth. This was an attack on Adlai Stevenson at the end of the '52 campaign. President Eisenhower, it must be said, had no prior knowledge of it.

MCCARTHY: I perform this unpleasant task because the American people are entitled to have the coldly documented history of this man who says he wants to be your President. But Strangely, Alger--I mean Adlai...but let's move on to another part of the jigsaw puzzle. While you may think that there can be no connection between the debonair Democrat candidate and a dilapidated Massachusetts barn, I want to show you a picture of this barn and explain the connection. Here is the outside of the barn. Give me the picture of the inside of the barn. Here is the outside of the barn at Lee, Mass. It looks as though it couldn't house a farmer's cow or goat. Here's the inside. (Showing picture) A beautiful, panelled conference room with maps of the Soviet Union. What way does Stevenson tie up with that?

My -my investigators went out and took pictures of the barn after we had been tipped off what was in it. Tipped off that there was in this barn all the missing documents from the Communist front-IPR. The IPR which was named by the McCarran Committee- named before the McCarran Committee as a coverup for Communist espionage. Let's take a look at the photostat of the document taken from the Massachusetts barn. One of those documents which was never supposed to see the light of day. Rather interesting it is. This is a document which shows that Alger Hiss and Frank Coe recommended Adlai Stevenson to the Mount Tremblant Conference which was called for the purpose of establishing foreign policy--post-war policy in Asia. As you know, Alger Hiss is a convicted traitor, Frank Coe is a man who has been named under oath before the Congressional Committee seven times as a member of the Communist Party. Why, why Hiss and Coe find that Adlai Stevenson is the man they want representing them at this conference? I don't know. Perhaps Adlai knows.

MURROW: But Sen. McCarthy didn't permit his audience to hear the entire paragraph. This is the official record of the McCarran hearings and anyone could have bought it for two dollars. Quote: "Another possibility for the Mount Tremblant Conferences on Asia is someone from Knox' office or Stimson's office." (Frank Knox was our wartime Secretary of the Navy; Henry Stimson our Secretary of the Army, both distinguished Republicans) Coe and Hiss mentioned Adlai Stevenson, one of Knox' special assistants and Harvey Bundy, former Assistant Secretary of State under Hoover, and now assistant to Stimson because of their jobs.

We read from this documented record not in defense of Mr. Stevenson, but in defense of truth. Specifically, Mr. Stevenson's identification with that red barn was no more, no less than that of Knox, Stimson, or Bundy. It should be stated that Mr. Stevenson was once a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations. But so were such other loyal Americans as Sen. Ferguson, John Foster Dulles, Paul Hoffman, Henry Luce, and Herbert F. Hoover. Their association carries with it no guilt, and that barn has nothing to do with any of them.

Now a sample investigation. The witness was Reed Harris, for many years a civil servant in the State Department directing the information service. Harris was accused of helping the Communistic cause by curtailing some broadcasts to Israel. Sen. McCarthy summoned him and questioned him about a book he had written in 1932.

MCCARTHY: Mr. Reed Harris, your name is Reed Harris? ANSWER: That's right.

MCCARTHY: You wrote a book in '32, is that correct? ANSWER: Yes, I wrote a book and as I testified in executive session --

MCCARTHY: At the time you wrote the book--pardon me, go ahead, I'm sorry, proceed.

ANSWER: --at the time I wrote the book the atmosphere in the universities of the United States was greatly affected by the great depression then in existence, the attitudes of students, the attitudes of the general public were considerably different than they are at this moment, and for one thing there certainly was no awareness to the degree that there is today of the way the Communist Party works.

MCCARTHY: You attended Columbia University in the early thirties, is that right.

ANSWER: I did, Mr. Chairman.

fad

MC CARTHY: Will you speak a little louder, sir?
Answer: I did, Mr. Chairman.

MC CARTHY: And you were expelled from Columbia?
Answer: I was suspended. from classes on April 1, 1932. I was later reinstated and I resigned from the University.

MC CARTHY: You resigned from the University. Did the Civil Liberties Union provide you with an attorney at that time?
Answer: I had many offers of attorneys and one of those was from the American Civil Liberties Union, yes.

MC CARTHY: The question is did the Civil Liberties Union supply you with an attorney?
Answer: They did supply an attorney.

MC CARTHY The answer is yes?
Answer: The answer is yes.

MC CARTHY: You know the Civil Liberties Union has been listed as a front for and doing the work of the Communist Party?
Answer: Mr. Chairman this was 1932.

MC CARTHY I know it was 1932, Do you know they since have been listed as a front for and doing the work of the Communist Party?
Answer: I do not know that they have been listed so, sir.

MC CARTHY You don't know they have been listed?
Answer: I have heard that mentioned or read that mentioned.

MC CARTHY You wrote a book in 1932. I'm going to ask you again at the time you wrote this book did you feel that professors should be given the right to teach sophomores that marriage "should be cast off of our civilization as antiquated and stupid religious phenomena?" Was that your feeling at that time?
Answer: My feeling was that professors should have the right to express their considered opinions on any subject whatever they were, sir.

MCCARTHY: I'm going to ask you this question again. ANSWER: That includes that quotation, they should have the right to teach anything that came to their mind as being a proper thing to teach.

MCCARTHY: I'm going to make you answer this. ANSWER: I'll answer yes, but you put an implication on it and you feature this particular point out of the book which of course is quite out of context, does not give a proper impression of the book as a whole. The American public doesn't get an honest impression of even that book bad as it is, from what you are quoting from it.

MCCARTHY: Then let's continue to read your own writings. ANSWER: 21 years ago again.

MCCARTHY: Yes, we shall try and bring you down to date if we can.

ANSWER: Mr. Chairman, two weeks ago Sen. Taft took the position that I taught 21 years ago, that Communists and Socialists should be allowed to teach in the schools. It so happens nowadays I don't agree with Sen. Taft as far as Communist teachers in the schools is concerned because I think Communists are in effect a plainclothes auxiliary of the Red Army, the Soviet Red Army, and I don't want to see them in any of our schools teaching.

MCCARTHY: I don't recall Sen. Taft ever having any of the background that you have got. ANSWER: I resent the tone of this inquiry very much, Mr. Chairman. I resent it not only because it is my neck, my public neck that you are I think very skillfully trying to wring, but I say it because there are thousands of able and loyal employees in the Federal government of the United States who have been properly cleared according to the laws and the security practices of their agencies as I was, unless the new regime says no. I was before.

QUESTION: Do you think this book you wrote then did considerable harm? Its publication might have had adverse influence on the public by an expression of views contained in it?

ANSWER: The sale of that book was so abysmally small, it was so unsuccessful that a question of its influence, really you can go back to the publisher, you'll see it was one of the most unsuccessful books he ever put out. He's still sorry about it just as I am.

QUESTION: Well I think that's a compliment to American intelligence I will say that.

MURROW: Sen. McCarthy succeeded only in proving that Reed Harris had once written a bad book which the American people had proved 22 years ago by not buying it, which is what they eventually do with all bad ideas. As for Reed Harris, his resignation was accepted a month later with a letter of commendation. McCarthy claimed it was a victory. The Reed Harris hearing demonstrates one of the Senator's techniques. Twice he said the American Civil Liberties Union was listed as a subversive front. The Attorney General's list does not and has never listed the AGLU as subversive nor does the FBI or any other government agency. And the American Civil Liberties Union holds in its files letters of commendation from President Eisenhower, President Truman, and Gen. MacArthur.

Now let us try to bring the McCarthy story a little more up to date. Two years ago Sen. Benton of Conn. accused McCarthy of apparent perjury, unethical practice and perpetrating a hoax on the Senate. McCarthy sued for two million dollars. Last week he dropped the case saying no one could be found who believed Benton's story. Several volunteers have come forward saying they believe it in its entirety.

Today Sen. McCarthy says he's going to get a lawyer and force the networks to give him time to reply to Adlai Stevenson's speech. Earlier, the Senator asked, "upon what meat does this our Caesar feed." Had he looked three lines earlier in Shakespeare's Caesar he would have found this line, which is not altogether inappropriate: "The fault, dear Brutus is not in our stars but in ourselves."

No one familiar with the history of this country can deny that Congressional committees are useful. It is necessary to investigate before legislating, but the line between investigation and persecuting is a very fine one and the junior senator from Wisconsin has stepped over it repeatedly. His primary achievement has been in confusing the public mind as between internal and the external threat of Communism. We must not confuse dissent with disloyalty. We must remember always that accusation is not proof and that conviction depends upon evidence and due process of law. We will not walk in fear, one of another. We will not be driven by fear into an age of unreason if we dig deep in our history and our doctrine, and remember that we are not descended from fearful men, not from men who feared to write, to speak, to associate and to defend causes which were for the moment unpopular.

MURROW: This is no time for men who oppose Sen.McCarthy's methods to keep silent, or for those who approve. We can deny our heritage and our history but we cannot escape responsibility for the result. There is no way for a citizen of a republic to abdicate his responsibilities. As a nation we have come into our full inheritance at a tender age. We proclaim ourselves, as indeed we are, the defenders of freedon, what's left of it, but we cannot defend freedom abroad by deserting it at home. The actions of the junior senator from Wisconsin have caused alarm and dismay amongst our allies abroad and given considerable comfort to our enemies, and whose fault is that? Not really his, he didn't create this situation of fear, he merely exploited it and rather successfully. Cassius was right, "The fault, dear Brutus is not in our stars, but in ourselves."

Good night, and good luck.

Mr. Murrow

McCarthy's Reply

SEE IT NOW

APRIL 6th, 1954

MR. MURROW

Good Evening! This is See It Now, presented each week at this time by Alcoa, the Aluminum Company of America.

Tonight's report consists entirely of certain remarks by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, and in order to present those remarks without interruption, we ask you now to look with us at this report from Alcoa.

(COMMERCIAL)

MR. MURROW

One month ago tonight, we presented a report on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. We labeled it as controversial. Most of that report consisted of words and pictures of the Senator. At that time we said, if the Senator believes we have done violence to his words or pictures, if he desires to speak, to answer himself, an opportunity will be afforded him on this program.

The Senator sought the opportunity, asked for a delay of three weeks because he said he was very busy and he wished adequate time to prepare his reply.

(MORE)

fad

MR. MURROW (CTD)

We agreed. We supplied the Senator with a kinescope of that program of March 9 and with such scripts and recordings as he requested. We placed no restrictions upon the manner or method of the presentation of his reply and we suggested that we would not take time to comment on this particular program.

The Senator chose to make his reply on film. Here now is Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, junior Senator from Wisconsin!

SENATOR MC CARTHY

Good evening.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow, educational director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, devoted his program to an attack on the work of the United States Senate Investigating Committee and on me personally as its chairman, and over the past four years he had made repeated attacks upon me and those fighting Communists.

Of course, neither Joe McCarthy nor Edward R. Murrow is of any great importance as individuals. We are only important in our relation to the great struggle to preserve our American liberties.

The Senate Investigating Committee has forced out of government and out of important defense plants Communists engaged in the Soviet conspiracy.

(MORE)

fad

You know it's interesting to note that the viciousness of Murrow's attacks is in direct ratio to our success in digging out Communists.

Now, ordinarily, I would not take time out from the important work at hand to answer Murrow. However, in this case I feel justified in doing so because Murrow is a symbol, the leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares to expose individual Communists and traitors.

I am compelled by the facts to say to you that Mr. Edward R. Murrow, as far back as twenty years ago, was engaged in propaganda for Communist causes. For example, the Institute of International Education, of which he was the acting director, was chosen to act as a representative by a Soviet agency to do a job which would normally be done by the Russian Secret Police.

Mr. Murrow sponsored a Communist school in Moscow. In the selection of American students and teachers who were to attend, Mr. Murrow's organization acted for the Russian espionage and propaganda organization known as Voks. V-O-K-S. Many of those selected were later exposed as Communists. Murrow's organization selected such notorious Communists as Isadore Bugin, David Zablodowsky (sp). Incidentally, Zablodowsky was forced out of the United Nations, when my chief counsel presented his case to the grand jury and gave a picture of his Communist activities.

(MORE)

fad

SENATOR MC CARTHY (CTD)

Now, Mr. Murrow, by his own admission, was a member of the IWW - that's the Industrial Workers of the World - a terrorist organization cited as subversive by an attorney general of the United States, who stated that it was an organization which seeks (and I quote) "to alter the Government of the United States by unconstitutional means." Now, other government committees have had before them actors, screen writers, motion picture producers, and others who admitted Communist affiliations but pleaded youth or ignorance. Now, Mr. Murrow can hardly make the same plea. On March 9 of this year, Mr. Murrow, a trained reporter, who had traveled all over the world, who was the educational director of CBS, followed implicitly the Communist line as laid down in the last six months, laid down not only by the Communist Daily Worker, but by the Communist magazine Political Affairs and by the National Conference of the Communist Party of the United States of America. Now, the question: why is it important to you, the people of America, to know why the Educational Director and the Vice President of CBS so closely follows the Communist Party line? To answer that question we must turn back the pages of history. A little over a hundred years ago a little group of men in Europe conspired to deliver the world to a new system, to Communism.

(MORE)

fad

SENATOR MC. CARTHY (CTD)

Under their system, the individual is nothing, the family was nothing. God did not even exist. Their theory was that an all-powerful state should have the power of life or death over its citizens without even a trial, that everything and everybody belonged to the rulers of the state. They openly wrote - nothing secret about it - that in their efforts to gain power, they would be justified in doing anything. They would be justified in following the trail of deceit, lies, terror, murder, treason, blackmail. All these things were elevated to virtues in the Communist rule book.

If a convert to communism could be persuaded that he was a citizen of the world, it, of course would be much easier to make him a traitor to his own country.

Now, for 70 years the communist made little progress. Let me show you a map of the world as it stood in the middle of the First World War, 1917, before the Russian Revolution. You will see that there was not a single foot of ground on the face of the globe under the domination or control of the Communists, and bear in mind that this was only 36 years ago. In 1917, we were engaged in a great world war in defense of our way of life and in defense of American liberty.

(MORE)

fad

SENATOR MC CARTHY (CTD)

The Kaiser was obliged to divide his armies and fight on both the eastern and western fronts. In the midst of the war, the Russian people overthrew their Czarist master and they set up a democratic form of government under the leadership of Alexander Kerensky. Now, Kerensky's government instantly pledged all-out support to the Allies. At this instant the Imperial German Government secretly financed the return to Russia of seven Communist exiles, led by Nicolai Lenin, exiles that had been forced to flee the country, a rather important event in the history of the world.

Now, once in Russia, by the same methods which the Communists are employing in the United States today, they undermined the army, they undermined the navy, the civilian heads of the government, and in 100 days, those seven communists were literally the masters of Russia.

Now, with all of the wealth of the nation at their command, they proceeded to finance Communist parties in every country of the world.

(MORE)

fad

They sent to those countries trained propagandists and spies. In every country they, of course, had to find glib, clever men like Edward R. Murrow who would sponsor invitations to students and teachers to attend indoctrination schools in Moscow, exactly as Murrow has done.

They trained Communists in every country in the world. Their sole purpose was to infiltrate the government, and once Communists were in government, they in turn brought others in.

Now, let us look at the map of the world as it was twenty years ago. At that time there was one country with 180 million people in Communist chains. Now, let us look at a map of the world as of tonight, this 6th day of April 1954: Over one-third of the earth's area under Communist control and 800 million people in Communist chains, in addition to the 800 million Communist chains in Europe and Asia.

Finally, the Communists have gained a foothold and a potential military base here in our half of the world, in Guatemala, with the Communists seeping down in to Honduras. My good friends, how much of this was achieved by military force and how much was achieved by traitors and Communist-line propagandists in our own government and in other free governments? Let us start in Europe, if we may?

(MORE)

fad

They took by military force a little piece of Finland; in the same way they took three small Baltic states, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

They took half of Poland in the same way. They acquired the rest of Poland through Polish traitors and Communists in our own government, who gave American dollars and American support to the Communists in Poland. They took over Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary, without firing a single shot. They did this by the infiltration of Communists in the key spots in the governments. The Communists took over Czechoslovakia without firing a shot. This they did by the infiltration of Communists into the Czechoslovakian Government also.

And listen to what a high official in the anti-Communist government of Czechoslovakia had to say about the Communist enslavement of Czechoslovakia. Here is what he says: He said, "In my country, the pattern was identical to what it is in the United States. If anyone, before the Communists took over, dared to attack those Communists who were preparing and shaping the policy of my government, shaping the policy to betray my people, he was promptly attacked and destroyed by a combination of Communists, fellow travellers and those unthinking people who thought they were serving the cause of liberalism and progress, but who were actually serving the cause of the most reactionary credo of all times, Communism." Still quoting: "Because of those people, night has fallen upon my nation and slavery upon my people."

fad (MORE)

Now, shifting to another area of the world, to the East, how about this vast land area and the teaming masses of China? Let's just take a look at that map, if you please. Keep in mind that a few short years ago China was a free nation, friendly to the United States.

Now, let's take a look at that map. Were those 400 million Chinese captured by force of arms? Certainly not. They were delivered, delivered to Communist slave masters by the jackal pack of Communist-line propagandists, including the friends of Mr. Edward R. Murrow, who day after day shouted to the world that the Chinese Communists were agrarian reformers and that our ally, the Republic of China, represented everything that was evil and wicked.

Now, my good friends, if there were no Communists in our government, would we have consented to and connived to turn over all of our Chinese friends to the Russians? Now, my good friends, if there had been no Communists in our government, would we have rewarded them with all of Manchuria, half of the Kurile Islands and one-half of Korea?

Now, how many Americans, how many Americans have died and will die because of this sellout to Communist Russia, God only knows.

(MORE)

fad

SEN. MC CARTHY:

If there were no Communists in our government, why did we delay for 18 months, delay our research on the hydrogen bomb, even though our intelligence agencies were reporting day after day that the Russians were feverishly pushing their development of the H Bomb? And may I say to America tonight that our nation may well die, our nation may well die because of that 18 months' deliberate delay. And I ask you, who caused it? Was it loyal Americans or was it traitors in our government?

It is often said by the Left Wing that it is sufficient to fight Communism in Europe and Asia, but that Communism is not a domestic American issue. But the record, my good friends, is that the damage has been done by cleverly calculated subversion at home, and not from abroad. It is this problem of subversion that our Committee faces.

Let us very quickly glance at some of the work of our committee, some of the work that has been done in slightly over a year's time: for example, 238 witnesses were examined in public session: 367 witnesses examined in executive session: 84 witnesses refused to testify as to Communist activities on the ground that if they told the truth they might go to jail: 24 wintesses of Communist backgrounds have been discharged from jobs in which they were handling secret, top-secret confidential material--individuals who were exposed before our committee.

SEN. MC CARTHY:

Of course, you can't measure the success of a committee by a box score, based on the number of Communist heads that have rolled from secret jobs. It is completely impossible to even estimate the effect on our government of the day-to-day plodding exposure of communists--and that is, of course, why the Murrow's bleed.

For example, the exposure of only one Fifth Amendment Communist in the government Printing Office, an office having access to secret material from almost every government agency, resulted in an undisclosed number of suspensions. It resulted in the removal of the loyalty board and the revamping of all the loyalty rules so that we do have apparently a good, tight loyalty setup in the Printing Office at this time.

Also, a disclosure of Communists in the military and the radar laboratories resulted in the abolition of the Pentagon Board, which had cleared and ordered reinstated Communists who had for years been handling government secrets.

Also, as a result of those hearings, Army orders have been issued to prevent the recurrence of the Major Peress scandal which was exposed by the committee.

Now, to attempt to evaluate the effect of the work on an investigating committee would be about as impossible as to attempt to evaluate the effect of well-trained watch dogs upon the activities of potential burglars.

mr

SEN. MC CARTHY:

We Americans live in a free world, a world where we can stand as individuals, where we can go to the church of our own choice and worship God as we please, each in his own fashion, where we can freely speak our opinions on any subject or on any man.

Now, whether we shall continue to so live has come to issue now. We will soon know whether we are going to go on living that kind of life or whether we are going to live the kind of life that 800-million slaves live under Communist domination.

The issue is simple: it is the issue of life or death for our civilization.

Now, Mr. Murrow said on this program--(and I quote)- He said: "The actions of the junior Senator from Wisconsin have given considerable comfort to the enemy." That's the language of our statute of treason, rather strong language.

If I am giving comfort to our enemies, I ought not to be in the Senate.

SEN. MC CARTHY

If on the other hand, Mr. Murrow is giving comfort to our enemies, he ought not to be brought into the homes of millions of Americans by the Columbia Broadcasting System. This is a question which can be resolved with very little difficulty. What do the Communists think of me and what do the Communists think of Mr. Murrow? One of us is on the side of the Communists: the other is against the Communists, against Communist slavery.

The Communists have 3 official publications in America. These are not ordinary publications. They have been officially determined to be the transmission belts through which Communists in America are instructed as to the party line, or the position which Communists writers and playwrights must take. Also, of course, telecasters, broadcasters. The first of these is a booklet which I would like to show you, if I may. It's entitled "The Main Report Delivered at the National Conference of the Communist Party of the USA," published in New York in October 1953. The report states: (QUOTE) "the struggle against McCarthyism is developing currently along the following main lines." Keep in mind this is the Communist publication giving instructions to the members of the Party on the following main lines: Struggle against witch-hunting, struggle against investigations of the McCarthy-McCarran type, and defense of the victims of McCarthyism, such as Owen Lattimore, etc. In addition there is the direct attack on McCarthy."

mr

SEN. MC CARTHY:

May I ask you, does that sound somewhat like the program of Edward R. Murrow on March 9, over this same station?

In this report the Communists do not hesitate to instruct, to instruct the comrades that their fight on McCarthy is only a means to a larger end. Again let me quote from the insturctions from the Communist Party to its membership, from page 33. (I quote:) "Our main task is to mobilize the masses for the defeat of the foreign and domestic policies of the Eisenhower Administration and for the defeat of the Eisenhower regime itself. The struggle against McCarthyism contributes to this general objective."

There's one more quotation, if I may, from page 31 of these instructions from the Communist Party to its members (I quote:) "Since the elections, McCarthyism has emerged as a menace of major proportions." I think maybe we know what the Communist Party means by a menace of major proportions. They mean a menace of major proportions. They mean a menace of major proportions to the Communist party.

Now let's take 30 seconds or so, if we may, to look a little further to see who is giving comfort to our enemies. Here is a Communist Daily Worker of March 9, containing 7 articles and a principal editorial, all attacking McCarthy, and the same issue lists Mr. Murrow's program as -- listen to this -- "one of tonight's best bets on TV."

mr

SEN. MC CARTHY

And then just one more. Here's the issue of March 17. Its principal front-page article is an attack on McCarthy. It has 3 other articles attacking McCarthy. It is a special article by William Z. Foster, the head of the Communist Party in America, and now under indictment on charges of attempting to overthrow this government by force and violence. This article by Foster, praising Edward R. Murrow.

Just one more, if I may impose on your time, the issue of March 26. This issue has 2 articles attacking witch-hunting. 3 articles attacking McCarthy, a cartoon of McCarthy, and an article in praise of Mr. Edward R. Murrow.

And now I would like to also show you the Communist political organ, entitled Political Affairs. The lead article is a report dated November 21, 1953 of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, attacking McCarthy and telling how the loyal members of the Communist Party can serve their cause by getting rid of this awful McCarthy.

Now, as you know, Owen Lattimore has been named as a conscious, articulate instrument of the Communist conspiracy. He has been so named by the Senate Internal Security Committee. He is now under criminal indictment for perjury. With respect to testimony in regard to his Communist activities, in his book "Ordeal by Slander", he says -- and I think I can quote him verbatim -- he says: "I owe a very special debt to men I have never met. I must mention at least Edward R. Murrow."

mr

SENATOR MC CARTHY

Then there is the book by Harold Laski, admittedly the greatest Communist propagandist of our time in England. In his book, "Reflections on the Revolution of Our Times," he dedicates the book "To my friends, E. R. Murrow and Lanham Tichener, with affection."

I am perfectly willing to let the American people decide who is giving comfort to our enemies. Much of the documentation which we have here on the table tonight will not be available to the American people by way of television. However, this will all be made available to you within the next two weeks.

In conclusion, may I say that under the shadow of the most horrible and destructive weapons that man has ever devised, we fight to save our country, our homes, our churches, our children. To this cause, ladies and gentlemen, I have dedicated and will continue to dedicate all that I have and all that I am, and I want to assure you that I will not be deterred by the attacks of the Murrows, the Lattimores, the Fosters, the Daily Worker, or the Communist Party itself.

Now, I make no claim to leadership. In complete humility, I do ask you and every American who loves this country to join with me.

MR. MURROW:

That was a film of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, presented at our invitation. It was in response to a program we presented on March 9th. This reporter undertook to make no comment at this time, but naturally reserved his right to do so subsequently. Good night, and Good Luck!

mr

from:

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.
Plaza 1-2345

Pete

April 6, 1954

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT BY EDWARD R. MURROW ON
SENATOR McCARTHY'S BROADCAST ON "SEE IT NOW," APRIL 6, 1954

Senator McCarthy's reckless and unfounded attempt to impugn my loyalty is just one more example of his typical tactic of attempting to tie up to Communism anyone who disagrees with him. I now join the distinguished list upon which already appear the Washington Post, the Milwaukee Journal, Time Magazine, Commonweal, the Christian Science Monitor and General Marshall, among others. The Washington Post is characterized by Senator McCarthy as "the Washington edition of the Daily Worker"; the Milwaukee Journal as "the Milwaukee edition of the Daily Worker"; Time Magazine as having a purpose to "obstruct the fight against Communists"; Commonweal, a leading Catholic weekly, as having done "a great service to the Communist party"; the Christian Science Monitor as paralleling the Daily Worker in "venomous, distorted" stories; and General Marshall as "always and invariably serving the world policy of the Kremlin."

Senator McCarthy plays upon this nation's determination to protect itself against Communism as a means of creating distrust of anyone who criticizes him no matter how devoted to our American institutions the critic may be. I take no back seat to Senator McCarthy or anybody else in my dedication to this country and to its aims and ideals, nor are my views about the danger of Communism or Communist

(More)

infiltration into the affairs of this country less uncompromising than those presumably held by the Junior Senator from Wisconsin. It is my devotion to the principles upon which this nation rests -- justice, freedom and fairness -- which sets me apart from Senator McCarthy. I would like to repeat the thought I expressed in answer to an earlier attack on me by Senator McCarthy: When the record is finally written, as it will be one day, it will answer the question who has helped the Communist cause and who has served his country better, Senator McCarthy or I. I would like to be remembered by the answer to that question.

Here are comments on the specific points raised by Senator McCarthy tonight:

1. One charge is that by my own admission I was a member of the IWW. That is false. I was never a member of the IWW. I never applied for membership. I assume that this false charge was manufactured by Senator McCarthy from the fact that in summers during college and during one year before college in the mid-twenties, I worked in lumber camps in the Pacific Northwest, where remnants of the old World War I IWW movement were still found among the lumber workers. But never was I a member or supporter of the IWW, nor did I ever work with that organization.

2. Another charge is that Professor Harold Laski dedicated a book to me. That is true. The book was published in this country in 1943. Professor Laski was a British scholar and Socialist politician. He was a friend of mine.

(More)

He is dead. He was a Socialist. I am not. There are many contentions in his book with which I do not agree. LASKI He was one of those civilized individuals who did not insist upon agreement with his political ideas as a pre-condition for friendship or conversation. Senator McCarthy's implication that Laski's book was dedicated to me as a supporter of his views is refuted by Laski's introduction to his book, written in the third year of Britain's war against the Nazis, in which he said:

> ". . .our country owes an immense debt to Mr. E. R. Murrow. Day and night since before the war began he has done everything that courage and integrity can do to make events in this country a living reality to his fellow citizens of the United States. I am only one of the many Englishmen who have found in his faith and trust in our people a new power to endure and hope."

This was a reference to broadcasts to the United States which I made from London in my capacity as European Director of CBS News throughout the war years.

3. Another accusation against me is that Owen Lattimore mentions me in his book, Ordeal by Slander, published in 1950. At page 211 occurs the reference to me. After paying tribute to a number of newspaper and radio reporters who knew him personally and whose reporting and editorial work were, to quote Lattimore, "clearly based upon the ancient principle that I was innocent unless proved guilty," Lattimore goes on to express appreciation to reporters whom he had never met before the hearings and to reporters whom, like me, he has

(More)

never met. There were no complaints about my treatment of the Lattimore case by those who were interrogating him. Everything that I said on that case is a matter of record and can be examined by anyone interested. Within the limits of human fallibility I have attempted when reporting controversies of substance involving an individual to present both sides of the case and not to presume guilt until it has been proven. I shall continue to do that in subsequent controversies and that specifically includes the case of Senator McCarthy.

4. Senator McCarthy's principal attack on me is an attack on the Institute of International Education, of which I was assistant director and am now a trustee. He says that it was chosen by the Soviet agency, VOKS, to act as its representative, to do a job which would normally be done by the Russian Secret Police in connection with the selection of American students and teachers to attend a Communist school in Moscow in 1934. That is false.

The facts are these: The Institute of International Education is an institution which was founded in 1919 largely through the efforts of Nicholas Murray Butler, then President of Columbia University. Its purpose was to improve American relations with foreign countries through exchanges of students and educational facilities. I served as Assistant Director from 1932 to 1935 and have been one of its trustees since 1931. It is an association I am proud of and one in which I have had many distinguished associates -- John Foster Dulles, Milton Eisenhower, Ralph J. Bunche, Virginia Gildersleeve, Philip Reed, to name just a few.

In 1934, the Moscow University had organized an Anglo-American Institute which proposed holding summer sessions in Moscow for English

(More)

and American students. The Institute of International Education acted as American sponsor for the summer session in 1934, as it did for summer schools in other countries, including England, France and Germany. I, as a representative of the Institute of International Education was one of the 24-member National Advisory Council which was set up to advise the director of the American group. All of the members of the Advisory Council were selected by the Institute. None was selected by VOKS, or any other Soviet agency. The American group was open to all academically qualified students who applied for registration and included students from 60 American universities and colloges. The only contact which VOKS had with the American group was in connection with procuring living and travel facilities for the group while it was in Russia. Inasmuch as VOKS was the Soviet bureau in charge of such matters for foreign visitors, contact with it was necessary if the students were to sleep and eat.

As for the Senator's charges that I or the Institute was engaged in propaganda for Communist causes, the measure of the truth of this is that the Soviets refused, after the 1934 summer session, to have anything more to do with the Institute of International Education. It refused to permit students to attend the 1935 session under the Institute's auspices. When the Institute tried -- at the request of the United States Government -- to arrange for American students to go to Russia after World War II, it was met with a Soviet blast, appearing in several Communist publications in Europe, calling it and its program "the centre of international propaganda for American reaction," and charging, among its trustees, John Foster Dulles as ". . .one of the most violent of the war mongers, publicly branded by

(More)

A. Y. Vyshinski." I was favored in that same attack with the tag "reactionary radio commentator."

The Institute of International Education is today the contracting agency for the government of this country in administering various student programs abroad. It also administers student programs under the Fulbright Act and the Smith-Mundt Act. Over the course of the years, it has arranged, in all, some 30,000 exchanges of students and professors between the United States and over 50 foreign countries.

In 1948, President Eisenhower said of its work:

> "In these troubled days, the far-sighted policy of international education has become a firm foundation on which will ultimately rest the peace for which all the world is so earnestly yearning. I can assure you of my very best wishes and my full cooperation in the great achievements that lie ahead for the Institute of International Education."

I believed twenty years ago, and I believe today that mature American students and professors can engage in conversation and controversy, in the clash of ideas with Communists anywhere, without becoming contaminated or converted. To deny this would be to admit that in the realm of ideas, faith and conviction the Communist cause, dogma and doctrine are stronger than our own.

5. Senator McCarthy attacked me because the Daily Worker on March 9th listed my television program as a "good bet" -- also, that in two subsequent issues this paper praised me. I cannot take responsibility for what the Daily Worker or any other publication has to say about my program or about me personally. I can say that I had no

knowledge that I was to be the subject of notice by the Daily Worker or any other Communist publication. This is more than Senator McCarthy can say about the Communist support he accepted in aid of his 1946 campaign for the United States Senate.

Here is an example of what Senator McCarthy calls "praise" by William Z. Foster in the March 17th issue of the Daily Worker: "During the past 10 days Senator McCarthy has received a number of resounding belts in the jaw. These came from Adlai Stevenson, E. R. Murrow, Senator Flanders, the Army leadership, broadcasting companies. Even Eisenhower himself had to give McCarthy a slap on the wrist." This is the sole reference to me in the Foster article.

6. With his massive research on me the Senator could not even get my present relationship with CBS straight. He repeatedly referred to me as the Educational Director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, a position I have not held for seventeen years.

* * *

STUDIO ONE

MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1954

"THE EXPENDABLES"

Based on an idea by

Robert Patrick Wilmot
and
George Baker

ADAPTED ESPECIALLY FOR STUDIO ONE BY: WILLIAM TEMPLETON

PRODUCER:	FELIX JACKSON
DIRECTOR:	PAUL NICKELL
SET DESIGNER:	KIM SWADOS
ASSISTANT TO PRODUCER:	WILLIAM MARKHAM ALTMAN
STORY EDITOR:	FLORENCE BRITTON
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR:	PAUL STANLEY
PROGRAM ASSISTANT:	CANDY FINKLER

MIMEO DATE: MARCH 1, 1954

ACT ONE:

FADE IN

FILM CLIP:

LONG SHOT: A PLANE IN THE NIGHT SKY.

CLOSE SHOT: LIGHT SIGNAL WINKING FROM A CONTROL TOWER.

MEDIUM LONG SHOT: THE PLANE BANKING.

LONG SHOT: THE LIGHTED RUNWAY (AS SEEN FROM THE APPROACHING PLANE)

MEDIUM SHOT: CLOSED CAR WAITING NEAR AIRPORT PERIMETER.

LONG SHOT: THE PLANE LANDING.

MEDIUM SHOT: THE CLOSED CAR AS IT BEGINS TO MOVE ACROSS THE LANDING GROUND TOWARDS THE PLANE.

DISSOLVE TO:

DOOR:

CLOSE SHOT TO SHOW THE LETTERING:

"GENERAL NEWTON."

DISSOLVE THROUGH TO:

INTERIOR GENERAL NEWTON'S OFFICE.

A COMFORTABLE, BUT BUSINESS LIKE OFFICE. A LARGE DESK. BEHIND IT A WALL PIECE OF FLAGS. A GOOD CARPET. ARMCHAIRS. GENERAL NEWTON IS SEATED AT THE DESK, AN ELDERLY SOLDIER LIKE MAN, HIS INTELLIGENCE TEMPERED WITH HUMOR. AT THE MOMENT, HOWEVER, HE IS UNSMILING AS HE EXAMINES A NEWSPAPER ON HIS DESK. ALSO IN THE ROOM: COLONEL JOHN FORESTER, A DISTINGUISHED LOOKING MAN IN HIS MID-FORTIES, SEATED, AND PHIL FINLAYSON, A YOUNGISH C.I.D. MAN, STANDING NEAR THE DESK. G

GENERAL:

(REFERRING TO SOMETHING IN THE NEWSPAPER..)

...This, of course, makes it more difficult.

FINLAYSON:

We can't stop the press publishing photographs, sir.

GENERAL:

No, and perhaps it doesn't matter. Everyone in the country's seen a photograph of this fellow sometime or other.

FINLAYSON:

He may not look like that now, sir.

GENERAL:

What do you think, John?

HE PUSHES THE PAPER ACROSS THE DESK TOWARDS FORESTER.

INSERT:

THE FRONT PAGE OF A WASHINGTON DAILY NEWSPAPER. UNDER THE WORDS: "ZARODIN ASKS ENTRY TO U.S." IS THE PHOTOGRAPH OF A ROUND-FACED BESPECTACLED MAN. THE FACE IS ALMOST EXPRESSIONLESS: IT HAS A SLAVIC FULLNESS, AND THE MOUTH IS THIN.

FORESTER:

(AS HE LOOKS AT THE PAPER) That's how he looked when I met him.

GENERAL:

Five years ago. That kind of face doesn't change much in five years.

FINLAYSON:

He's had a few worries since then.

GENERAL:

We can't expect to keep him under cover indefinitely, but I'd like us to have him to ourselves for a week or two.

FINLAYSON:

Once we've got him to Colonel Forester's house, it shouldn't be difficult to keep his presence in this country a secret.

GENERAL:

It's not just the press we have to worry about. The communists are going to be a little concerned about where he is and what he's saying.

G

FINLAYSON:

I'm surprised they haven't managed to wipe him out before he got this far....Anyway, I'll have men all over the grounds of Colonel Forester's home while Zardoin's living there.

GENERAL:

(TO FORESTER) I don't suppose your wife liked the idea very much, John.

FORESTER:

No, she didn't.

GENERAL:

You're the only man qualified to take this thing on.

FORESTER:

I know. Helen knows it, too. She just doesn't like playing hostess to a man who's sent several million people to their deaths.

A BUZZER SOUNDS ON THE DESK INTERCOM. THE GENERAL FLICKS THE SWITCH.

VOICE OVER INTERCOM:

He's here, sir.

G

GENERAL:

Bring him in.(HE FLICKS THE SWITCH BACK TO FORESTER) Just one thing, John. If you've any doubts at all that this is the man you met five years ago, I want to know at once.

FINLAYSON:

He's been checked pretty thoroughly, sir.

GENERAL:

I know, but I want a personal reaction. (HE PUSHES A DESK PAD ACROSS TO FORESTER) You and I may not be alone together before you take him home with you. Just write me a few words of assurance when you've seen him....

THE MEN TURN AS THE DOOR OPENS. A C.I.D. MAN OPENS THE DOOR AND HOLDS IT OPEN FOR SENATOR FORBES AND NIKOLAI ZARODIN TO ENTER.

SENATOR:

General, I don't have to tell you who this is.

GENERAL:

(RISING TO SHAKE HANDS WITH ZARODIN)

I hope you had a good trip, Mr. Zarodin.

ZARODIN NODS ONCE.

GENERAL:

This is Colonel Forester....

ZARODIN:

I know Colonel Forester.

HE SHAKES HANDS WITH FORESTER.

GENERAL:

Sit down, please...

HE INDICATES A CHAIR AND ZARODIN SITS DOWN.

GENERAL:

You realize, why we have not received you officially and publicly?

ZARODIN NODS..

GENERAL:

Apart from the possible reaction of the people here, we have to consider your own safety....

ZARODIN:

All I want is to live quietly I'm very tired.

HE TAKES OFF HIS GLASSES AND MASSAGES THE BRIDGE OF HIS NOSE GENTLY BEFORE PUTTING THEM ON AGAIN.

GENERAL:

For the time being, Colonel Forester would like you to be his guest at his home.

ZARODIN NODS..

ZARODIN:

Good.

GENERAL:

You can live as quietly there as you wish. Mr. Finlayson here has been responsible for making arrangements for your protection. He and some of his men will accompany you to Colonel Forester's home.

ZARODIN:

Have they instructions to prevent me leaving this house once I am there?

GENERAL:

Later, I hope you will have the opportunity to see something of our country. Meantime, we'd prefer you to remain unrecognized.

ZARODIN:

Foreign newspapers have seldom printed very flattering photographs of me. (MORE)

ZARODIN:(CTD)

(HE INDICATES THE NEWSPAPER ON THE DESK)

Or do you think that is like me?

GENERAL:

It has a resemblance.

ZARODIN:

It's six years old. No-one would recognise me from this, except Colonel Forester, perhaps.

SENATOR FORBES:

If, at any time, you want to discuss any matter with myself or my colleagues, a car will be sent for you. In any case, during the week various members of our government may want to visit you at Colonel Forester's home.

ZARODIN:

I'll be pleased to see them after I've had some sleep.

GENERAL:

There's no need for me to detain you any longer tonight....

HE RISES.

G

ZARODIN:

You know, of course, that my aide is with me. It would be inconvenient....

GENERAL:

Colonel Forester has accomodation for Major Popochenko. You will be in the same house.

ZARODIN:

That is satisfactory.

GENERAL:

Goodnight, then.

HE OFFERS HIS HAND TO ZARODIN, WHO TAKES IT. ZARODIN BOWS ABRUPTLY TO SENATOR FORBES, THEN-- GOES OUT WITH FORESTER AND FINLAYSON. ON HIS WAY TO THE DOOR, FORESTER UNOBTRUSIVELY LEAVES THE DESK PAD ON THE DESK..

SENATOR:

He's a cold fish, isn't he? Not much sign of gratitude.

GENERAL:

He's a realist. He knows we've only allowed him into the country because of the information he can give us.

SENATOR:

I had a talk with him on the way over. I think he wants to co-operate. Didn't seem to have much loyalty for his pals in the Kremlin.

GENERAL:

Well, if he'd stayed with them another twenty four hours he'd be dead by now.

SENATOR:

Anyway he's not going to give us much trouble.

GENERAL:

We'll see.

SENATOR:

You've got doubts?

GENERAL:

It's an old habit of mine -looking a gift horse in the mouth.

SENATOR:

Can't be any doubt about his identity. I'd know that face anywhere.

G

GENERAL:

From photographs?

SENATOR:

How many people in this country ever met him before?

GENERAL:

Forester did. Met him at Nurmberg.

SENATOR:

Well, Forester didn't have any doubts about his identity, did he?

GENERAL:

I don't know. (HE REACHES DOWN FOR THE DESK PAD) I told John to leave me a message if he had any suspicion.

SENATOR:

Well, what does it say?

GENERAL:

(REPLACING THE PAD) It says: "No doubt whatever that this is Zarodin"

....

DISSOLVE TO:

CLOSE SHOT OF A TELEVISION SET.
(MORE)

G

(CTD) A FAST TALKING ANNOUNCER OF THE WINCHELL SCHOOL IS COVERING THE NEWS..

ANNCR:

....It now seems certain that Zarodin will not be granted asylum in this country. Despite the undoubted value of information he may be disposed to exchange for the favor, the State Department will veto any raising of the barriers to allow the entry of the Number Two communist. Already refused asylum in Britian, Zarodin, who until a few days ago held the power of life and death over millions of his fellow countrymen, is now the man nobody wants....

DURING THIS THE CAMERA HAS PULLED BACK TO REVEAL:

<u>THE LIVING ROOM OF THE FORESTER HOME</u>

WATCHING THE TELEVISION IS JIMMY FORESTER, A BOY OF ABOUT FOURTEEN. HE HAS THE EXAGGERATED ENTHUSIASMS OF YOUTH, AND A HEALTHY LOVE OF DRAMA AND THE LURID PHRASE NOURISHED BY TELEVISION AND THE COMIC STRIPS. (MORE)

G

(CTD) HE SWITCHES OFF AS HIS MOTHER, HELEN FORESTER, COMES INTO THE ROOM. HELEN IS ATTRACTIVE AND AWARE OF WHAT GOES ON IN HER WORLD.

JIMMY:

That Russian's got a nerve expecting us to let him come here!

HELEN:

He's already here, Jimmy.

JIMMY:

But they just said....

HELEN:

I know. He's here....incognito.

JIMMY:

How do you know about him then?

HELEN:

He's coming to stay with us. Your father called me an hour ago. (A LITTLE FLUSTERED BY THE NEWS) I don't even know if they expect dinner.

JIMMY:

(INCREDULOUSLY) You mean Butcher Zarodin's coming to this house to live!

G

HELEN:

For a little while.

JIMMY:

But why....?

HELEN:

We've had other guests who held important positions in foreign governments.

JIMMY:

But Zarodin's a communist! He's one of the top communists!

HELEN:

Your father wouldn't let him come here if it wasn't important....This would happen on Agnes's afternoon off!

JIMMY:

Didn't you know about it.

HELEN:

Not until an hour ago. Secrecy's essential.

JIMMY:

Father knew. That's why he wanted me to spend the weekend with Mark.

G

HELEN:

Yes, it probably is.

JIMMY:

Boy, am I glad Mark got scarlet fever!

HELEN:

Your father allowed you to stay home because he trusted you.

JIMMY:

I won't tell anyone.

HELEN:

Not just that, Jimmy. Mr. Zarodin is here as our guest. Whatever we think about his politics, we'll make things a lot easier for everyone if we just treat him like any other guest.

JIMMY:

You mean I've got to be polite to him?

HELEN:

Yes.

JIMMY:(DRAMATICALLY)

But his hands are steeped in blood!

HELEN:

(WITH A LITTLE NERVOUS SMILE) Try not to notice them.

JIMMY:

"Pass the string beans, Hangman."

A CAR CAN BE HEARD AND HEADLIGHTS FLASH ACROSS THE WINDOWS AS IT TURNS INTO THE DRIVEWAY OUTSIDE.

HELEN:

They're here now.

JIMMY:

(LOOKING AT HIS MOTHER WITH UNDERSTANDING)

You don't like this, do you?

NOT TRUSTING HERSELF TO SPEAK, HELEN SMILES AND SHAKES HER HEAD.

JIMMY:

I wonder what he thinks of America..

HELEN:

He probably hasn't had much chance to make up his mind.

VOICES CAN BE HEARD IN THE HALL. HELEN STIFFENS IN ANTICIPATION, THE DOOR OPENS AND FORESTER COMES IN.

FORESTER:

Hullo, darling.

HELEN:

(HOPING AGAINST HOPE THAT THERE'S BEEN A LAST MINUTE CHANGE OF PLANS)

He's here?

FORESTER NODS, THEN GLANCES AT JIMMY.

HELEN:

I told him.

FORESTER OPENS THE DOOR AND SPEAKS TO SOMEONE OFF.

FORESTER:

Mr. Zarodin, please come in and

meet my family.

ZARODIN COMES IN, FOLLOWED BY FEODOR POPOCHENKO. POPOCHENKO IS A PALE MAN WITH THE EYES OF A FANATIC AND THE MOUTH OF A SADIST. A VENEER OF SUAVITY ONLY ADDS TO THE SINISTER IN HIS APPEARANCE AND HIS BEHAVIOUR.

FORESTER:

My wife....

ZARODIN SHAKES HANDS WITH HELEN..

FORESTER:

And my son, Jimmy.

ZARODIN OFFERS HIS HAND, BUT JIMMY MAKES NO ATTEMPT TO TAKE IT. HE STARES AT IT AS THOUGH HE LITERALLY EXPECTED TO SEE BLOOD ON IT.

ZARODIN:

(BROSQUELY) What's wrong with the boy?

JIMMY SHAKES HANDS..

ZARODIN:

This is Major Popochenko. Without him, I would be nothing.

POPOCHENKO BOWS CURSORILY TO HELEN.

HELEN:

(TO ZARODIN AND POPOCHENKO) Sit down, please.

NORMALLY A GOOD HOSTESS, SHE IS UNCERTAIN ABOUT THE CORRECT PROCEDURE, AND GLANCES FOR GUIDANCE TO HER HUSBAND.

FORESTER:

(TO ZARODIN) Let me get you a drink.

ZARODIN:

Thank you.

POPOCHENKO:

Mr. Zarodin drinks whiskey. Allow me, please, to pour it.

FORESTER:

(ACCEPTING THIS) It's on the cabinet against the wall.

JIMMY:

(TO ZARODIN) Do you expect someone to poison you?

ZARODIN:

Major Popochenko has a suspicious nature.

FORESTER:

We're interested in keeping you alive.

ZARODIN:

I've learned to take my own precautions.

FORESTER:

Your only danger here is from agents of your own country.

ZARODIN:

I'm not a fool, Colonel.

FINLAYSON COMES IN..

FINLAYSON:

(TO FORESTER) All set up.

ZARODIN:

You have men on the ground now?

FINLAYSON:

Yes. And a C.I.D. man will sleep in the bedroom either side of you.

POPOCHENKO COMES TO ZARODIN WITH THE DRINK..

ZARODIN:

I hope you will not leave me to drink alone.

FORESTER:

(TO HELEN) Darling...?

HELEN:

Oh...some sherry.

FORESTER:

(TO POPOCHENKO) Would you like to pour your own drink, too, Major?

POPOCHENKO:

No, I don't drink.

FORESTER MOVES ACROSS TO THE CABINET.

HELEN:

(TO ZARODIN) You met my husband in Germany?

ZARODIN:

When we attended the Nurmburg trials. We had many friendly discussions. He never agreed, of course.

FORESTER RETURNS WITH HELEN'S DRINK.

FORESTER:

(TO FINLAYSON) Help yourself, Phil.

ZARODIN:

(TO FORESTER) Tell your General I will see him tomorrow.

FORESTER:

If you want to rest for a few days..

ZARODIN:

We are too old to play diplomatic games. Sooner or later your General and your officials will come with their questions. Let me give them their answers. Then I can rest.

FORESTER:

I'll telephone the General after dinner.

ZARODIN:

I don't want dinner! I didn't come to America to make small talk over a dinner table. I want to sleep!

HELEN GLANCES NERVOUSLY AT FORESTER.

POPOCHENKO:

Mr. Zarodin has been through great strain in the last weeks. He should sleep many hours.

FINLAYSON:

(TO ZARODIN) No-one will knock at your door in the night, Doctor.

MOST OF FINLAYSON'S LINES ARE EDGED. HE CONSIDERS IT HIS DUTY TO GUARD ZARODIN, NOT BE POLITE TO HIM.

ZARODIN:

(TO FORESTER) It is good to be here drinking with an old friend...

HELEN GLANCES QUIZZICALLY AT FORESTER.

ZARODIN:

(RAISING HIS GLASS) To freedom.

POPOCHENKO:

To freedom.

THERE IS THE SOUND OF A SHOT FROM OUTSIDE AND ZARODIN'S GLASS SHATTERS IN HIS HAND. FINLAYSON SEIZES HIS ARM AND PULLS HIM TO THE GROUND. THERE IS A SECOND SHOT, FARTHER OFF.

FINLAYSON:

Did it hit anyone?

HELEN:

No.

FINLAYSON GOES QUICKLY FROM THE ROOM.

HELEN:

Jimmy, keep away from the window!

ZARODIN RISES TO HIS FEET.

ZARODIN:

My glasses....I'm afraid I've broken my glasses...

HE DANGLES THE SMASHED GLASSES IN HIS HAND.

POPOCHENKO:

Let me bring the other pair from your suitcase...

ZARODIN:

I have them here...I'm a blind man without them.

HE PUTS THE BROKEN GLASSES ASIDE, TAKES A SPECTACLE CASE FROM HIS POCKET AND FITS ON ANOTHER PAIR OF GLASSES.

ZARODIN:

Your C.I.D. are inefficient...

JIMMY:

(INDIGNANTLY) They're not! If you watched television...

FORESTER:

Someone got here before we arrived.

ZARODIN HAS TAKEN A HANDKERCHIEF FROM HIS POCKET AND IS DABBING HIS HAND.

HELEN:

Did the glass cut you?

ZARODIN:

A scratch.

HELEN:

There's a first aid kit in the bathroom. Jimmy...

JIMMY:

(TO ZARODIN) I'll show you...

ZARODIN:

(TO FORESTER WITH A FAINT SMILE) We must drink to freedom later.

HE GOES OUT WITH JIMMY.
POPOCHENKO FOLLOWS.

HELEN:

That shot could have hit any one of us. While that man's in the house we're all in danger.

FORESTER:

It won't happen again.

HELEN:

They're not going to stop at one attempt.

FORESTER:

No-one could get near the house now. Whoever fired that shot must have been on the grounds before we arrived...waiting...

HELEN:

(A PLEA WHICH SHE CAN'T PUT INTO WORDS)

John...

FORESTER:

(GIVING HER A REASSURING HUG)

Darling, I'm sorry....Maybe you should have married a banker.

SHE SMILES AND SHAKES HER HEAD. FINLAYSON COMES IN.

FINLAYSON:

They got him as he tried to get out over the wall. I met Thompson at the door.

FORESTER:

Any way of identifying him?

FINLAYSON:

Nothing yet. He'd been hiding in your barn. According to Thompson it looks as though he'd been there for a couple of days.

HELEN:

(SHOCKED) I walked through the barn this morning!

FINLAYSON:

Mrs. Forester, I'm sorry about this. It's not much fun for you. But if you can cope with your guests, I promise we can cope with any future prowlers.

HELEN:

(RUEFULLY) Other people just have to entertain their relatives: I have to play hostess to the most hated man in the world!

FINLAYSON:

(TO FORESTER) I called the General from the hall. He seemed pleased...

HELEN:

Why should he be pleased?

FINLAYSON:

The General started out by thinking this character might be an imposter.

HELEN:

But John would have recognized an imposter. He met Zarodin before...

FINLAYSON:

Well, that was the first test...

FORESTER:

This is the man I knew at Nurmburg all right.

FINLAYSON:

But that shot was evidently fired by a communist who had instructions to get Zarodin before he could pass on any information. So I think we can be pretty sure it's the real Zarodin who's upstairs putting iodine on his hand.

HELEN:

I wish the General's proof was less dangerous to other people...

DISSOLVE TO:

ZARODIN'S BEDROOM.

POPOCHENKO IS REALLIGNING A PICTURE HE HAS DISPLACED.

POPOCHENKO:

....All right. There are no microphones.

ZARODIN IS AT THE WINDOW LOOKING OUT, AS THOUGH NOT PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN POPOCHENKO'S ACTIVITIES. HE TURNS.

ZARODIN:

You see more worried about hidden microphones than about my safety.

in

POPOCHENKO:

The safety of both of us depends on vigilance at all times.

ZARODIN:

So why do you allow me to stand at the window like this? Aren't you afraid of another shot?

ZARODIN'S BRUSQUENESS HAS GONE. THE WHOLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HIM AND POPOCHENKO HAS ALTERED.

ZARODIN:

Who fired at me?

POPOCHENKO:

No-one fired at you. The shot was aimed at the glass in your hand.

ZARODIN:

You expected it?

POPOCHENKO:

Yes.

ZARODIN:

What was it supposed to prove?

POPOCHENKO:

That you really are Zarodin. These Americans aren't fools. They don't trust you yet. They must have proof.

-more- jn

POPOCHENKO: (CONT)

The bullet was part of the proof.

ZARODIN:

I should like to be told when you stage these demonstrations.

POPOCHENKO:

You'll be told what I think you should be told.

ZARODIN:

I have been acting as a double for Nikolai Zarodin for six years. Some trust can be placed in me.

POPOCHENKO:

I don't trust anyone. And I certainly don't trust a weak spined actor.

ZARODIN:

That was not my profession, Major. I was a professor of History - until they discovered that by putting spectacles on my nose and clipping my hair I could be made to look like Nikolai Zarodin. From that time, I suppose I have been an actor...I have no longer had a life of my own. jn

POPOCHENKO:

Why should you have a life of your own, School Teacher?

ZARODIN:

Don't mistake me. I am proud of having been able to help my country, but I shall be happy when one day I can forget Nikolai Zarodin and go back to my wife....

POPOCHENKO:

When Zarodin was executed, your chances of ever returning to Anna Bouranoff vanished.

ZARODIN:

It's a promise that has been made to me. I will see Anna again when this is over.

POPOCHENKO:

Your chance of seeing Anna Bouranoff again depends on me, comrade. A wrong move and she dies. Don't forget that! And over here it isn't enough to look like Zarodin. You must think like Zarodin...

ZARODIN:

I have been well trained...

THERE IS A KNOCK AT THE DOOR.

POPOCHENKO:

(IMPATIENTLY) Yes?

JIMMY OPENS THE DOOR.

POPOCHENKO:

Yes? Yes, what is it?

JIMMY:

I found a box full of plasters.

POPOCHENKO:

What?

JIMMY:

For Doctor Zarodin's hand.

ZARODIN:

For a scratch I don't need such things.

JIMMY:

(THE REAL REASON FOR THE VISIT CURIOSITY)

Do you know who shot at you?

ZARODIN:

How can I be certain?

JIMMY:

Was it a commie?

POPOCHENKO:

Yes, a communist agent.

JIMMY:

Gee. You're not really a communist any more, then?

ZARODIN:

What do you know about communism?

JIMMY:

What I read.

ZARODIN:

Don't judge it by your hysterical American press. Communism simply means an equal sharing of the fruits of the earth.

JIMMY:

That's not what it means in Russia.

ZARODIN:

The present regime in Russia is corrupt. It's no longer a communist regime, in the true sense of the word. It no longer represents the Russian people.

JIMMY:

Can't the Russian people do anything about it, then?

ZARODIN:

The Russian people have revolted against corrupt government before. The Bolotnikov rebellion in the seventeenth century, and later the rebellion of the cossacks on the Volga. In the reign of Catherine the Great, there was the Pugahev rebellion, and, of course, in 1905 and 1917, the people...

JIMMY:

(STARING AT HIM) Gee, you talk like my history teacher!

POPOCHENKO FLASHES A LOOK OF ANGER AT ZARODIN.

ZARODIN:

Because I have never been prepared to accept any philosophy without reading about its history. I've read what the great thinkers have had to say about communism... That's why I came to believe in it.

JIMMY:

I haven't read any books about it, of course...

ZARODIN:

Would you like me to give you some?

JIMMY:

Sure, I like reading...

ZARODIN:

Tommorrow, then, when I unpack...

JIMMY:

Well, goodnight now.

ZARODIN:

Goodnight.

JIMMY GOES OUT, CLOSING THE DOOR AFTER HIM.

POPOCHENKO:

(VISIOUSLY) Even a child doubts that you're Zarodin!

ZARODIN:

He has no doubt.

POPOCHENKO:

He said you talked like his history teacher!

ZARODIN:

He would have said that to anyone who quoted dates to him. jn

POPOCHENKO:

And why did you say you didn't want these things he brought for your hand?

ZARODIN:

The cut is slight.

POPOCHENKO:

(ANGRILY) Think like Zarodin! Nikolai Zarodin was always careful of his own skin! Remember, comrade, it's not only your life, and the life of your precious Anna that depends on this masquerade...If we convince these Americans that the U.S.S.R. is weak and wants only peace, we have struck a blow which will affect the future of the world--

ZARODIN HAS AGAIN MOVED TO THE WINDOW AND IS LOOKING OUT.

ZARODIN:

It's a peaceful place...

POPOCHENKO:

(ANGRILY) This is too important a cause for a decadent sentimentalist - even if he does look like Nikolai Zarodin. They should have given me a man like myself. To you, communism is words. To me it is deeds. It's fortunate that you have a wife, Bouranoff --

ZARODIN:

(HE TURNS TO POPOCHENKO)
What happened to the man who fired the shot?

POPOCHENKO:

One of the guards got him as he tried to escape.

ZARODIN:

Killed?

POPOCHENKO:

Yes.

ZARODIN:

It seems a pity he had to die merely to help establish my identity.

POPOCHENKO:

The world is full of people who are expendable....

FADE OUT.

END OF ACT ONE.

jn

ACT TWO.

FADE IN.

THE STUDY.

ON THE TABLE IS A MAP, AND GROUPED AROUND IT ARE FORESTER, GENERAL NEWTON, SENATOR FORBES, AND THREE OTHER IMPORTANT LOOKING INDIVIDUALS. ZARODIN HAS BEEN INDICATING VARIOUS PLACES ON THE MAP. POPOCHENKO STANDS BEHIND HIM.

ZARODIN:

.....Some of that information you will be able to check. I am not unaware that you have a number of agents in my country. But much of it you will have to take on trust.

GENERAL:

Why should we?

ZARODIN:

I do not force you to accept any of it.

GENERAL:

What you tell us about the sites of atomic piles and the disposition of troops in satellite countries conflicts with information we already possess.

ta

ZARODIN:

My information is more up to date than yours.

GENERAL:

If true.

SENATOR FORBES:

I'd like a few days to have this checked - what we can check.

ZARODIN:

Then we can talk again...Meanwhile you might care to have this checked, too.

HE TAKES AN ENVELOPE FROM HIS POCKET AND TOSSES IT ACROSS THE TABLE TO THE GENERAL.

GENERAL:

What's this?

ZARODIN:

The names of twelve key Soviet agents in this country.

THE GENERAL HANDS THE LIST TO THE MAN BESIDE HIM WHO GLANCES AT IT AND RAISES HIS EYEBROWS.

ZARODIN:

That, at least, should be easy to check.

THE MAN WITH THE LIST NODS SLOWLY.

ta

ZARODIN:

I don't like to waste time on preliminaries. When you've finally satisfied yourselves that I am prepared to co-operate with you to the limit of my ability, we will accomplish much more.

GENERAL:

(STANDING) By the next time we meet, Doctor, I think most of us will have satisfied ourselves.

THE OTHERS HAVE RISEN AND ARE PUTTING PAPERS AWAY IN BRIEFCASES.

SENATOR FORBES:

Mr. Zarodin, would you be willing to make an appearance on television?

ZARODIN:

Have you decided that my prescence here can be revealed after all?

SENATOR FORBES:

(HE IS SLIGHTLY POMPOUS, CONSCIOUS THAT THIS IS A CONFERENCE) Part of the secrecy was for your own protection. But the attempt to assassinate you on your arrival here proves that your whereabouts are already known to your enemies. MORE

ta

SENATOR FORBES: (CONTD)

We had never intended to keep your visit secret for any longer than seemed prudent. If those names you have given us are authentic, the story of how much you have already co-operated with us could be given to the press when we make the announcement.... But I'd like to know if you would be willing to make this appearance before I suggest it.

ZARODIN:

I'd welcome the opportunity to talk to the American people.

SENATOR FORBES:

Good.

ZARODIN:

I should like sometime to leave the grounds and walk in the village. Is that permitted?

SENATOR FORBES:

I'd advise waiting a few days until the announcement's been made...

(MORE)

ta

SENATOR FORBES: (CONT'D

There's no objection to Major Popochenko leaving the grounds, of course...(HE TURNS TO THE GENERAL You agree, General?

GENERAL:

Yes. No photograph of Major Popochenko has appeared in the newspapers. (HE TURNS TO ZARODIN) But you're still front page news. (HE PUTS TWO NEWSPAPERS ON THE TABLE) These are the morning papers. This one says it's a disgrace that you haven't been allowed to enter the country; this one says it would be a betrayal of everything democracy stands for if you were. I'll leave them with you....

SENATOR FORBES AND THE THREE OTHER VISITORS HAVE ALREADY MOVED TO THE DOOR IN CONVERSATION.

GENERAL:

(TO FORESTER) Walk with me to the car, John.

FORESTER GOES OUT WITH THE GENERAL. ZARODIN AND POPOCHENKO ARE LEFT ALONE IN THE ROOM. ta

POPOCHENKO:

Our host is now making his report to his superior.

ZARODIN:

It should be satisfactory.

POPOCHENKO:

They have only to check the list you gave them, and they'll be convinced.

ZARODIN:

Those men on the list were loyal party members...doing dangerous work...

POPOCHENKO:

They have outlived their usefulness. They are expendable.

ZARODIN:

This word...

POPOCHENKO:

What's wrong?

ZARODIN:

You use this word so often.

POPOCHENKO LAUGHS. HE IS IN A GOOD HUMOR:

ta

POPOCHENKO:

They refuse to allow you to go into the village! But they allow me to go! It's a good joke!

ZARODIN:

You will go alone?

POPOCHENKO:

I also have reports to make.

ZARODIN:

Please... if there is an opportunity. ..find out if my wife is well...

POPOCHENKO:

Why should Radin and I waste valuable time discussing Anna Bouranoff?

ZARODIN:

I should like to know she was well before I make this broadcast...

POPOCHENKO:

What does it matter?

ZARODIN:

My peace of mind....

POPOCHENKO:

I will write your speech. All you have to do is memorize it.

TA HE TAKES UP ONE OF THE NEWSPAPERS.

POPOCHENKO:

The State Department issued a denial you were in the country, and these newspapers are still allowed to write about it! What a way to run a country!

ZARODIN HAS TAKEN UP THE OTHER PAPER.

ZARODIN:

Not only to write about it, but to take different sides. This one says the State Department is incompetent and dangerous...

POPOCHENKO:

(LOOKING UP SUDDENLY) How can you read that?

ZARODIN:

In this column here...

POPOCHENKO:

I thought Zarodin's glasses were too powerful for you. I thought you couldn't read with them....Let me see them!

HE PLUCKS THE GLASSES ROUGHLY FROM ZARODIN'S FACE AND FITS THEM ON HIS OWN NOSE. HE LOOKS DOWN AT THE PAPER IN HIS HAND.

ta

POPOCHENKO:

Pieces of plain glass! You fool!

HE DRIVES THE HEEL OF HIS FIST SAVAGELY INTO ZARODIN'S FACE.

ZARODIN:

(AS HE RECOVERS FROM THE BLOW) The other glasses give me headaches... I was always permitted to wear those....

POPOCHENKO:

Not here! A little thing like this could destroy us! Has our whole plan to be wrecked because you get headaches?

ZARODIN:

Who can tell the difference....?

POPOCHENKO:

Where are the other pair? The pair you broke?

ZARODIN:

I left them in the other room.

POPOCHENKO:

Were they the same as those? Just pieces of glass?

ta

ZARODIN:

Yes.

POPOCHENKO:

(VICIOUSLY) I'm afraid you don't love your wife as you say you do...

ZARODIN:

Anna mustn't be harmed because of this. I'll wear the other glasses... I'll...

POPOCHENKO:

Come and show me where you left those glasses...

HE GOES TO THE DOOR. ZARODIN FOLLOWS.

CUT TO:

THE SITTING ROOM.

HELEN IS SEATED NEAR THE WINDOW, READING (OR SEWING) SHE LOOKS UP AS POPOCHENKO AND ZARODIN COME IN.

HELEN:

Is the conference over?

POPOCHENKO:

Mrs. Forester, there were a pair of glasses here....

HELEN:

They were broken.

ta

POPOCHENKO:

What happened to them?

HELEN:

I had Jimmy take them to the optician. You'll have them back in a few days.

POPOCHENKO:

(ANGRILY) Why do you have to do things no-one asks you to do!

HELEN:

(CALMLY) My husband asked me to have them repaired. He didn't want these important conferences held up because Mr. Zarodin's eyes trouble him. Everyone knows Mr. Zarodin can't read without glasses.

ZARODIN:

I'm astonished at how much the people of this country know about me.

HELEN:

Our newspapers give us the facts about international figures, Mr. Zarodin. We're allowed to judge the man for ourselves.

ta

JIMMY COMES IN. HE IS CARRYING A BOOK WHICH HE PUTS ON THE TABLE IN FRONT OF ZARODIN.

JIMMY:

I've finished that one, Doctor.

ZARODIN:

Did you find it interesting?

JIMMY:

I don't agree with a lot of it, of course.

ZARODIN:

Of course not. I don't agree with much of it myself.

JIMMY:

I'd like you to explain some of it, when you've got time.

HELEN:

What book is it, Jimmy?

ZARODIN:

It's called "Communism As A Faith".

HELEN:

(TO ZARODIN) I'd rather you didn't give my son that kind of book.

ZARODIN:

The boy's old enough to judge the contents of a book for himself.

ta

JIMMY:

Mother, of course I can.

HELEN:

I don't want books like that in my house.

ZARODIN:

I thought it was only in my country that political knowledge was censored.

HELEN:

A parent has a duty to guide a child.

ZARODIN:

You feel that Jimmy should only know one side of a case?

HELEN:

Jimmy has always been free to choose his own reading...

ZARODIN:

Until now?

HELEN:

(DEFEATED) No. If he wants to read that kind of book he can go ahead....

ta

ZARODIN:

Then I have permission to give him another by the same writer?

HELEN:

Yes.

ZARODIN:

(TO JIMMY) If you will come to my room with me, Jimmy...

JIMMY GOES OUT WITH ZARODIN.

POPOCHENKO:

I'll be in the village tomorrow. Tell me where Mr. Zarodin's glasses were taken, and I'll collect them for him.

HELEN:

There's no optician in the village.

POPOCHENKO:

Your son didn't take them to Washington.

HELEN:

No, he has a friend whose father is an optician. But his workship is in town.

POPOCHENKO:

I'll ask the boy about it.

HE GOES OUT. HELEN TAKES THE BOOK FROM THE TABLE AND GLANCES THROUGH ITS PAGES. FORESTER COMES IN.

FORESTER:

The General seemed delighted with the way things are going...

HELEN:

John, that man has got to leave this house!

FORESTER:

What's wrong?

HELEN:

He's feeding Jimmy with Communist propaganda. Books like this...

FORESTER:

Don't you trust your own son?

HELEN:

John, he's only fourteen.

FORESTER:

Jimmy could go out and buy this in a bookstore if he wanted.

HELEN:

When is Zarodin leaving?

FORESTER:

He's co-operating better than we could ever have hoped. If what he told us today is true, it can save the country millions of dollars in armaments, probably prevent a war..

HELEN:

Let him be aomeone else's guest.

FORESTER:

We have a house with grounds that ensure privacy; we're near enough to Washington to make it easy for government officials to get down here; Zarodin knows me and is happy about the way he's being treated...

HELEN:

Who cares about the happiness of a man like that!

FORESTER:

Do you want us to throw him in a dungeon and get the information from him with thumbscrews?

HELEN:

They can't just farm him out on us indefinitely. It isn't fair.

FORESTER:

Darling, I realise what a strain this is on you..

HELEN:

I'm trying to behave as you want me to, but when he starts trying to make a communist out of Jimmy...!

FORESTER:

Once they've decided to let the public know that Zarodin's in this country, they'll probably provide him with a house of his own somewhere.

HELEN:

How soon will that be?

FORESTER:

It may be quite soon. Senator Forbes is already talking of letting him make an appearance on television.

HELEN:

From this house?

FORESTER:

Probably.

HELEN:

First my home's turned into an annex of the State Department; now they want to turn it into a television studio!

FORESTER:

After that the place should be our own again.

HELEN:

If it means getting rid of Mr. Zarodin and his friend, the sooner they let him appear on television the better!

DISSOLVE TO:

A BENCH IN THE VILLAGE PARK.
POPOCHENKO IS SEATED ON A PARK BENCH READING A NEWSPAPER. HE GLANCES UP AS A POORLY DRESSED MAN WANDERS IN AND STARTS TO INVESTIGATE THE TRASH BASKET BESIDE THE BENCH. THEN JIMMY APPEARS, CARRYING A LARGE BROWN PAPER BAG FULL OF GROCERIES.

JIMMY:

Hullo, Major Popochenko.

HE DUMPS THE BAG ON A CORNER OF THE BENCH AND SITS DOWN.

JIMMY:

I've just been doing some shopping--Is the food here very different from the kind you're used to?

POPOCHENKO:

People of different countries eat different food --

JIMMY:

But we can get anything here.

POPOCHENKO:

Yes, if you can afford it, if your father works for the government.

JIMMY:

But everyone can just go into the local market, get yourself an empty carrier and fill it with whatever you want from the shelves.

THE POORLY DRESSED MAN WANDERS OFF.

POPOCHENKO:

(INDICATING THE MAN WITH A NOD)

He can't go into a market and get all the food he wants.

JIMMY:

Nobody needs to starve in America.

POPOCHENKO GLANCES UP AT A WOMAN WHO PASSES WITH A CHILD.

JIMMY:

Are you waiting for someone?

POPOCHENKO:

No.

JIMMY:

We can go home together.

POPOCHENKO:

I prefer to stay here and read the newspaper a little longer.

JIMMY:

There's a lot about Mr. Zarodin in today's paper. All about the television program.

POPOCHENKO:

Yes, I've read it.

JIMMY:

Did he really send millions of people to Siberia?

POPOCHENKO:

Mr. Zarodin was the Minister of Justice. It was his duty to keep the country clear of traitors.

JIMMY:

But if a country has millions of traitors, there must be something wrong with the country.

POPOCHENKO:

Every country has traitors. You have traitors here.

A YOUNG MAN AND A GIRL STROLL PAST ARM IN ARM. POPOCHENKO WATCHES THEM.

JIMMY:

But we only have a few traitors, and the F.B.I. catch them.

A POLICEMAN PASSES.

POLICEMAN:

Hullo, Jimmy. How's your pitching?

JIMMY:

Come and see on Saturday.

POLICEMAN:

Look out for their 2nd baseman. He was hitting you awful good last week. Try your knuckle ball on him.

POLICEMAN GOES OFF

POPOCHENKO:

Your country's security is in the hands of men like that.

JIMMY:

Don't the police in your country watch the kids play baseball?

POPOCHENKO:

The Children of the U.S.S.R. have more to do with their time than play games.

JIMMY:

I'm glad I don't live there.

HE TAKES A PAPER BACKED NOVEL FROM HIS POCKET.

JIMMY:

I'll read for a little while, too.

POPOCHENKO:

(INDICATING THE BAG OF GROCERIES) Your mother is probably waiting for this.

JIMMY:

It's all right. She knows I never come straight home with anything. (HE GLANCES AT THE BOOK IN HIS HAND) I'm going to lend Doctor Zarodin some of my books. Guess he missed a lot of stories like this.

POPOCHENKO:

You seem to have made friends with Doctor Zarodin.

JIMMY:

He's all right. I don't believe he's like the newspapers say -- a mass murderer.

POPOCHENKO:

He'll be glad to hear it.

JIMMY:

I wish I could have shown him the village. He's got a lot of funny ideas about America. He ought to have had a chance to see a bit of it before he made his speech.

POPOCHENKO:

He'll be talking about Russia.

JIMMY:

But he should be able to compare it with this country. He said that himself -- you can't judge anything until you've been able to make comparisons. That's why I've been reading about communism. But now I'm going to lend Mr. Zarodin some books about America.

POPOCHENKO:

Mr. Zarodin has read books about America.

JIMMY:

But they've been published in Russia; they wouldn't be very true.. I suppose he's read a lot, the way he knows dates and things.

POPOCHENKO:

Mr. Zarodin's a great scholar.

JIMMY:

Is that why his eyesight's so bad?

POPOCHENKO:

When will his glasses be returned? You made a promise to bring them to me as soon as they were repaired.

JIMMY:

Oh, I've got them here in the bag.

POPOCHENKO:

Give them to me.

JIMMY:

They're way down at the bottom. I'll give them to you as soon as we get home.

POPOCHENKO:

I'd like them at once, please.

JIMMY:

Well, I suppose I can dig them out.

HE STANDS UP AND BEGINS TO UNLOAD THE GROCERIES ONTO THE GRASS AT THE SIDE OF THE BENCH. HE IS OCCUPIED WITH THIS WHEN THE YOUNG MAN AND THE GIRL STROLL BACK ARM IN ARM. AS THEY COME ABREAST OF THE BENCH, THE YOUNG MAN SPEAKS FOUR WORDS IN RUSSIAN.

YOUNG MAN:

(IN RUSSIAN) Anna Bouranoff is dead.

JIMMY GLANCES UP. THE YOUNG MAN AND THE GIRL PASS OUT OF FRAME.

JIMMY:

Did he know you?

POPOCHENKO:

No.

JIMMY:

He said something. It sounded like Russian, or something.

POPOCHENKO:

He's seen me in the village. He knows I'm a Russian, and he wanted to show that he knew a few words. He was showing off to his girl.

JIMMY:

What did he say?

POPOCHENKO:

It was just a greeting.

JIMMY:

Oh, I see... (HE FINDS THE PACKAGE HE HAS BEEN SEARCHING FOR) Here are the glasses.

HE GIVES THE PACKAGE TO POPOCHENKO.

POPOCHENKO:

Thank you.

HE TAKES THE GLASSES FROM THE BOX.

JIMMY:

I hope everything is all right now.

POPOCHENKO:

(WITH A GRATIFIED SMILE) Yes, I assure you everything is all right now.

CAMERA MOVES IN TO HOLD CLOSE UP OF GLASSES.

FADE OUT.

END OF ACT TWO.

ACT THREE

FADE IN:

THE LIVING ROOM.

ZARODIN IS STUDYING A TYPESCRIPT.
POPOCHENKO IS IN THE ROOM WITH HIM.

POPOCHENKO:

...They will expect some anger against the regime. When you talk about comrades close to the Kremlin you can allow your voice to shake with rage. It will establish the reason why you are prepared to betray so many secrets...Then it will be necessary for you to say a little about the internal workings of the party. What I have written for you there is the truth. We can't afford to tell anything but the truth at this point. But in the body of the speech I have been able to give the impression that the Soviet Union is rent by dissention, that it would take only a spark to bring about a revolution. These Americans are always willing to believe that every other country is on the point of collapse, and, hearing it from your lips, they will be convinced.... (MORE)
tb

ZARODIN HAS LAID DOWN THE TYPESCRIPT AND IS LOOKING FROM THE WINDOW.

POPOCHENKO: (CTD)

This is an important occasion, Bouranoff. Do you realize how important?

ZARODIN:

(TURNING FROM THE WINDOW) If the speech is well received Anna may be allowed some privileges.

POPOCHENKO:

Yes, if you do well I'm prepared to request it.

ZARODIN:

If she was allowed to write to me once...

POPOCHENKO:

Perhaps some way can be arranged.

ZARODIN:

I just want to know that she is all right. Anna is not a strong person..

POPOCHENKO:

She is being taken care of..(HE TAKES THE COPY OF THE SPEECH AND EXAMINES IT) You can't study this too much. There are parts you should emphasise. Would it help if I marked them?

tb

ZARODIN:

Yes, perhaps.

JIMMY COMES IN.

JIMMY:

Have you seen father's study? It's all fixed up like a studio. You'll even be able to watch yourself on the screen while you're speaking.

POPOCHENKO:

Mr. Zarodin would like to rest before he makes the speech.

ZARODIN:

Let him stay with me if he wants to.

POPOCHENKO:

When you come upstairs this will be ready for you.

HE TAKES THE SPEECH AND GOES OUT.

JIMMY:

You don't have a sponsor, do you?

ZARODIN:

Does every program have a sponsor?

JIMMY:

Unless it's very important, or not very good.

ZARODIN:

For Russia no program is sponsored.

JIMMY:

America's a very competitive country, Mr. Zarodin. That's why we get the best of everything. tb

ZARODIN:

It's a strange way to ensure the best: first you insult the public with childish rhymes....

JIMMY:

I suppose it's difficult to understand at first. But after you've been in America a little while you'll see how well it all works... You'll be here a long time, won't you? You can't ever go back to your own country...

ZARODIN:

(FROWNS) No, I can't go back...

JIMMY:

But you'll like it here all right. Maybe you'll get married and have a home of your own.

ZARODIN:

You seem to be planning my future.

JIMMY:

And if you stay a long time you can teach me Russian.

ZARODIN:

Russian is a very difficult language to learn.

tb

JIMMY:

But I already know some Russian words. I know a Russian greeting. Want to hear it?

ZARODIN:

Yes, let me hear it.

JIMMY:

Just a minute. I want to get the accent right. Oh, yes...(IN RUSSIAN) Anna Bouranoff is dead.

ZARODIN:

What did you say?

JIMMY:

(REPEATING IT, IN RUSSIAN) Anna Bouranoff is dead.

ZARODIN:

Where did you hear that?

JIMMY:

When I was with Popochenko in the park a man passed, and said that.

ZARODIN:

What else did he say?

JIMMY:

Nothing else...What does it mean?

ZARODIN:

Who told you it was a greeting?

JIMMY:

Major Popochenko...Isn't it?

tb

ZARODIN:

No. The words mean "Anna Bouranoff is dead."

JIMMY:

Who's Anna Bouranoff?

ZARODIN:

I don't know...

JIMMY:

"Anna Bouranoff is dead." What a funny thing for someone to say!

ZARODIN:

Yes, it's a funny thing...

HE IS STARING IN FRONT OF HIM.

JIMMY:

It was a man with a girl. He just said that and walked on....

ZARODIN:

Get me a drink!

JIMMY:

(STARTLED BY THE GRUFFNESS OF THE VOICE) What kind of drink, Mr. Zarodin?

ZARODIN:

Never mind.

HE GOES TO THE CABINET AND POURS HIMSELF A GENEROUS GLASS OF WHISKEY.

ZARODIN:

Leave me!

tb

JIMMY:

(POLITELY) I'll be able to watch you make the speech from this room. I hope it's a big success.

ZARODIN HAS TURNED AWAY AND DOES NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THE WORDS. JIMMY GOES OUT.

ZARODIN:

(THE NAME TWISTED OUT OF HIM)

Anna.....

HE SITS IN A CHAIR, BOWING HIS HEAD AND KNOCKING HIS KNUCKLES AGAINST HIS BROW. FORESTER COMES IN.

FORESTER:

Are you feeling all right?

ZARODIN:

Yes.

FORESTER:

The General and Senator Forbes have just arrived. The Senator will introduce you.

ZARODIN:

Everything is ready, then.

FORESTER:

They're testing in there now.

THE GENERAL AND SENATOR FORBES COME IN.

SENATOR FORBES:

Now we have that nerve wracking half hour wait before we go on the air.

tb

FORESTER:

Can I get you a drink, Senator?

SENATOR FORBES:

Yes, you can.

FORESTER LOOKS AT THE GENERAL WHO SHAKES HIS HEAD.

FORESTER:

Doctor Zarodin?

ZARODIN:

Yes.

FORESTER CROSSES TO POUR THE DRINKS.

SENATOR FORBES:

(TO ZARODIN) The press have taken the news about you very well. They're waiting to hear what you have to say.

ZARODIN:

That is democracy, Senator, isn't it? Give every man a fair hearing. Wait to hear what he has to say. A slogan almost--------

GENERAL:

There are worse slogans.

ZARODIN:

We have a slogan: "Only the lonely are brave".

SENATOR FORBES:

What does that mean?

ZARODIN:

How can I explain it? It's something you know sometime---a truth - you learn it -- (HE PULLS HIMSELF TOGETHER, AS THOUGH IT IS SUDDENLY IMPORTANT THAT HE SHOULD BE ARTICULATE) A man may be willing to risk his own life, but he will take no chances with the lives of those dear to him.....

FORESTER BRINGS ZARODIN A DRINK..

SENATOR FORBES:

I can tell you now, one of the checks we made was to ensure that no pressure could be put on you through relatives left behind in the Soviets.

ZARODIN:

No pressure can be put on me...

GENERAL:

You know that the draft of your speech was passed without any suggested alteration?

ZARODIN:

Yes.... Tell me, if I add to this speech, or change it, what will the official attitude be?

tb

GENERAL:

We expect the gist of it to remain the same. The Senator will have a cut-out switch in front of him. If he feels that anything you say is prejudicial or liable to infringe security, he'll use it.

SENATOR FORBES:

What changes did you have in mind?

ZARODIN:

I wish only to tell the truth.

SENATOR FORBES:

In this country we've never been afraid of the truth.

ZARODIN:

Then I hope you will not find it necessary to use this switch.

HE DRAINS HIS GLASS.

ZARODIN:

Colonel Forester, I should like another drink.

FORESTER TAKES ZARODIN'S GLASS, LOOKS ANXIOUSLY TOWARDS THE GENERAL AS HE PASSES TOWARDS THE CABINET.

ZARODIN:

Colonel Forester is afraid I'm drinking too much.

tb

GENERAL:

The microphone has a disconcerting way of picking up any slurring of speech.

ZARODIN:

My speech will be clear...I've made many speeches, General. All of them have been lies. Tonight I am celebrating the luxury of being able to tell the truth...

FORESTER RETURNS WITH THE DRINK.

ZARODIN:

Once before, Colonel, I offered you a toast to freedom. I was prevented from drinking to it. Tonight, Colonel, I am drinking to freedom.

HE RAISES HIS GLASS, WAITS FOR A SECOND, GLANCES TOWARDS THE WINDOW..

ZARODIN:

There's no-one outside any more.

HE DRINKS. SENATOR FORBES GLANCES ANXIOUSLY AT THE GENERAL. FINLAYSON COMES IN.

FINLAYSON:

They want to check the camera set-ups.

SENATOR FORBES:

Does that mean they'd like us to go in again?

tb

FINLAYSON:

Yes.

FORESTER:

(TO ZARODIN) Shall we go into the study.

ZARODIN:

No. I'll follow you.

FORESTER:

It's getting pretty close to time.

ZARODIN:

I have no intention of being late... But first I have to go upstairs. Major Popochenko has my copy of the speech.

SENATOR FORBES:

Someone can fetch it for you.

ZARODIN:

I prefer to go myself...Please.

GENERAL:

All right, Senator, let's go to the study.

THE SENATOR GOES OUT, FOLLOWED BY THE GENERAL. FORESTER HESITATES THEN FOLLOWS THEM.

ZARODIN:

(TO FINLAYSON) Your task of protecting me is doubled now that the public know where I am.

tb

FINLAYSON:

You're still safer here than anywhere.

ZARODIN:

There's no place in the world where Nikolai Zarodin would be safe.

FINLAYSON:

If you're thinking of another shot from the garden during the program, that's been taken care of.

ZARODIN:

Despite your protection, I doubt if I have long to live.

FINLAYSON:

(UNSYMPATHETICALLY) Do you expect many people to mourn you?

ZARODIN:

No.

HE CROSSES TO POUR HIMSELF ANOTHER DRINK.

FINLAYSON:

Better lay off that until after the show....(HE LOOKS AT HIM CURIOUSLY) You're really scared, aren't you?

ZARODIN:

No, I have nothing to be scared of any more....

HELEN COMES IN.

tb

HELEN:

I didn't think I'd be able to get into my own home. (TO FINLAYSON) Have you seen the people outside the grounds?

FINLAYSON:

What are they doing?

HELEN:

Just standing waiting. They can't see anything. They won't even see the television. Thousands of people.

FINLAYSON:

I'd better make a tour of inspection.

HELEN:

Nobody's making any trouble.

FINLAYSON:

I don't like it when a lot of people stand about waiting for something to happen.

HE GOES OUT.

ZARODIN:

You must resent my presence very much.

HELEN:

Mr. Zarodin, however much you're prepared to co-operate with my country now, in the eyes of most Americans, you are a murderer many times over.

th

ZARODIN:

After today there will be no need for me to remain here.

THE TELEPHONE RINGS.

HELEN:

Excuse me. (SHE LIFTS THE RECEIVER) Yes....this is Mrs. Forester... Glasses?.....No,I..oh, Jimmy probably just gave them to their owner....Yes, they belonged to a guest....Why should you think they were Jimmy's?...Surely you must have mixed them with some other pair, Mr. Lambert....No, I see... (SHE TURNS HER HEAD AND STARES AT ZARODIN) I'll have to inquire and call you back.

SHE REPLACES THE RECEIVER.

HELEN:

Mr. Zarodin, how long have you worn glasses?

ZARODIN:

For most of my life.

HELEN:

How powerful are they?

ZARODIN:

(REMOVING HIS GLASSES) Do you wish to see for yourself?

HE GIVES HELEN THE GLASSES. SHE GLANCES AT THEM, THEN LOOKS AT ZARODIN.

HELEN:

Can you see without them?

ZARODIN:

A little. But of course I can't read without them.

HELEN:

Can you read with them?

SHE GIVES HIM BACK THE GLASSES AND HE FITS THEM ON.

ZARODIN:

Is this some American game?

HELEN:

Read that.

SHE PUSHES A NEWSPAPER ACROSS THE TABLE TO HIM. HE MAKES NO ATTEMPT TO TAKE IT.

HELEN:

Why don't you wear the pair you broke the day you came here? Then you'd be able to read it. The optician who repaired them has just telephoned to say the lenses are plain glass.

THERE IS A FRACTIONAL PAUSE BETWEEN THEM.

(FINALLY) You're not Nikolai Zarodin

ZARODIN:

No, Mrs. Forester, I am not Nikolai Zarodin.

HELEN:

My husband must know - at once -

SHE MOVES TOWARDS THE DOOR, BUT ZARODIN ANTICIPATES HER, AND TURNS THE KEY IN THE LOCK.

ZARODIN:

I want to make this broadcast.

HELEN:

But you're an imposter---!

ZARODIN:

I was a professor of history. I always looked like Zarodin. Some evenings among my colleagues at the university I would even put on a pair of spectacles and imitate him. It was a joke that carried a little spice of danger with it, and every man owes it to his soul to flirt occasionally with danger...But when they came for me it was not to imprison me for disrespect to a high official: it was to become the shadow of that high official. When I met your husband in Europe the real Zarodin was in a mental home....

tb

HELEN:

Where is he now?

ZARODIN:

He was executed three months ago.

HELEN:

Who is Major Popochenko?

ZARODIN:

The man whose task it is to make sure I don't make any mistakes.

HELEN:

You were forced to come here.

ZARODIN:

There was persuasion....

HELEN:

But, if you had told my husband the truth, he would have arranged for your protection.

ZARODIN:

He could not have arranged the protection of my wife.

HELEN:

You left her in Russia?

ZARODIN:

Yes...They had confined her in a rest home on the Black Sea...

HELEN:

If you make the speech, you will say only what the men who sent you here want you to say. You can't do anything else. If you disobeyed them, it would mean the death of your wife, wouldn't it?

ZARODIN:

She is already dead.

HELEN:

When did you find out?

ZARODIN:

Today.

HELEN:

How?

ZARODIN:

Your son told me.

HELEN:

Jimmy.....?

ZARODIN:

He had heard a Russian phrase..he didn't know its meaning...

HELEN:

So you can speak the truth?

ZARODIN:

In my country all truth is distorted All art is distorted. The writer must write political manifestos: the composer must compose hymns of praise to the State: the artist must paint flattering pictures of party heroes. Art in Russia is dying of shame...I am a historian. My raw material should be the truth. But as a professor I was told what to teach. I was given facts which I knew were not facts, and truths which were not truths. And I was ashamed. But now I can speak the truth. Now at last! Mrs. Forester have you any doubts that what I will say to the people throughout America will not be the truth?

SHE DOES NOT ANSWER HIM.

If I say anything that could harm your country, the Senator will have me switched off----

HELEN:

It's better if you're not allowed to appear---

tb

ZARODIN:

No, Mrs. Forester, if you decide to wait, it's a decision you will never regret----

HE UNLOCKS THE DOOR.

But I'm not forcing this decision on you. The door is open... (HE LOOKS AT HER) In a few minutes I will join the others in the study..

HE GOES OUT. CAMERA CLOSES QUICKLY IN ON HELEN AS SHE STANDS UNDECIDED.

DISSOLVE TO:

ZARODIN'S BEDROOM.

POPOCHENKO IS SEATED MARKING THE TYPESCRIPT. HE LOOKS UP AS ZARODIN COMES IN.

POPOCHENKO:

I've just finished this. Read it over before we go downstairs.

ZARODIN:

(TAKING THE SCRIPT) Major Popochenko, I am capable of delivering my speech without your tuition.

POPOCHENKO:

Your speech! There isn't a word of it that's yours.

ZARODIN:

What qualifies you to put words in my mouth?

POPOCHENKO:

I have received instructions about what you must say.

ZARODIN:

But not how I should say it. Do I have to remind you that I am the more intelligent of the two of us?

POPOCHENKO:

You've been drinking, Bouranoff!

ZARODIN:

I have been drinking. And without asking you to pour the drinks.

POPOCHENKO:

I order you to make the speech as I have written it.

ZARODIN:

Nikolai Zarodin does not take orders from an army major.

POPOCHENKO:

You're not Zarodin, you fool!

ZARODIN:

Your life depends on treating me as Zarodin, Major Popochenko.

POPOCHENKO:

The life of your wife depends on obedience, Bouranoff! Obedience to me!

ZARODIN:

It's time we went down.

HE MOVES TOWARDS THE DOOR.

POPOCHENKO:

Bouranoff!

ZARODIN TURNS AND LOOKS AT POPOCHENKO.

POPOCHENKO:

Don't forget who will suffer for this! Don't forget your wife, Bouranoff!

ZARODIN:

I have not forgotten my wife...

HE GOES OUT. POPOCHENKO STARES AFTER HIM FOR A SECOND, THEN HE TURNS AND CROSSES QUICKLY TO A DESK. HE TAKES A GUN FROM ITS HIDING PLACE, AND HAS JUST PUSHED IT INTO HIS POCKET WHEN JIMMY APPEARS IN THE DOORWAY.

JIMMY:

Isn't Mr. Zarodin here.

POPOCHENKO:

No.

JIMMY:

Has he gone down already?

POPOCHENKO:

Yes.

JIMMY:

That's all right, then. My father told me to ask him to come down to the study...Aren't you going down?

POPOCHENKO:

Yes, I'm going down.

JIMMY:

I want to hear the speech, too. I think he'll tell the truth.

POPOCHENKO:

Of course, he'll tell the truth.

JIMMY:

Everybody doesn't.People tell lies all the time. You told me a lie about those Russian words.

POPOCHENKO:

What Russian words?

JIMMY:

(IN RUSSIAN) Anna Bouranoff is dead.

POPOCHENKO STARES AT HIM.

JIMMY:

You told me it was a greeting.

POPOCHENKO:

(QUIETLY) Isn't it?

tb

JIMMY:

You know it isn't. It means "Anna Bouranoff is dead."

POPOCHENKO:

Who told you it meant that?

JIMMY:

Mr. Zarodin.

POPOCHENKO PUSHES ROUGHLY PAST HIM AND GOES OUT.

DISSOLVE TO:

THE STUDY

CLOSE SHOT OF SENATOR FORBES AS HE TALKS INTO A MICROPHONE. DURING HIS SPEECH, CUT TO THE OTHER PEOPLE IN THE ROOM. ZARODIN IS SEATED AT ANOTHER MICROPHONE ON THE TABLE. FORESTER AND THE GENERAL ARE STANDING CLOSE TOGETHER. POPOCHENKO IS STANDING A FEW FEET BEHIND ZARODIN FINLAYSON AND ANOTHER CID MAN STAND NEAR ZARODIN. A COUPLE OF TECHNICIANS ARE IN B.G.

SENATOR:

...I was heading a committee on a mission to Europe at the time. I visited this man in Germany, and after talking to him, and examining documents in his possession, I became reasonably convinced that he was indeed the former Minister of Justice Nikolai Zarodin. (MORE)

SENATOR: (CTD)

I reported back to Washington, and it was decided that this man had in his possession information so valuable to the peace of the world that it would have been foolish not to grant him asylum. For his own protection the news of his whereabouts has until now been kept secret. During this time Doctor Zarodin has put the State Department in possession of certain facts regarding his own country. Some of those facts we have already verified. But there are other facts, facts regarding the people of Soviet Russia, facts regarding their way of life today,which we feel should be given to the American people in Doctor Zarodin's own words.... Here, then,is Doctor Nikolai Zarodin...

CUT TO A CLOSE SHOT OF ZARODIN AS AS STARTS TO SPEAK. DURING HIS SPEECH, CUT TO OTHERS IN THE ROOM, PARTICULARLY TO POPOCHENKO AS, WHEN HE REALIZES THE TREND OF ZARODIN'S WORDS, HE MANOEUVERS TO GET THE GUN FROM HIS POCKET INTO HIS HAND WITHOUT BEING OBSERVED.

tb

ZARODIN:

(A LITTLE HALTINGLY AT FIRST)...For most of my life I have been a member of the communist party, a political organization dedicated to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism throughout the world. In a communist country it is difficult not to be a communist. If a man wishes to eat, or to keep his job, he must embrace communism. Not just pay lip service to it, but believe in it. A man loves his country, and accepts its discipline. But the discipline of communism is to set the State above God, and above humanity. It is the discipline of fear...You know me as Nikolai Zarodin. What can Nikolai Zarodin tell you about Russia? The man who could tell you about my country is the man whose life is twisted out of true by it, the doctor who is forced to inject poison into the hearts of the State's enemies, the poet who is forced to glorify corruption, the musician who is forced to play music hammered out on the political anvil, the historian who is forced to renounce the truths of history...(MORE)

ZARODIN: (CTD)

Those are the sick men who could tell you about communism. And I am one of their number. I am not Nikolai Zarodin! Nikolai Zarodin was murdered! The man who had sent thousands to their death, was, in his turn, sent to death....

THE SHOCK OF THE DISCLOSURE HAS REVETTED THE ATTENTION OF EVERYONE IN THE ROOM ON ZARODIN. SENATOR FORBES MOVES HIS HAND TOWARDS A SWITCH, BUT THE GENERAL SHAKES HIS HEAD. POPOCHENKO HAS SUCCEEDED IN GETTING THE GUN FROM HIS POCKET. BUT, FOR THE MOMENT, FINLAYSON IS IN HIS LINE OF FIRE.

ZARODIN:

Look to your security, America! The leaders of the Soviet Union are dedicated men. To achieve world power they will destroy anything that stands in their way....as they would destroy you...

POPOCHENKO FIRES AT ZARODIN'S BACK.

ZARODIN:

...As they have destroyed me,..

HE COLLAPSES OVER THE TABLE. THE TWO C.I.D. MEN GRAB POPOCHENKO: THE REST OF THE GROUP RUSH TO ZARODIN. FORESTER MOVES ACROSS TO POPOCHENKO.

POPOCHENKO:

No-one betrays communism and lives.

FORESTER:

Over here it's the murderers we get rid of.

POPOCHENKO:

Shoot me! I deserve death for letting him speak!

FORESTER:

That's something a jury decides in this country---But I think they're going to agree with you.

FADE OUT

THE END

INVITATION TO LEARNING

June 20, 1954

CBS Broadcast

Discussion on Ideals of Civilization, based on John Stuart Mill's "Essay on Liberty."

Guests: Lyman Bryson , CBS Counsellor on Public Affairs; James Reston, and Edward R. Murrow

This program was one of the special series in observance of Columbia University's Bicentennial with relevance to freedom of communications.

Note: See similar program on February 6, 1949.

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 5-2000

June 16
12:30 lunch

March 22, 1954

Mr. James B. Reston
New York Times
1701 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Reston:

We are delighted that you will be with us for the discussion of Mill's "Essay on Liberty" to be used on the INVITATION TO LEARNING program of Sunday, June 20. As I said over the phone, we shall pre-record at a time mutually convenient to you, Ed Murrow and Lyman Bryson.

I left a message with Ed to take three minutes to pick out a date with you when he sees you in Washington next week. Bryson prefers to record on Mondays or Fridays, but since Friday is usually a bad day for Ed, it pretty much cuts us down to the remaining Mondays before air date.

The program will be one of the special series put together in observance of Columbia University's Bicentennial and the general approach to the Mill essay in this case will be from its relevance to freedom of communications.

I look forward to the pleasure of seeing you again when we actually sit down to record and meantime, will you please sign both copies of the enclosed contracts and return them to me.

Kindest regards.

Cordially,

AWH

Arthur W. Hepner
Producer
INVITATION TO LEARNING

AWH:eb
Encl.

CC: Mr. Murrow

F. 519-8/52

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Edward R. Murrow

from: Arthur Hepner

March 10, 1954

J. Reston instead

We have to wait for Sulzberger to get back from Hawaii before we can lock up the plans for the June 20 program on INVITATION TO LEARNING. Meanwhile, I thought you might want to know what the book is going to be. As you suggested, it's Mill's "Essay on Liberty." Once we get the word from Sulzberger, we'll pick out a date for recording that is convenient for both of you.

Thanks.

Arthur

For last night: Hear, Hear!

ERM

693

TO Dotty:

FROM Mr. M. — from Arthur Hepner —

Will you ~~[illegible]~~ please have Ed sign the copies of the attached contracts and return them to me? Just a little more red tape, alas, but it keeps the records straight.

Thanks,

Done 5/4

Eng Part

CBS RADIO

"Invitation to Learning"

Office Communication

with James Reston -

to: Mr. Murrow

from: Mr. Hepner

June 21, 1954

I wish a word of thanks could say it adequately. It can't but since there's nothing better -- thanks.

eb

693

Eng Part

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 1-2345

STUART NOVINS

Director of Public Affairs

June 23, 1954

Dear Ed:

I thought you would like to know that your recent broadcast with James Reston on "Invitation to Learning" has reassured us that we do have listeners! The mail has been unusually satisfying. Many thanks to you for having taken the time to do the broadcast for us.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Stuart

Engagements Past

JUNE 16, 1954

JAMES RESTON
NEW YORK TIMES
WASHINGTON, D.C.

LUNCH TOMORROW THURSDAY 12:30 AMBASSADOR HOTEL PRIVATE DINING ROOM RESERVED HEPNER'S NAME DOWNSTAIRS NEXT TO MEN'S CAFE. RECORDING ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ SCHEDULED 2:00 TO 2:30.

D.MCDONOUGH
SECRETARY MURROW

1-43-7

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y. • PLAZA 1-2345

June 16

May 21, 1954

Mr. James B. Reston
New York Times
1701 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Reston:

We are all set for the INVITATION TO LEARNING discussion on Mills and will record on Wednesday, June 16. To simplify matters, Lyman Bryson, Ed Murrow, you and I will meet for lunch in the Weld Room on the third floor of the Harvard Club, 27 West 44 Street, at 12:30. Over lunch the discussion can be organised and we shall proceed to the studios shortly before 2:00 for the actual recording. You may count on being free by 2:30.

I trust this fits your schedule and look forward with pleasure to seeing you at the Harvard Club on Wednesday, June 16.

Kindest regards.

Cordially,

Arthur W. Hepner
Producer
INVITATION TO LEARNING

AWH:eb
cc: Mr. Murrow

"THE TERRIBLE RAIN"

September 1, 1955

Radio broadcast on conditions in Putnam, Connecticut.

"Open" and "Close" by Murrow plus 3 tapes by local people.

Script attached

Special Program
Terrible Rain

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

office communication

to: Messrs. Backlund, Skedgell, Cioffi, McAllen

from: John F. Day

cc: Messers. Mickelson
Murrow
Gitlin

September 2, 1955

I want to thank all hands for a superb job on THE TERRIBLE RAIN. It was the type of production that required a lot of work and concentration, and the result showed that work and concentration had been put into it. The show had scope, told the story, held interest, and was most effective.

JD

jfd/km

THE TERRIBLE RAIN

6:22
36
6:58

INTRO: MURROW (ABOUT ONE MINUTE)

TEASER

CIOFFIE LEAD IN TO TAPE

TAPE - WOMAN ON EFFECT OF RAIN

six - it doesn't

BEGINS: "It doesn't seem. . .
ENDS: ". .believe it."

CIOFFI TAG AFTER TAPE

23:50
20:12
3:48

MUSIC UP AND FADES INTO BG

ANNCR: INTRO OF CIOFFI AND SHOW

SHOW REEL

TAPE # 1 - SOUND OF WATER UP AND FADES UNDER CIOFFI

TAPE# 2 - MONTAGE OF PEOPLE DESCRIBING RISE OF WATER

BEGINS: "It was 20 minutes past seven. .
ENDS: ". .~~BETWEEN~~ the houses"
TIME: 1:07

street noise

TAPE # 2 - MRS. TETRO GIVES HER EXPERIENCE W TH WATER

BEGINS: "We were stranded . .
ENDS: ". .be thankful for."

street noise

4:30-4:45

TAPE # V3 - LEON BRISETTE ON HOW WIFE SAVED IN FLOOD

cut in

BEGINS: "It was a nightmare. .
ENDS: " . .unless they see it."
TIME: ~~1:22~~ 23

ce 08/12

65

Let me explain
all my finds
you help me out.

17

66

OPEN: "THE TERRIBLE RAIN"

It's been a pretty rough summer for a lot of folks in these United States. A month of drought and blazing sun ruined many a crop. Hot, humid sweltering weather raised heck with the dispositions of a lot of people. Then came "Connie." Then "Diane." Diane quickly lost her wind velocity when she crossed into Virginia, but for several hundreds of miles ahead of her -- rain, a deluge -- 14 inches of rain in 48 hours, and the rivers spilled over.

When the flood waters receded, the people returned to their homes ... but in thousands of cases there were no homes. It was the worst flood in the northeast's history. They estimate the damage at one billion, 600-million dollars. But this is a preliminary estimate only -- the final figure will run much higher.

Now, the American Red Cross has completed a re-survey of the flood devastation. It shows that 50-thousand families -- not 50-thousand individuals -- but 50-thousand families in hundreds of communities sustained serious loss in the floods. And 50-thousand folks in New England alone are out of work.

Those figures are staggering enough, but somehow, statistics always fail to tell the story of human suffering and, more important, the will to rebuild. Let's take one community in the hard-hit state of Connecticut. CBS News and Public Affairs sent reporters to Putnam to watch a community take a deep breath, roll up its sleeves, and begin the job of rebuilding a town out of heartbreak. HERE IS THAT STORY:

CLOSE: "THE TERRIBLE RAIN"

That's the story of Putnam, Connecticut -- a story that's by no means ended.

These people need help. They're getting it now, but they need much more. There are tons of mud, filth and debris that have to be removed. Destroyed water and power systems and sanitation facilities have to be restored. Army engineers expect to complete emergency repairs to bridges, river banks and channels in about two more weeks ... but it'll take about six months to finish permanent repairs.

President Eisenhower is making allocations from his special emergency fund to the flood-stricken states. The government has eased credit restrictions so that flood victims can buy new homes ... but it'll be a long time before those new homes are built. And very few folks are going to collect insurance.

In many communities, thousands of people still sleep in public buildings on cots supplied by the American Red Cross. They get their food and clothing from the Red Cross, too.

Thousands of Red Cross volunteers are giving up the time they could be spending with their families so that they can help relieve the suffering. With more families needing help, the Red Cross has increased its goal to ten million dollars. President Eisenhower has called on every American to contribute to the Red Cross for flood relief.

You know, we Americans have a reputation for always being interested in earning a fast buck. We also have a reputation for being pretty free with a buck when somebody

needs help. That's why I know that you are going to reach into your pocket or write out a check to your local Red Cross to help the flood victims. And there's no better time to do it than right now.

CLOSE: "THE TERRIBLE RAIN"

That's the story of Putnam, Connecticut -- a story that's by no means ended.

These people need help. They're getting some now, but they need much more. There are tons of mud, filth and debris that have to be removed. Destroyed water and power systems and sanitation facilities have to be restored. Army engineers expect to complete emergency repairs to bridges, river banks and channels in about two more weeks ... but it'll take about six months to finish permanent repairs.

President Eisenhower is making allocations from his special emergency fund to the flood-stricken states. The government has eased credit restrictions so that flood victims can buy new homes ... but it'll be a long time before those new homes are built. And very few folks are going to collect insurance.

In many communities, thousands of people still sleep in public buildings on cots supplied by the American Red Cross. They get their food and clothing from the Red Cross, too.

Thousands of Red Cross volunteers are giving up the time they could be spending with their families so that they can help relieve the suffering. With more families needing help, the Red Cross has increased its goal to ten million dollars. President Eisenhower has called on every American to contribute to the Red Cross for flood relief.

You know, we Americans have a reputation for always being interested in earning a fast buck. We also have a reputation for being pretty free with a buck when somebody

needs help. That's why I know that you are going to reach into your pocket or write out a check to your local Red Cross to help the flood victims. And there's no better time to do it than right now.

CBS RADIO DIVISION

YEARS OF CRISIS

Sunday, January 3, 1954
10:00 - 11:00 P.M.

ANNCR: Edward R. Murrow and seven distinguished CBS correspondents who have left their posts in important world capitals to record this yearly global report to the American people. You'll hear from men who know their subject - and we hope the next hour will help you to a better understanding of the world situation in these, which are truly YEARS OF CRISIS.

Here is Edward R. Murrow.

MURROW: Good evening!

We speak tonite of 1953 - a year of change and another YEAR OF CRISIS. It was a year in which a great American general was elected President of the United States, a year in which the aged marshal of the Soviet Union died. From day to day the peoples of the world, the free and the fettered, listened and watched and read, seeking some answer to the perpetual questions: How are we doing and where are we going? Tonite we propose to seek out the answers, however tentative. Six CBS Radio colleagues have returned from their year-long tasks in the major free capitals of the world to offer their views - and they are a very goodly company. Gentlemen, may I ask that you each introduce yourselves and tell us what situation you personally witnessed durint the past year.

SMITH: I'm HOWARD K. SMITH from London. I watched a queen crowned in Westminster Abbey.

HOTTELET: I'm RICHARD C. HOTTELET from Germany. I was in East Berlin to see the anti-Communist riots on June 17th.

KENDRICK: I'm ALEXANDER KENDRICK from Vienna. I saw Russian soldiers lifting up road barriers, raising the Iron Curtain a little.

SEVAREID: I'm ERIC SEVAREID from Washington - and I saw a lot of landscape fill up with a lot of Republicans.

SCHOENBRUN: I'm DAVID SCHOENBRUN from France. I saw the shadow of revolution over Versailles Palace when Frenchmen fought over electing a President there.

HERMAN: I'm George Herman. I saw the Korean war and I saw them sign the armistice which ended it with neither peace nor agreement.

MURROW: Well, gentlemen, let's begin by examining what you regard as the most important event of the year 1953. Would you like to start it off, Smith?

"SEE IT NOW"

KEFAUVER and BRICKER DEBATE THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

January 12, 1954

WOMEN FOR BRICKER - PRO BRICKER AMENDMENT

January 26, 1954

"SEE IT NOW"

THE ANNIE LEE MOSS PROGRAM

March 16, 1954

"SEE IT NOW"

MENTAL HEALTH

CLINIC AT LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

April 27, 1954

"SEE IT NOW"

HURRICANE EDNA

September 14, 1954

"SEE IT NOW"

A VISIT WITH CARL SANDBURG

FLAT ROCK, NORTH CAROLINA

October 5, 1954

"SEE IT NOW"

A CONVERSATION WITH J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

January 4, 1955

"SEE IT NOW"

SWISS WATCH TARIFF

March 29, 1955

"CIGARETTES and LUNG CANCER"

Part I May 31, 1955

Part II June 7, 1955

Two-part study on "SEE IT NOW" produced by Fred W. Friendly and Edward R. Murrow on CBS Television Network which examined the medical controversy over cigarette smoking as a cause of lung cancer. The study, presented in two half-hour episodes, took the form of a discussion led by Murrow with medical authorities.

Condensation in Scripts-the Listener's Digest, p. 23 - is attached.

"SEE IT NOW"

BALLOTS AT BEAR CREEK - AN EDUCATIONAL WESTERN

Jefferson County, Colorado

November 27, 1955

"SEE IT NOW"

GRANDMA MOSES

and

LOUIS ARMSTRONG

December 13, 1955

Special Program

CBS RADIO DIVISION

YEARS OF CRISIS

SUNDAY, JANUARY 1, 1956

5:05 - 6:00 PM

ANNOUNCER: YEARS OF CRISIS - 1955. At this time, CBS Radio presents the seventh annual year end report by CBS News correspondents, who have gathered in New York from their posts around the world. Eight members of this distinguished team of reporters are meeting today with Edward R. Murrow, to bring you this recorded analysis of the year's major news developments. Now, here is Mr. Murrow.

MURROW: Let's begin, gentlemen, with the question: What kind of year has it been? First, Bob Pierpoint, stationed in Tokyo, who is just back from a trip through Southeast Asia.

PIERPOINT: It's been a year of change, of awakening and of opportunity.

MURROW: Dick Hottelet - from West Germany.

HOTTELET: In Germany, fulfillment has been clouded by fear and frustration.

MURROW: David Schoenbrun - from Paris.

SCHOENBRUN: For the French, a year of terror in North Africa, and the end is not yet in sight.

MURROW: Eric Sevareid - the chief of our Washington Bureau.

SEVAREID: In America, a year of bigness in everything from business to basketball players, but not in doubts; the doubts were small.

MURROW: Howard Smith - our chief European correspondent, from London.

SMITH: In Britain, I suppose it's been a year of converting the nation from the stern cold war fortress of Churchill to what might be called the prosperous garden of Eden.

MURROW: Dan Schorr - from Moscow.

SCHORR: In the Soviet Union, a year of aggressive co-existence, the year when Kardanovich proclaimed "this is the century of communism."

"SEE IT NOW"

THE FARM PROBLEM:

A CRISIS IN ABUNDANCE

January 26, 1956

SPECIAL PROGRAM

SENATORS CLINTON ANDERSON and HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

WITH

SECRETARY of AGRICULTURE EZRA TAFT BENSON

February 16, 1956

REBUTTAL

to

"SEE IT NOW"

THE FARM PROBLEM - A CRISIS of ABUNDANCE

January 26, 1956

"SEE IT NOW"

EGYPT - ISRAEL

March 13, 1956

5b—See It Now—"Coverage of The Middle East Crisis"

The problems of the Middle East are among the most important and complex of any area in the world. They stem from the fact that the Middle East, with its rich oil deposits and its Suez Canal lifeline, is inextricably bound to the economy of Western Europe. Its problems are complicated by the rising tides of nationalism in the area and by the counterbalancing forces of colonialism. They are made still more complex by the growing demands for racial equality among the Middle East's emerging black and brown peoples. And the confusion is further compounded by the existence of bitter animosity between Israel and her Arab neighbors and almost as deep rivalries among the Arab countries themselves.

Each of these vital and continually changing aspects of the Middle East situation has been covered clearly, thoroughly and with great insight by a series of *See It Now* programs presented on CBS Television during the past year.

See It Now's remarkable coverage of the Middle East crisis includes the following specific broadcasts:

"Egypt—Israel"—an hour-and-a-half long program about the conflict of those two nations presented on March 13.

"Report from Africa"—a two part program about the rising tides of nationalism and racial equality, presented on April 23 and May 17.

"Suez"—an hour-long program about the significance of Egypt's seizure of the canal, presented on October 7.

"Special Reports from Israel"—two 15 minute broadcasts by Edward R. Murrow about the Israeli invasion of the Sinai Peninsula, presented on November 13 and 14.

Each of these *See It Now* programs is submitted by CBS Tele-

vision in the conviction that it is a worthy candidate for a George Foster Peabody Award. Taken together, these broadcasts represent an unmatched achievement in the coverage of an extremely difficult and continually developing international situation of crucial importance to the entire world.

The *See It Now* series on the Middle East presented during the past year has given the American people an excellent over-all view of the problems of that vital area. Separately, each of the programs stands on its own merits for its outstanding contribution to our understanding of specific phases of the Middle East crisis.

For this reason CBS Television has grouped all of the *See It Now* broadcasts from the Middle East into one entry for consideration by the Board of Judges of the George Foster Peabody Awards, and at the same time presents each of the programs for separate consideration by the Board for an individual award. A more detailed description of the programs follows.

Egypt-Israel
3/13/56

5b—See It Now—"Egypt—Israel"

The first of the *See It Now* broadcasts on the Middle East this year was an hour-and-a-half long political documentary entitled, "Egypt—Israel," (presented from 8:30-10:00 pm on March 13) which covered the origins and issues of the bitter dispute between both countries. The program featured probing, newsmaking interviews with General Abdul Gamal Nasser of Egypt and Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion of Israel by veteran correspondents Edward R. Murrow and Howard K. Smith respectively.

To give Americans a first hand view of the character and nature of the two countries, *See It Now's* cameras traveled extensively through both of them, revealing their people and their attitudes, proving their strength and weaknesses, describing their lands and their history.

Variety said, "Last Tuesday's hour-and-a-half, on-the-spot report on the Arab-Israel tensions was 'electronic journalism' at its best, at once frightening and fascinating."

Harriet Van Horne wrote in the *New York World-Telegram and Sun*, "Television, in essaying such documentaries as this one makes our homework as citizens of the world ever so much easier. ...This was a splendid moment in television."

For its outstanding effort to bring the people and problems of a far off, but vital area into the homes of American television viewers, CBS Television submits *See It Now*—"Egypt—Israel" for consideration by the Board of Judges of the George Foster Peabody Awards.

"SEE IT NOW"

AFRICA - PART I

April 23, 1956

AFRICA - PART II

May 17, 1956

5b—See It Now—"Report From Africa"

As part of its effort to acquaint Americans with the peoples and problems of seemingly remote parts of the world, *See It Now* this year offered a two part program entitled, "Report From Africa."

Part I, presented on April 23, covered six countries which are barely known here: Gold Coast, Liberia, Kenya, Belgian Congo, Union of South Africa and Rhodesia.

The emerging theme of the first installment was the rise of native populations to challenge the historic rule of the white man in each of the countries surveyed.

The New York Times said, "...what Mr. Murrow achieved was to make the countries of Africa come alive in human terms, to instill in his audience a realization that man has innate dignity no matter what his geographical location. It would be hard to conceive of a more constructive use of the home screen."

For its second broadcast on Africa, presented on May 17, *See It Now* concentrated on the people and problems of the northern part of the continent, encompassing Algeria, Libya, the Belgian Congo, Egypt, the Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda.

Here the complex and fiery issues of colonialism, emerging nationalism and oil diplomacy in the Middle East provided the dominant themes. Included in the show were interviews with some of the leading political figures of each of the countries; dramatic scenes of popular movements as reflected in street rallies and mob violence, and surveys of the economic development of the area. This aspect of *See It Now*'s Africa coverage gave valuable insight into the background of the deep Middle East controversies which have exploded with such tragic force in recent months.

The Billboard described "Report From Africa," Part II as "a

Report from Africa
4/23/56
5/17/56

vivid, illuminating survey. Cities and countries on the Dark Continent suddenly snapped into place, and their leaders and political struggles took on flesh and blood meaning."

For its remarkable effort to throw light on the countries and problems of the Dark Continent for the American people, CBS Television submits *See It Now's*—"Report From Africa" for consideration by the George Foster Peabody Board of Judges.

"SEE IT NOW"

REPORT ON SUEZ

October 7, 1956

Suez - 10/7/56

5b—See It Now—"Suez"

Soon after Egypt's General Abdul Gamal Nasser seized control of the Suez Canal in a move which threatened to engulf the entire world in war, *See It Now*'s cameras, under the supervision of Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly, returned to the Middle East to give the American people an up-to-date report on the latest developments in that area.

In "Suez," broadcast on the CBS Television Network on Sunday, October 7 from 5-6 pm, Mr. Murrow and his camera crew took their American viewers on a tour of the vital canal, pointing out first-hand its importance to the rest of the world and the difficulty of keeping traffic running smoothly through this lifeline to Europe.

The program focused on the controversy then raging over control of the Canal through special interviews with General Nasser and British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd.

It gave a clear, timely picture not only of the issues dividing the nations of the world on the Middle East but also of the future significance of the Canal crisis to the peace and prosperity of people everywhere.

The New York Times called *See It Now's* "Suez" "an illuminating and revealing documentary report."

As such CBS Television nominates it for the consideration of the Board of Judges of the George Foster Peabody Awards.

"SEE IT NOW"

REPORT FROM ISRAEL

PART I

Interview with Ben-Gurion

November 13, 1956

11/13+14/56

5b—See It Now—"Special Reports from Israel"

At the outbreak of war between Israel and Egypt in November, Edward R. Murrow flew to Israel with a *See It Now* camera crew to film and record on-the-spot reports of the happenings in that crucial area.

In two special broadcasts carried on CBS Television November 13 and 14 Mr. Murrow interviewed Premier David Ben-Gurion for the Israeli leader's first hand explanation of the reasons for his nation's sudden invasion of Egypt. In the second report Maj. Gen. Moshe Dayan, Chief-of-Staff of the Israeli Army, gave an informative summary of the Sinai campaign and of Israel's present military condition.

The New York Times said of these reports, "...they are giving viewers a feeling for the situation as it affects those on the scene."

For its timely efforts to give the American people a broad understanding of the latest developments in one of the most vital areas of the world, CBS Television submits *See It Now* as a candidate for a George Foster Peabody Award in International Understanding.

5b—See It Now—"Coverage of The Middle East Crisis"

The problems of the Middle East are among the most important and complex of any area in the world. They stem from the fact that the Middle East, with its rich oil deposits and its Suez Canal lifeline, is inextricably bound to the economy of Western Europe. Its problems are complicated by the rising tides of nationalism in the area and by the counterbalancing forces of colonialism. They are made still more complex by the growing demands for racial equality among the Middle East's emerging black and brown peoples. And the confusion is further compounded by the existence of bitter animosity between Israel and her Arab neighbors and almost as deep rivalries among the Arab countries themselves.

Each of these vital and continually changing aspects of the Middle East situation has been covered clearly, thoroughly and with great insight by a series of *See It Now* programs presented on CBS Television during the past year.

See It Now's remarkable coverage of the Middle East crisis includes the following specific broadcasts:

"Egypt—Israel"—an hour-and-a-half long program about the conflict of those two nations presented on March 13.

"Report from Africa"—a two part program about the rising tides of nationalism and racial equality, presented on April 23 and May 17.

"Suez"—an hour-long program about the significance of Egypt's seizure of the canal, presented on October 7.

"Special Reports from Israel"—two 15 minute broadcasts by Edward R. Murrow about the Israeli invasion of the Sinai Peninsula, presented on November 13 and 14.

Each of these *See It Now* programs is submitted by CBS Tele-

vision in the conviction that it is a worthy candidate for a George Foster Peabody Award. Taken together, these broadcasts represent an unmatched achievement in the coverage of an extremely difficult and continually developing international situation of crucial importance to the entire world.

The *See It Now* series on the Middle East presented during the past year has given the American people an excellent over-all view of the problems of that vital area. Separately, each of the programs stands on its own merits for its outstanding contribution to our understanding of specific phases of the Middle East crisis.

For this reason CBS Television has grouped all of the *See It Now* broadcasts from the Middle East into one entry for consideration by the Board of Judges of the George Foster Peabody Awards, and at the same time presents each of the programs for separate consideration by the Board for an individual award. A more detailed description of the programs follows.

"SEE IT NOW"

REPORT FROM ISRAEL

PART II

Interviews with Ein Gev, Weizman and Dayan

November 14, 1956

Israel
11/13+14/56

5b—See It Now—"Special Reports from Israel"

At the outbreak of war between Israel and Egypt in November, Edward R. Murrow flew to Israel with a *See It Now* camera crew to film and record on-the-spot reports of the happenings in that crucial area.

In two special broadcasts carried on CBS Television November 13 and 14 Mr. Murrow interviewed Premier David Ben-Gurion for the Israeli leader's first hand explanation of the reasons for his nation's sudden invasion of Egypt. In the second report Maj. Gen. Moshe Dayan, Chief-of-Staff of the Israeli Army, gave an informative summary of the Sinai campaign and of Israel's present military condition.

The New York Times said of these reports, "...they are giving viewers a feeling for the situation as it affects those on the scene."

For its timely efforts to give the American people a broad understanding of the latest developments in one of the most vital areas of the world, CBS Television submits *See It Now* as a candidate for a George Foster Peabody Award in International Understanding.

"SEE IT NOW"

REVOLUTION IN THE NAVY

November 18, 1956

"SEE IT NOW"

THE SECRET LIFE OF DANNY KAYE

December 2, 1956

"Secret Life of Danny Kaye" 12/2/56

5a—See It Now—"The Secret Life of Danny Kaye"

For an hour-and-a-half on Sunday afternoon December 2 the American people were treated to an extraordinary demonstration of international good-will. They saw highlights of Danny Kaye's brilliant international tour on behalf of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. They followed along with *See It Now* cameras as Danny Kaye sang, danced, mimicked and clowned his way through eleven countries and 50,000 miles, proving that youngsters are the same all over and that national boundaries and rivalries all are dissolved in the delightful society of children.

See It Now's "The Secret Life of Danny Kaye" was a lesson in international understanding which few who saw it could ever forget. From polio stricken children in Italy to leprosy sufferers in Nigeria, Danny Kaye brought smiles to them all with his brilliant clowning and tremendous heart. Simply and eloquently he put across the crucial point—that the world will be a much better place in the future if the suffering children of today are given love, understanding and help through UNICEF.

Not only did the people of America see this great lesson in international understanding, but the people of the world saw it as well. For the *See It Now* Danny Kaye film has been shown on television networks in 25 countries throughout the world from Australia to Yugoslavia—the first time in history that so many could see one program in so many different parts of the globe.

Harriet Van Horne said in the *New York World-Telegram And Sun*, "In months to come ("The Secret Life of Danny Kaye") will probably win all the awards, scrolls and citations there are. It will deserve every last one of them . . . what we'll long remember is Danny Kaye opening his arms and heart to the children of the world."

CBS Television submits that *See It Now's* "The Secret Life of Danny Kaye," which has been a major force in stimulating an informed public opinion about the work of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, represents an outstanding contribution to international understanding and deserves the consideration of the Board of Judges of the George Foster Peabody Awards.

"SEE IT NOW"

CONVERSATION WITH CHOU-EN-LAI

December 31, 1956

CBS RADIO DIVISION

YEARS OF CRISIS-EDWARD R. MURROW

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1956
4:30 - 5:30 PM

ANNOUNCER: YEARS OF CRISIS! At this time, CBS Radio presents the eighth annual year-end report by CBS News correspondents who have gathered in New York from their posts around the world. Seven members of this distinguished team of reporters are meeting today with Edward R. Murrow to bring you this analysis of the year's major news developments. Now, here is Mr. Murrow.

MURROW: This has been a year of crisis but not the crisis that any of us foresaw. Last year we were sitting here looking forward to lessened tensions; atomic stalemate had been achieved; universal war was ruled out. But what's happened? There have been two big explosions and both have been almost incredible. One was in the Middle East and one in Middle Europe. One tore the Western Alliance apart and it even brought the United States and the Soviet Union together for a moment to snuff out a local war in Egypt. The other produced revolutions in Poland and Hungary that did the impossible. They proved that tanks and machine guns can't crush civilians set on winning freedom.

My colleagues and I have come in from the storm centers and propose to examine for the next hour what's happened this year and why, what the meaning of all this is? What do you fellows think really happened this year? First, Howard K. Smith, our chief European correspondent.

SMITH: Well, I think that 1956 may be remembered as the year that tension relaxed so much that fighting broke out all over the place.

MURROW: Richard C. Hottelet, who is based on Bonn and who has just returned from Poland and the Hungarian frontier.

HOTTELET: I believe that this year has put an end to Communism as a world revolutionary force.

MURROW: David Schoenbrun, our Paris correspondent.

SCHOENBRUN: This is - looked like the year of the turning of the worm. All around the world, little people have turned on their mentors -or their tormentors -in a kind of global epidemic of revolt.

G

Special Program

MURROW-THE WORLD TONIGHT: January 9, 1957.

The British manage to run their affairs in war and peace without a written Constitution. But when a Prime Minister resigns, for whatever reason, the proper procedure is all written out - not in words but in tradition. The Prime Minister merely makes the short drive to Buckingham Palace, turns over his seals of office, and tells the Queen he's quitting. She thanks him for his services and generally asks him to mention a successor. Naturally the man he recommends is from his own Party. Word gets around quietly as to who that man is to be. He telephones several of the influential members of his Party, or runs into them at his Club, and enquires whether they will support him if he forms a new government. After he has been assured of their support comes the formal invitation for him to visit the Queen, to be asked to form a government. He then draws up a list of his proposed Cabinet - he has a free hand in doing this, but generally keeps on most of the old hands, with maybe a little re-shuffling.

If the Party is split, the first man may not be able to get ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ the overwhelming majority of his Party to support him, in which case the Queen can ask another member of the Party to have a try at it. In the event that no one can get the necessary support to form a new government,

the Queen can dissolve Parliament and call for a National Election. This is one time when the Monarch is considerably more than a ceremonial figurehead, and can influence the decision, not only regarding the next Prime Minister but also the composition of the new Cabinet. The last time that happened was in 1945 when Clement Attlee proposed to make Ernest Bevin the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and King George VI thought Bevin should be Foreign Secretary - he became Foreign Secretary.

In this case it appears almost certain that R.A. Butler, known to his friends XXX as RAB, will be asked to form the new government. He is generally regarded as the most brilliant mind in the Conservative Government, a sort of one-man Brains Trust, who wrote the so-called "Industrial Charter" for the Conservatives, which was a strange mixture of socialism and capitalism, but a very powerful political document in the last two campaigns. He is not a gentle debater, does not have what is generally called the House of Commons manner, and does not suffer fools gladly.

The Conservatives will probably rally around him, not only because of his ability and record of service to the Party, but because if they don't they might be out of office, and that is a dismal prospect for a politician on either side of the Atlantic.

"THE GALINDEZ-MURPHY CASE: A CHRONICLE OF TERROR"

May 20, 1957

A CBS Public Affairs Radio Program

Edward R. Murrow, Narrator

Script attached

Correspondence

The Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
claims common law copyright herein, and
no use may be made hereof without its
written permission.

CBS RADIO
a division of
The Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

presents

THE GALINDEZ--MURPHY CASE: A CHRONICLE OF TERROR

Narrated by: Edward R. Murrow

Monday, May 20, 1957
8:00-9:00 PM CNYT (ET)

Over the nationwide
facilities of the
CBS Radio Network

A CBS Public Affairs Program

Produced by: Jay McMullen

Associated in production:
Arthur Rabin and Ted Sack

AS BROADCAST

Typed June 5, 1957

CBS RADIO NETWORK
THE GALINDEZ-MURPHY CASE:
A CHRONICLE OF TERROR
MONDAY, MAY 20, 1957
8:00 - 9:00 P.M. CNYT

Opens Cold

MURROW: This is Ed Murrow. Listen to the sworn statement of an informer . . . now in hiding, afraid he will be found and killed.

ET: PORTALES

I Orestes Portales Y Carosco, do hereby depose under oath as follows: During the last week of February 1956, I was contacted in Miami, Florida, by a Spanish expatriate who claimed to be in the services of Generalisimo Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. This man, henceforth identified as Felix Velasquez, related to me that he had been sent to the United States by Rafael Trujillo with the assignment to make arrangements for the assassination of Dr. Jesus de Galindez of New York City.

MURROW: Dr. Jesus de Galindez -- journalist and instructor at Columbia University -- disappeared from New York City on the night of March 12, 1956. This is his description as broadcast by the Missing Persons Bureau, New York City Police Department, in a thirteen-state alarm.

ET: POLICE ALARM
Alarm Number 5922, Missing since March 13, 1956. Jesus de Galindez, of 30 Fifth Avenue, male, white, 42, six foot one, 160 pounds, slim build, fair complexion, light brown hair, slightly bald in front, brown eyes, good teeth, usually wears a fedora. Reported missing in the 8th precinct.

MURROW: On December 3, 1956, another man connected with this case disappeared in the Dominican Republic. His mother gave us this description of her son -- a young flyer from Eugene, Oregon, named Gerald Lester Murphy.

ET: MRS. MURPHY
Gerry's height is five feet, 10 inches. His weight about 165 pounds. He has large blue eyes and brown hair.

MURROW: In the next hour we shall attempt to chronicle in sound, the actual case histories of Jesus de Galindez and Gerry Murphy. More is involved here than the disappearance of two men. A foreign government is confronted with charges of complicity in kidnapping, murder and terrorization of American citizens. It also stands accused of maintaining in this nation a network of unregistered agents. These charges are under investigation by the State Department, the FBI and by a Federal Grand Jury now hearing secret testimony in Washington, D.C.

We do not know when the results of these investigations will be made known. But much information concerning the Galindez-Murphy case already has appeared in newspapers and magazines from New York to Buenos Aires. The case itself is fast becoming an Inter-American Cause Celebre. Tonight, you will hear the tape recorded words and actual voices of people involved in it . . . including key witnesses, speaking publicly for the first time - some anonymously because they fear for their lives.

The facts will speak for themselves. It is not our purpose to judge them. It is not our purpose to solve this case, but to chronicle its history.

Our chronicle begins with a police report on the background of Dr. Jesus de Galindez. The speaker is New York's Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm.

ET: WALTER ARM
Our investigation has shown so far, that Mr. de Galindez was born in Madrid, Spain, on October 12th, of 1915, and that he has a father and a brother who are still in Spain, and who are his only relatives, as far as we can learn. Mr. de Galindez had been active in the Spanish Revolution and fled Spain shortly after the Franco regime came into power. He went to the Dominican Republic, where he was employed by President Trujillo, as a tutor for his children.

MURROW: Galindez went to work for Trujillo in 1939. Rafael Leonida Trujillo Molina has many titles. But they add up to one word: dictator. With the help of bullets, bayonets and bodyguards, Trujillo has remained dictator of the Dominican Republic for 27 years. His realm shares the Island of Santo Domingo with the Republic of Haiti. It is four hours flying time from Miami . . . a tropical Caribbean country of nearly two and a half million people.

(MORE)

MURROW: (CTD) Galindez worked for Trujillo as a tutor, a law instructor and a legal advisor to the Department of Labor. For nearly seven years, Galindez made voluminous notes on the Modus Operandi of the Trujillo Dictatorship which he had grown to hate and took these notes with him when he came to the United States. The report of the New York police Department continues the story of Galindez.

ET: POLICE SPOKESMAN
He came to New York on February 14th of 1946. He described himself then as, quote, stateless, unquote, and joined the faculty of Columbia University as an instructor in International law, and Spanish. He joined the faculty on October first, 1951. He was also the representative of the Spanish Basque Government in Exile.

MURROW: Columbia University's President, Grayson Kirk, says: "Galindez was a scholar well respected by his teaching colleagues." The colleague who knew him best was his advisor Frank Tannenbaum, Professor of Latin American History.

ET: TANNENBAUM
Dr. Galindez was a fine human being; a good Christian; a devoted Democrat; and a person who had great moral and political courage.

MURROW: Under the guidance of Professor Tannenbaum, Galindez began work on a PhD thesis. His subject: the Dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo. He called this work "The Era of Trujillo." And while he wrote, he spoke openly against the Dictator. A friend, Wenzell Brown, testifies to that.

ET: BROWN:
Galindez made an awful lot of speeches attacking Trujillo. I particularly remember one speech that was made in an open-air ceremony in memory of Andres Raquena, who was shot and killed in New York after publishing a newspaper attacking Trujillo. In this speech, Galindez made a direct statement accusing Trujillo of arranging for Raquena's murder.

MURROW: Andres Raquena was murdered on October second, 1952. In his last newspaper article, Raquena said his life had been threatened by Felix Bernadino, than Dominican Consul in New York. Bernadino denied this. The case is still unsolved. On April 28, 1935 another anti-Trujillo exile was shot and killed in New York. His name: Sergio Bencosme, former Secretary of War in the Dominican Republic. A Grand Jury indicted "Chicki" Fuentes Rubirosa as the murderer. Rubirosa fled to the Dominican Republic...was trailed there by New York Detectives who saw him in the uniform of a Dominican army officer. Dominican police said they could not extradite Rubirosa because "no such individual exists." The third critic of Trujillo in New York to be silenced, was Jesus de Galindez. Galindez worked on his Doctoral thesis, "The Era of Trujillo" from 1952 through 1955. His advisor at Columbia University, Professor Frank Tannenbaum told us.

ET: TANNENBAUM
I know that he felt insecure. I know that he deposited a copy of the chapters as he wrote them, with a friend, just in case something happened to him.

MURROW: A Columbia student --- Maria Joy.

ET: JOY
As the classes went along, he mentioned the fact that he has been threatened by Trujillo people.

MURROW: A friend -- Norman Thomas.

ET: THOMAS
The next ... the last time I saw Dr. de Galindez was by accident on the Columbia University Campus. After talkin for a few minutes, both of us were in a hurry, he said almost casually, "By the way, I've been getting some more threats."

MURROW: A Dominican exile, Nicholas Silfa.

ET: SILFA
Galindez tells me that he has received threats over the phone telling him to quit writing against Trujillo or else he will disappear from New York City.

MURROW: An excerpt from a letter written by Dr. Galindez to a Dominican exile: Dr. Angel Morales. The letter is dated: June 15, 1955, A friend, Francis Grant reads the actual words of Jesus de Galindez.

ET: GRANT:
He ends this letter by saying the following words to Dr. Morales: "I continue to smell the Trujillo pressure trying to amortize me."

MURROW: Two weeks before he disappeared, Galindez stood before a distinguished academic committee at Columbia University. He was there for an oral examination known as "The Defense of the Thesis." In his thesis Galindez wrote that Trujillo was responsible for political assassinations, had destroyed all political opposition, build up a spy service abroad to check on Dominicans away from home ...had made the Dominican Republic his personal fief. Columbia University accepted the Galindez thesis on Fedruary 27, 1956. Professor Frank Tannanbaum was on the academic committee that judged it.

ET: TANNENBAUM
De Galindez' book is, in my opinion and in the opinion of the committee that examined the thesis, an important contribution to political science, because it describes for the first time the detailed operations, the day to day operations, of a dictatorial government, over a period of thirty years.

MURROW: Others had written critically of the Trujillo regime. But the Galindez thesis would be regarded as bearing the stamp of approval and the prestige of a leading University. De Galindez also had begun work on another book . . . a withering satirical novel about the family and marital affairs of a dictator in the Caribbean. Galindez completed three chapters of his novel before he disappeared on Monday, March 12, 1956. Most of that day he worked in his four-room bachelor apartment at 30 Fifth Avenue . . . writing and preparing for his lecture that night at Columbia University. He began his lecture on Latin American Politics at 8:30 P.M. Student Luigi Romano recalls his opening remarks.

ET: ROMANO
The night he disappeared he showed us his thesis, which had been approved and then he said, "Well, I've been receiving anonymous telephone calls, but I'm going on". He implied that these telephone calls were due to some kind of hostilities from the Dominican Republic about the publication of the thesis.

MURROW: At 9:20 P.M. Dr. Galindez completed his lecture and left the University. The New York City Police report continues:

ET: POLICE SPOKESMAN
Mr. De Galindez left the university in company with one of his students, a girl who drove him as far as 57th Street and 8th Avenue, where, she later reported he got out of her car and entered the subway to go home.

MURROW: The police will not disclose the name of this girl student. She was the last person to see Galindez before he disappeared, this night, March 12th, 1956. The next day, March 13th, a friend called his apartment at 10:30 A.M. There was no answer. On March 14, Galindez missed a scheduled class at Columbia, and an important Spanish Society meeting he had promised to attend. Friends and associates at that meeting began to check up, without result. Stanley Ross, publisher of a Spanish language newspaper, called the police two days later.

ET: ROSS AND POLICE REPRESENTATIVE

Friday, we began to get really worried, and I called the Missing Person's Bureau. They said they would not accept my report of a disappearance because I was not a relative. They wouldn't accept it, and they said that "you'd better wait a few days, he may have gone off with some girl some place and you may embarrass him if you try to find him." I waited till about ten PM and we got very nervous, and I called the FBI at about ten . . . ten-thirty PM, told them what I was afraid of. They called me back in a hour and said, "Yes, Galindez had himself been afraid of something happening to him. That several months before, he reported to the FBI that he thought his life was in danger." Saturday, the 17th, the man from the FBI came down and said that they couldn't handle the case themselves because it was a local matter so far. Therefore they would have to ask me to go to the local police, which I did.

MURROW: The police record continues.

ET: ROSS AND POLICE SPOKESMAN

Ten A.M., on March 18th, 1956. Stanley Ross, publisher of the Spanish-language newspaper, EL DIARIO del NUEVA YORK, reported to detectives of the 8th Detective Squad, that his friend, a writer of political columns for EL DIARIO, Jesus de Galindez, had disappeared from his residence at 30 Fifth Avenue. The detectives began an immediate investigation. Members of this department visited his home.

MURROW: Detectives searched the apartment. Stanley Ross and two of Galindez' close friends were present. Here is what they saw, in the words of Ross and a friend who must remain anonymous.

ET: ROSS AND ANONYMOUS FRIEND

The bed didn't look like it had been slept in; no clothes on chairs, only the pair of shoes that were on the floor. And that was all. We noticed that the Monday morning papers were on his bed. . . seemed to have been untouched. The desk was as I had usually seen it, and we found an outline of his new projected novel, I FOLLOWED ON HORSEBACK. Miss Miranda started to look for anything that could be amiss in the apartment. But she found everything in order, everything in its place. We did notice that a brief case that Galindez sometimes carried didn't seem to be there.

MURROW: And here are the official comments of the New York City Police Department in response to a reporter's questions.

ET: POLICE SPOKESMAN AND CBS REPORTER
Commissioner, in the opinion of the Police Department, did Dr. de Galindez reach his apartment on March 12th?

We have no evidence to show that one way or the other.

Was the briefcase that Dr. de Galindez carried with him to his classes at Columbia University on the night of his disappearance found in his apartment?

That too we will not comment on,

Is there any reason to believe that de Galindez disappeared voluntarily?

We have no evidence to that effect.

Does the New York City Police Department connect this case in any way with the previous murders of rebel Dominican leaders in New York City?

We have no comment on that.

Prior to Dr. de Galindez' disappearance, did he ask for New York City Police Department protection?

No, we have no record of Dr. de Galindez ever seeking such protection.

MURROW: On March 18th, 1956 the Galindez case was assigned as follows.

ET: POLICE SPOKESMAN
"As there was no evidence of foul play, it was assigned to the Missing Persons' Bureau. It made checks at hospitals and morgues and they are still checking unidentified bodies in an attempt to ascertain whether any of these bodies might be that of de Galindez.

MURROW: Officially, Galindez became a missing person -- just one among ten-thousand people who disappear from New York City each year. His disappearance brought this reaction from one of his Columbia University students, Maria Joy.

ET: JOY
When he told us several times about the threats, I was afraid he was trying to make a hero of himself, exaggerating a little bit. But when I read in the New York Times that he had disappeared, I was horrified not only because he had disappeared, and then I realized what could have happened to him, but because that could happen in the United States.

MURROW: In New York's Spanish Community, CBS Radio Reporters found friends of Galindez who refused to discuss his disappearance. This man explains why.

ET: HERNANDEZ
After Galindez disappeared most Latin American people seemed to be afraid. There seemed to be an atmosphere of terror, fear; people were afraid to talk about Galindez' case. They were afraid to mention his supposed enemy.

MURROW: Why does this atmosphere of terror exist in a city of the United States? Our reporter found a friend of Dr. Galindez' who told him why she was afraid.

ET: FRIEND AND REPORTER
Yes, I have been threatened. They asked if I receive any information, not to give it to the police, but give it to a particular party that I don't want to mention.

Could you tell me what that threat was?

Well, he didn't say directly but he implicated that . . thinking that I was from San Domingo, that if I talk, my family would be subject to some harm or something, you see?

Did they threaten you directly?

Yes, it was directed to me, so my answer was that I wasn't afraid because I wasn't a Dominican. I won't tal to anybody else though. I won't give information to nobody, but the Police Department.

MURROW: We do not know who threatened this woman. We do know that several Dominican exiles in New York City have asked for police protection. We do know that two weeks before the disappearance of Dr. Galindez, police told one of these exiles that his life was in danger. And six detectives guarded him night and day, for one week. This exile is Dr. German Ornes Coiscu. . . former Publisher of the leading newspaper in the Dominican Republic. On March 30, 1956 Dr. Ornes told the New York Times:

ET: DR. ORNES
I am afraid that Galindez has been kidnapped by agents of the Dominican regime. I know from my own experience that Galindez was one of the pet hates of the Trujillo dictatorship.

MURROW: The Times printed the Dominican reply on April 4, 1956. Here is an excerpt of that statement which was signed by Dr. Manuel De Moya Alonzo, Secretary of State without portfolio for the Dominican Republic.

ET: DR. MANUEL DE MOYA ALONZO
Quote: "It is well known that the intriguing hot bed of Upper New York City, harbors many malcontents, and that Galindez has opposition in many other Latin governments, which might have wished him harm. It is far out of character of Trujillo and The Times would fare better to look for other motivations. The Dominican Republic admits to having an efficient intelligence system and has made available its information on the international Communist conspiracy to the United States. But it does not use hired killers to solve a world problem! End quote.

MURROW: That statement was printed on April four. The next day police said they found the will of Galindez. In it Galindez wrote: "I am a believing Catholic and I want to be buried according to the rites of my church." The police also reported another discovery.

ET: POLICE SPOKESMAN
"Detectives found a note, dated October 4, 1952, tucked away in a book in Dr. de Galindez' apartment. The note was signed with his name. In it he asked the police to seek his enemies in the Dominican Republic in the event anything ever happened to him.

MURROW: The note mentioned no names; presented no clues. But from the friends of Dr. Galindez, police heard of one suspect: a lame man with a glass eye, of whom Galindez was suspicious. Here are his actual words, read by a friend, Frances Grant.

ET: GRANT
I have before me a photostatic copy of the letter which Dr. Galindez writes as follows, speaking of this same personality: "This man came to visit me this afternoon. He told me a strange story of thieves, of some peculiar data, of personalities. But there are too many holes; too many absurdities and flagrant contradictions. I smell a plot of our mutual friend of San Cristobal, Trujillo", Now further on in this same letter, he says; " I have reinforced the chain on my apartment, and I am inclined to advise you to do the same." This was written in November 22nd, 1955.

MURROW: That letter was written to Dr. Angel Morales, A dominican exile living in Puerto Rico. This is the statement of a Dominican exile in New York, Nicholas Silfa.

ET: SILFA
Galindez got very much suspicious about that man. He notified that he told me to the FBI and to the New York Police. The man was already known as an international spy of Trujillo's, a spy, and finger-man of Trujillo, the man was seen late in February in Miami. He made a contact there with a Cuban man called Orestes Portales.

MURROW: Here is the sworn and signed affidavit of Orestes Portales, as read by another man:

ET: PORTALES

I, the undersigned, Orestes Portales Y Carasco, do hereby depose under oath as follows: 'During the last week of February, 1956, I was contacted in Miami, Florida, by a Spanish expatriate who claimed to be in the service of Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo, of the Dominican Republic. This man henceforth identified as Felix Velasques, who walked with a strong limp, related to me that he was an intelligence operative of long experience; two, that he was wanted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation; three, that he had been sent to the United States, shortly prior to our first contact, by Rafael Trujillo, with the assignment to make arrangements for the assassination of Dr. Jesus de Galindez of New York City, and another person, whom I do not wish to identify in this affidavit but whom I have identified in my previous statement to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. On the occasion of my last contact with Felix Velasquez, he appeared aggitated, complaining that the agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation were after him. He left Miami the same night after having made a telephone call to the Dominican Consulate. Just before his departure Felix Velasquez received a telegram. I saw the telegram. It bore a Dominican dateline and read, in Spanish, "Abandon Mission. Return immediately." There was no signature. Somewhat later I learned from a friend in Miami that the man known to me as Felix Velasquez is a notorious international criminal, known as "El Coho" or "The Limp" who had been implicated in the murder of an anti-Trujillo labor leader named P.P. Hernandez in Havana, Cuba. I realized then that the information I had accidentally learned from Felix Velasquez may be significant, and I therefore reported it to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I am a Cuban national and do not belong to any Dominican political organization. I have no personal interest in Dominican politics. My only reason for volunteering this deposition is to establish the truth.

MURROW: Witnesses say they saw the lame man known as "El Coho" in New York City one month before Galindez disappeared. One month after his disappearance, the President of the Inter-American Press Association wrote an appeal to President Eisenhower. James C. Stahlman reads an excerpt of his letter, dated April 28th, 1956.

ET: STAHLMAN:
As the President of the Inter-American Press Association, I ask your personal interest in this particular case, in the hope that the strong circumstantial evidence indicating the possibility,if not the probability of kidnapping, may be immediately and thoroughly investigated by the FBI.

MURROW: PRESIDENT Eisenhower made his reply at a News Conference on Thursday, May 10th, 1956.

ET: PRESIDENT:
The Attorney General went after the case as quickly as it arose; went into New York City, the FBI is standing by -- on the first information it has a right to step in -- the city police of New York have it in hand. As far as the case now stands, it's a pure case of disappearance and not a case where the FBI has a right to step in.

MURROW: That was also the Administration's answer to twelve Labor, Civic and Inter-American organizations requesting FBI participation in the Galindez case. But pressure for an FBI investigation continued. Speaking as Chairman of the Post War World Council, Norman Thomas said:

ET: NORMAN THOMAS:
The Federal authorities are very clearly playing the case down. I gather the impression in Washington that it is considered a potentially troublesome issue. Trujillo professes to be our friend. He would certainly resent an inquiry. Furthermore, this could well be felt in the delicate balance of the Latin-American bloc of the United Nations. Hence we have this run-around.

MURROW: May twenty-fifth, 1956. The scene: a court room in Havana. Rafael Soler . . . a Cuban gangster indicted in the murder of a Dominican exile . . . told the court: "In 1953, I was offered one hundred thousand dollars by a Dominican agent to assassinate Dr. Galindez." Soler said he turned the job down. Called it "Too risky." On May thirty, another charge made headlines.

ET: SILFA:
I, Nicholar Silfa, representative in the United States of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, charged that Dr. Jesus de Galindez of Columbia University was thrown alive into the firebox of a boiler in the Dominican freighter S.S. Fundacion, in New York harbor on order of Dictator Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. I have the imformation from eye-witness in fact. But I cannot reveal this source, however, because it might complicate the lives of this man and his family as well, in the Dominican Republic.

MURROW: The S.S. Fundacion and another Dominican freighter were in New York Harbor at the time Galindez disappeared. . . When the Fundacion returned to New York from the Dominican Republic, police investigated Silfa's charge . . . issued this report on June sixth, 1956.

ET: POLICE SPOKESMAN:
Detectives examined the vessel's furnace. They also searched the entire ship from top to bottom and questioned the crew. There was no evidence found to support the allegation that de Galindez met with death aboard the ship.

MURROW: The mystery deepened in July, 1956, when the New York Herald Tribune revealed that Galindez had collected one million sixteen-thousand dollars for the Basque government-in-exile, which he represented in this country. First reports suggested that half of this money was missing. But Jose de Aquirre, President of the Basque Government, denied this.

ET: AQUIRRE:
This is not true. My statement is as follows: From this sum of one million, sixteen thousand dollars, the Basque government in Paris keep around half the amount for its proper expenses. The remaining part, which the government also received, was given according to the wishes of the donors, to the Basque political and labor organizations.

MURROW: In September, 1956, the Dominican government, released a booklet entitled "The Other Side of the Galindez Case, a memorandum to the American Public from Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo." In it, Trujillo denied implication in the Galindez Case.....Then Trujillo said:

ET: DOMINICAN STATEMENT:
Quote: "At least the following alternative hypotheses about the Galindez case merit the most careful and urgent attention. One, Galindez, having discovered that his book could not be published in a form that would accomplish the kind of hurt to the Dominican Republic that he had in mind, pocketed his five hundred thousand dollars and took refuge in a carefully prepared hideout. Two, Galindez was a confidence man whose conferers liquidated him for short-changing them. Three, Galindez was a Communist agent whose misfortune was that he suddenly became more useful to the Communist apparatus dead than alive. In a word -- the Communist plot that I call "Operation Galindez" has been as successful as its perpetrators could have hoped for it to be. But it would not have succeeded at all had it not been able to count on the unwitting cooperation of the U. S. Press." End Quote.

MURROW: Charges had been made. Charges had been answered. But there the baffling case of Jesus de Galindez rested -- until a young American flier named Gerry Murphy disappeared in the Dominican Republic on December three, 1956. Then some of those who knew Murphy well began to speak to the FBI. And what they said threw a new light on the Galindez case. This is Murphy's fiance, Celia "Sally" Caire.

ET: SALLY CAIRE:
Gerry said that he flew De Galindez from Long Island to Dominican Republic -- what they did with the person from there, I don't know. He never did mention that, and he said if he had known that first, he'd never had any part of it. But he didn't.

MURROW: According to Sally Caire, Gerry Murphy said he flew Jesus de Galindez to the Dominican Republic on the night of March 12th, 1956 . . . helped to kidnap him without knowing that he was participating in a crime. Credit for checking out this story and for publishing it first goes to Life Magazine. Here, we shall attempt to trace Murphy's flight and other new aspects of his story through the actual words of key people involved in it. The story begins in Miami, Florida, where 23-year old Gerry Murphy worked as a pilot -- flying charter jobs for Tom Gutherie's Air Taxi Service. In February, 1956, Murphy told Gutherie he was quiting.

ET: GUTHERIE:
Gerry told me that during one of his trips he had made the acquaintance of the parties that he had flown and he'd offered him a pretty good job. And said he thought he could be influential in getting him on an airline. At the time, he didn't mention what airline it would be.

MURROW: Murphy's life long ambition was to be a pilot. Imperfect vision had barred him from commercial airlines and from the Air Force, but not from flying. In his home town, Eugene, Oregon, he soloed at 16; at 23 he earned a commercial license, and moved to Miami to further his flying career. Now came the offer he had been waiting for. Who made that offer? This is the statement of a friend who must remain annonymous.

ET: ANONYMOUS FRIEND:
Gerry Murphy told me that after he quit his job with Tom Gutherie's Air Taxi Service, he became the personal pilot of a high Dominican official, General Espaillat.

MURROW: General Arturo R. Espaillat. . . a West Point graduate .. a Dominican Intelligence Officer. Murphy's fiance, Sally Caire, says Espaillat promised Gerry a job in the Dominican Airlines. But first there was a special job to be done. . . a sick man to be flown from New York to the Dominican Republic in a Twin Beech aircraft.

ET: CAIRE:
He was asked if he could do this job and Gerry said certainly he could. That he thought he could devise a method to refuel the plane and if he wanted him to bring back a patient, he would do it for them. They were certainly paying him for it.

MURROW: Needed: An Aircraft for this flight. Murphy leased one from the Trade Ayre Co. in Linden, New Jersey. A company spokesman describes the plane.

ET: FRED AIRE:
The airplane that Gerry Murphy leased from Trade Ayre here at Linden, New Jersey, on March 10, 1956, was a 1943 twin-engined, 6-passenger, military surplus Beechcraft. The airplane was painted yellow with green striping, and bore the CAA registration number 68-100.

MURROW: Murphy leased this plane for one month . . . said he got the eight hundred dollars to lease it from two friends. One of them, John Frank, was indicted on May 13, by a Federal Grand Jury as an unregistered agent of the Dominican Republic. Murphy paid the money to Tony Ming of the Trade Ayre Company.

ET: TONY MING:
He brought cash, and said that he was proceeding to Newark Airport where he would pick up one of his passengers prior to leaving for Miami, Florida, his next intended stop.

MURROW: We found no record that Murphy landed at Newark Airport. But on March 11, 1956 -- a day before Dr. de Galindez disappeared -- Murphy and his leased Twin Beech were seen at an airport in Staten Island, New York, by this man who must remain anonymous.

ET: ANONYMOUS FRIEND:
There were, I'd say there were probably three or four people around there and I was curious and I went over to see what was going on. When I looked inside the ship, I noticed the rear seat was removed and they were attempting to put these drums in there and I assumed they were to carry more gasoline. I thought they were going to make a long trip. While they were working there, I just happened to ask the pilot where he was going that he needed that much gasoline, and he was nice enough. He said he was going to make a trip down to the Azores and then from there he was going to hop over to Africa.

MURROW: The same day, March eleven, Murphy drove out to Zahn's Airport in Long Island . . . told airport officials that he would land there the following day in a Twin Beech. The next day he landed at 10:30 A.M. . . . bought gas . . . signed the register . . . announced his departure time as half-an-hour later. But he did not take off until night . . . . until a so-called "sick person" was unloaded from an ambulance and carried aboard his plane. The night watchman at this field assisted in this operation. He died of a heart attack last fall. But he told his daughter about the "sick man" at Zahn's Airport.

ET: WATCHMAN'S DAUGHTER:
On March 12, 1956, he told me of a case of a man who was being flown to Florida, as a last resort to help him. The man was supposed to be a millionaire and my father helped put him on a plane. The people that were helping put the man on the plane told him that he was a cancer victim.

MURROW: Later, Gerry Murphy told Sally Caire about this specific "sick man."

ET: SALLY CAIRE:
He said this person was brought in on an ambulance and had another person assisting him. He was put in the plane and he immediately knew the person was not a sick patient -- he was drugged, because he kept mumbling and saying nonsensical things and he certainly wasn't a sick person.

MURROW: This was the night Dr. Galindez disappeared. Next stop in Murphy's flight: Lantana Airport, near West Palm Beach, Florida. Personnel at the airport were on hand to meet him. We learned that the airport was advised of his arrival by a phone call made twelve days earlier.

MURROW: Here is a description of the arrival of Murphy's plane on the morning of March 13, 1956 at Lantana Airport, West Palm Beach.

ET: GAS ATTENDANT:

At approximately 7:30, the airplane, a Twin Beech N-68-100, approached our field from a Northerly direction I directed the airplane to a fueling area, and the pilot got out of the plane and said, "Gas all of my tanks and bring my oil up to seven gallons. From the pictures I have seen recently, the pilot of this airplane was Gerald Murphy.

MURROW: This man did not enter Murphy's plane. But the cabin window was open and something caused him to look inside.

ET: GAS ATTENDANT

Coming from the inside was a very strong smell, or stench, and I saw a stretcher and a person laying on it and assumed it was a patient or a hospital case of some type. The cover looked like it went from head to foot. It was a dark type material -- it might have been an old Army blanket or something to that effect. I saw one man sitting down on the left side of the airplane.

He had on fairly dark clothing and had a hat on -- a felt type hat -- and seemed about a middle sized man.

MURROW: In the early morning light, closer identification was impossible. Murphy himself filled the extra gas drums inside the plane...and he told this man.

ET: GAS ATTENDANT

He said that he was coming from the north and said that when he left here he was going to Naples, Florida, on the West coast. He said he was taking the person who was on the stretcher over there, to a hospital of some type.

MURROW: We find no record that Murphy landed on the West coast of Florida and no record that he landed in the Azores -- another stated destination. But later he told a pilot who flew with him in the Dominican Air Lines.

ET: ANONYMOUS FRIEND

Murphy told me that he had made a flight to the Dominican Republic in a Twin Beech. He had landed at a little town called Monte Christi.

MURROW: Who assisted Murphy in his flight? Who was the man seen sitting in the cabin of his plane at Lantana airport? Sally Caire says.

ET: CAIRE

I do believe De La Maza was with him when he went on this trip, because he mentioned him and he didn't mention any other names except that he did say that General Espaillat masterminded the whole plan.

MURROW: Octavio De La Maza was a co-pilot in the Dominican Airlines and an officer in the Dominican Air Force. You will hear more about him in this program. General Espaillat later became the Dominican Consul General in New York. This is his authorized statement written in a letter to CBS Radio by Harry C. Klemfuss, Director, Dominican Republic Information Center.

ET: ESPAILLAT'S LETTER (FROM KLEMFUSS)

QUOTE: Quote: "The New York Consul General of the Dominican Republic Honorable Arturo R. Espaillat has authorized me to state that he positively did not meet Mr. Gerald Murphy prior to March 12th, 1956, the date of Galindez' disappearance, thereby eliminating any conduit between the Consul General and Murphy in this regard: secondly Consul General Espaillat explains he did not arrive in this country from Ciudad Trujillo until April, 1956, nearly a month following the Spanish-Basque professor's disappearance. Since the Consul was in the Dominican Republic when Galindez disappeared, it is obvious that reports of his connection with the Galindez disappearance are not true."

END QUOTE.

MURROW: Here is a letter from Gerry Murphy. His mother, Mrs. Lester Murphy reads it.

ET: MRS. MURPHY

Gerry wrote to us on May the 22, 1956, and these are his words: "General Espaillat, a very good friend of mine here, has moved to New York as the new Consulate General. He was head of the Armed Forces and Intelligence in Dominica. He is the one who put me in the airlines."

MURROW: Murphy joined the Dominican Airlines in April. . . a month after his flight with "the sick man." By then, he knew who this man was, according to Sally Caire, and this is what happened.

ET: CAIRE

He was getting restricted to the premises of Ciudad Trujillo for periods of time of two or three weeks when they more or less thought the investigation was getting hot in New York, and they would receive word from General Espaillot. I mailed some clippings to Gerry which concerned Generalisimo's denial of having taken part in anything concerning de Galindez' disappearance. Gerry said he'd received the clippings but that he was warned that if he received any more of them he would be in trouble.

MURROW: Gerry Murphy met Sally Caire while he was working for the Dominican Airlines. She was a Pan American stewardess based in Miami. When they became engaged in September, Sally urged Murphy to break off with the Dominican Republic. . .told him "the same thing may happen to you that happened to Galindez." Murphy replied.

ET: CAIRE

Gerry said, "Well, he's not harmed at all. He said, "As a matter of fact I saw Jesus De Galindez the other day." He said, "He's got as much freedom as you and I have, only he can't leave."

MURROW: The testimony of a friend who must remain annonymous.

ET: ANONYMOUS

Back during the summer of 1956, I asked Murphy what he thought about the disappearance of Galindez and the tie-up with the Dominican Government. His reply at that time was: "I can take you to Galindez in ten minutes."

MURROW: Friends noticed that Murphy lived far beyond his salary as a co-pilot. One example: he bought two new cars and paid cash for them. Questioned about this, he told a friend in the Dominican Republic.

ET: ANONYMOUS FRIEND:

Gerry told me that he was an agent for the Dominican Government, aside from being a co-pilot on the Dominican Airlines, In fact, he stated the salary that he was getting in return for working for the government there--$750.00 a month. His airlines salary as a co-pilot was something like $350.00 a month. That would make what? Eleven hundred dollars a month total salary, plus bonuses for odd jobs.

MURROW: According to this man, Murphy also talked about his connections with high Dominican officials.

ET: ANONYMOUS FRIEND:

He's not only told me that he was going direct to the Palace, or that he'd be late for a luncheon appointment or even looked at his watch, I've seen him do that, But I have seen his car parked in the Palace yard.

MURROW: The testimony of another friend.

ET: ANONYMOUS FRIEND

I have heard him mention several times that he had to go to the Palace and pick up his other pay check.

MURROW: According to Sally Caire Gerry said he had been well paid for his part in the Galindez kidnapping, and he mentioned some other jobs.

ET: CAIRE

Gerry mentioned three other things he was asked to do. One of them was to locate one person in Mexico. That's all he had to do, was to contact the person and locate him and for this he was paid. Then another job he did do was, he took over $30,000 which he gave to the Professor of the University in Havana to finance a revolution, and he knew that. Gerry was then asked to go over as a tourist, take pictures, and look around and see if he could land a C-46 somewhere outside of Santiago, and this Gerry did do.

MURROW: And here is the statement of another witness who told our reporter:

ET: ANONYMOUS FRIEND AND REPORTER

He once discussed carrying money to Cuba to back the revolution.

How much did he carry?

$500,000.

Do you think he knew, or fathomed, what he was actually doing?

I think he knew what he was doing, but I don't think he knew he was getting in as deep as he did.

MURROW: Sally Caire noticed Murphy preparing for one thing.

ET: CAIRE

Gerry was a very conscientious person and he understood more or less that some day he might be framed for this if it ever came to a head. So, in order to protect himself, he gathered all the data he could on the dates, people, the place where this particular trip that he brought back De Galindez because that was really the first one in which he got involved. So he had me type out all these papers for him and he had them in a file. I said, "Well, Gerry, just don't leave them around where anyone can get to them".

MURROW: Sally Caire says she agreed to marry Murphy on one condition: that he quit his job as an agent for the Dominican Republic. He agreed. But according to their plan, he would remain as a co-pilot with the Dominican airlines for a year or two - - just so he could ease out of the Dominican Republic gradually without causing suspicion. But that plan didn't work out.

ET: CAIRE

It was in November, just before Thanksgiving, when Gerry came on a weekend, and he said, "Guess what"? I naturally asked him what, and he said, "Well, Sally, I just quit my job." And I said, "Which one?"

-more-

ET: CAIRE (CONT)

He said, "The one with the government." And he said, "I've already put in my resignation with the company." He said, "I've had all I can take," and he seemed quite disgusted. So I always felt that they might have asked him to do something which was completely against his will.

MURROW: What had Murphy been asked to do? Why had he suddenly quit? This is what he told a friend.

ET: ANONYMOUS

He told me that he was going to quit his work with the Dominican Republic, because they asked him to do things that were fantastic and impossible for him to do. Later, I heard that he said in the presence of others that one of the jobs he'd been asked to do was to bomb the Presidential Palace in Havana for a bonus of $250,000. I was also told by the same party that Murphy stated that he wanted no part of the proposed bombing and wanted to get out of it.

MURROW: And he told a friend in Miami:

ET: ANONYMOUS

Gerry came in to have a private talk with me and the Miami Herald happened to be laying on the couch, and I guess there had been a revolution in Cuba, and it was on the headlines. But Gerry told me that he intended to come back to the States, that he was becoming too involved, and it all dovetailed around this article that was on the front page of the Miami Herald.

MURROW: Murphy flew back to the Dominican Republic on Saturday, December one, despite the plea of his fiancee, Sally Caire.

ET: SALLY CAIRE

I said, 'But Gerry, please don't go back.' He said, 'Well Sally, I have to go back to sell my things and sell my car, and get everything more or less together.' I said, 'Well, Gerry, can't someone do that for you?' And I said, 'Please don't go back.' I begged him and I just knew how those people operate, and I just knew that they were waiting for him.

MURROW: Sally Caire is the last known person who saw Murphy before he disappeared. She saw him the afternoon of December thre during a stop-over of her Pan American flight in the Dominican Republic.

ET: CAIRE

Monday, the third -- December 3rd - - the day they say he disappeared, he told me he'd meet me at the plane and we stopped there for about twenty minutes on our way to Puerto Rico, so naturally if I had any doubts about Gerry's -- well being they certainly vanished when finally he got on the plane and he seemed to be the same carefree boy. I said, "Well, how's everything, Gerry?" And he said, "Well, everything's fine." He said, "I'm going to sell my car tomorrow." He said, "I've got all my things packed, ready to sell." He said, "And I have an appointment with the Generalissimo in one hour." I said, "With the Generalissimo? What does he want?" He said, "Well, he called me. He wants me to come to the Palace." So he summoned him, after he had resigned and everything, which naturally to me seemed very, very odd but to Gerry didn't. So he went and that was the last time I saw him. I don't think he ever left that Palace.

MURROW: There is no evidence that Murphy reached the Palace. But the time of his disappearance is pin-pointed by this friend.

ET: ANONYMOUS
There's an hour-and-a-half that you can pin it down to. Gerry was seen at the airport in the vicinity of four P.M. and Tommy Chapco and Red Metrick witnessed seeing his car at about 5:30 which was dusk. They looked for Gerry's body. They didn't know exactly what they would find, but they did look around the bushes around the car for a few minutes, but it was getting dark, and the policemen were watching them pretty close and I guess they got afraid and left.

MURROW: Those men who saw Gerry's car are American pilots in the Dominican Airlines. They found the car abandoned on a cliff near a slaughterhouse. The water below the cliff is six hundred feet deep. Offal from the slaughterhouse drains into it and sharks infest it. Dredging this water for Gerry's body could yield no result. Murphy had vanished and his Mother in Eugene, Oregon, received a call.

ET: MRS. MURPHY
The State Department called us on December the 7th in the afternoon, asking if we had heard from Gerry since the 3rd of December, that they had found his car but he was missing.

MURROW: Ten days later Mr. Murphy and Sally Caire went to the Dominican Republic to get information and to gather up Gerry's belongings. During the trip Sally told Mr. Murphy about Gerry's connections with the Dominican government. And together they told the story at the American Embassy in Ciudad Trujillo. This was the reaction.

ET: SALLY CAIRE
The American Embassy didn't even know of Gerry's connection with the Government. When we informed them of what we knew concerning Gerry, they immediately knew that all of those suicide alibis that the Dominican government was trying to establish by taking us out there and showing us the cliff and saying they found his car on the edge of it, and that he must have been very despondent and jumped -- well, that was ridiculous.

(MORE)

ET SALLY CAIRE (CONT'D)
I told Ambassador Pheiffer this in his office in the American Embassy. And he was stunned, and he said, "Does anyone else know that you know this?" and I said, "No. We have told no one else." And he said, "Well, do not repeat any of this to anyone while you are here." He said, "I have reason to believe that your life is in danger." He said, "If that man knows that you know any of this, he won't let anyone stand in his way. One more life won't mean anything to him." He said, "So what we'll do is give you an escort. You get Gerry's personal things together and we'll get you out of the country as soon as possible." So naturally we were terrified. One of the Marine guards drove us around and would pick us up and then the American Consul, Mr. Laughlin, would go with us--escort us any other place we'd go. He never left us alone. We were always within their sight.

MURROW: The Ambassador denied to us that he told Sally Caire that her life was in danger or that a Marine guard was assigned to protect them. Dominican police officials questioned Sally and Mr. Murphy.

ET SALLY CAIRE
We literally played the role and said all we knew was that Gerry had disappeared, and that he had been very happy there with his job flying with the Dominican Republic and that it was a mystery to us, and they made us sign statements and that was all they were interested in. They just wanted to know how much we knew about Gerry and they seemed very satisfied that we knew nothing -- at least they thought we knew nothing.

MURROW: Gerry's father -- Lester Murphy.

ET: MR. MURPHY
They were very friendly, but they didn't answer any questions. They done nothing for us at all. All they done was ask us questions. They didn't answer any.

MURROW: They took Mr. Murphy and Sally to Gerry's apartment in Ciudad Trujillo.

ET: SALLY CAIRE
We proceeded to his apartment, which was in good order, but the first thing I wanted to locate was his suitcase, He had his insurance policies and he had the papers I had typed out for him in that suitcase concerning the jobs he had done for the government, but these we didn't find.

(MORE)

ET: SALLY CAIRE (CONT'D)
We didn't find anything personal like that. All his clothes were there. Everything was in order, and they made us make the statement that nothing had been touched, but I'm sure they they went through the whole apartment first before we got there.

MURROW: Sally and Mr. Murphy tried to get information from Gerry's friends in Ciudad Trujillo ... found them uncooperative. One friend tells why.

ET: ANONYMOUS
We felt that the telephones to Mr. Murphy's room was tapped, and always refused any sort of conversation on the telephone or an appointment to speak with them because the actual residents there feared any possibility of them being linked up with dishing out information on what happened to Gerry.

MURROW: After four days in Ciudad Trujillo, Sally Caire and Mr. Murphy returned to Miami - where Sally got some advice from the FBI.

ET: SALLY CAIRE
The FBI, they advised me they said that they didn't think I was in any outright danger - but they did say that it was only four hours away to the Dominican Republic and for precautionary reasons it would be best if I returned home or go home with Mr. Murphy. They said they think it would be better that way, and so I did.

MURROW: Sally stayed with the Murphys in Eugene, Oregon. There, they received a telegram containing information from the Dominican Government. It said Gerry Murphy had been killed by a Dominican pilot, Octavio De La Maza. This was the same man who allegedly participated in the kidnapping of Jesus de Galindez. To Mrs. Murphy the case seemed closed.

ET: MRS. MURPHY
We accepted this telegram as a death notice, that the Dominicans had killed Gerry and, of course, we felt heartbroken and sad, as anyone would feel when one of their loved ones had met with something like this and we were prepared to just accept it as Gerry's death.

MURROW: But others questioned the Dominican explanation. No one could question the accused murderer, De La Maza. He was dead.

(MORE)

MURROW: (CONT'D) The Dominican government said he hanged himself in his prison cell with a mosquito net ... left a suicide note to his wife, confessing the crime ... explaining that remorse for the murder of Murphy had caused him to commit suicide. Congressman Charles O. Porter, of Oregon, took an interest in the Murphy case and in De La Maza's suicide note.

ET: CONGRESSMAN PORTER
The note goes on to explain that he was out drinking with a man who'd been his enemy, and drinking quite a bit This man had insulted him -- made an improper proposal-- and had insulted him and his country and, then, in the course of a fight, he knocked him into shark-filled waters and he couldn't rescue him, so he -- This remorse killing him because of this. Now this was the same man, mind you, who a few years earlier had killed a man in the Dominican Embassy in the British Isles, and he didn't suffer any remorse from that, but here, now, where he's killed a man who personally insulted him and his country, and killed him by accident, he's got remorse and has to kill himself.

MURROW: The Dominican Government says De La Maza denied the crime when he was picked up as a suspect two weeks after Murphy disappeared. His suicide note to his wife was his only confession. The FBI examined this note and other documents presented by the Dominican officials. On March 16, 1957, the State Department released the content of its reply to the Dominican government. Here is the essence of it.

ET: STATE DEPARTMENT STATEMENT
From an examination of these documents and other evidence, this government has concluded that if the specimens of handwriting submitted by the Dominican authorities as being those of De La Maza -- are actually his -- then the suicide note was not written by De La Maza. Furthermore, this examination reveals a contradiction between the report of the Dominican Attorney-General, which states in substance, that Murphy's political influence in the Dominican Republic was the object of investigation, without anything serious being produced to justify it and other available information. Our investigations indicate that Murphy was well acquainted with high Dominican officials, among them the late Colonel Salvadore Cobian and Brigadier General Arturo R. Espaillot.

(MORE)

ET: STATE DEPARTMENT STATEMENT (CONT'D)
The government of the United States is gravely concerned about the disappearance of one of its citizens in the Dominican Republic. It assumes that this concern is shared by the Dominican Republic. In view of the foregoing observations and other evidence which it has developed within its domestic jurisdiction, the government of the United States considers the case of Gerald Lester Murphy as unsolved.

MURROW: The Dominican reply to this note was a reaffirmation of its original explanation. Congressman Porter of Oregon pressed for a congressional investigation.

ET: PORTER
What I sought in Congress and what I shall continue to seek is a thorough inquiry into the matter. I believe there is strong evidence of a tie-in between the government of the Dominican Republic, the disappearance of Galindez, and the disappearance of Gerald Murphy. If Trujillo has nothing to fear from the facts, why doesn't he welcome an opportunity to clear his name, now besmirched by grave suspicion?

MURROW: On March 7, 1957, Columbia University's Vice President and Provost, John A Krout, wrote to the "New York Times."

ET: PROFESSOR KROUT
If events prove that a scholar in the pursuit of knowledge and the publication of that knowledge has been torn from a free community of which he was a useful and enspiriting member -- then the transgressor must be brought to justice to the end that intellectual freedom may endure -- not only on Morningside Heights, but in centers of learning throughout the whole free world.

MURROW: Norman Thomas, speaking for the International League for the Rights of Man.

ET: THOMAS:
We hereby offer $10,000 reward for evidence leading to the arrest and final conviction of any person or persons found guilty of abduction or murder of Dr. Jesus de Galindez of 30 Fifth Avenue, New York City. If any of you who are listening in tonight have any evidence that meets the requirements of this offer, we hope that you will at once communicate with Clifford Forster, Counsel for the International League of the Rights of Man, 155 Broadway, or Detective Hines of the Eighth New York Detective Precinct, 253 Mercer Street, New York.

MURROW: Who will come forward to present evidence in the Galindez-Murphy case? The voices of Galindez and Murphy have been silenced. De La Maza, the alleged killer of Murphy, is dead. The night watchman who helped load a sick man onto Murphy's plane at a Long Island airport is dead. El Coho, the lame man who visited Galindez' New York apartment disappeared in the Dominican Republic, according to Dominican police. Dominican police say "El Coho's" wife is dead . . . killed in an automobile accident. Without witnesses there is no evidence, no proof. But several indisputable facts in this case emerge. One is that many people connected with the case are afraid. One of them is a girl now living in Kansas . . . Sally Caire.

ET: SALLY CAIRE
I just don't feel sure, nothing would surprise me, I have my doubts. I trust no one. I still look both ways before I cross the street and even now in Kansas, I can't actually say I feel completely safe.

MURROW: A friend of Gerry Murphy who must remain anonymous.

ET: ANONYMOUS
I feel very definitely that, if I were pointed out or fingered as the one that definitely said or brought to light the fact that Gerry was working for the Dominican government, and I more or less put the Dominican government on the spot -- I feel I would very definitely be liquidated and I have stated that to the FBI and I have asked for their protection. They've also given me a phone number to call immediately if I suspect anything and they'll have an agent on the spot.

MURROW: We cannot present the voices of fifty other people connected with this case. They would not record statements...some said they had been threatened...others said they were afraid to be involved...were afraid their voices would be recognized. A second indisputable fact is that the Galindez-Murphy case has raised charges against the Dominican Republic which transcend the disappearance of Galindez and Murphy. They are charges serious enough to be considered by a Federal Grand Jury now hearing secret testimony in Washington. Listen to Dr. German Ornez, until a year and a half ago publisher of the leading newspaper in the Dominican Republic -- now an exile in this country.

ET: ORNEZ
As the former publisher of El Caribe and as a former high government official, I can tell that the network of Trujillo's agents that work in this country and are not registered is enormous. If some day the whole story comes to the open, the American public will be shocked.

MURROW: Congressman Porter of Oregon writes in the June issue of Coronet Magazine.

ET: PORTER
The shocking fact is that a highly-paid organization of killers is at large in our country, operating chiefly in New York City and Miami, whose job it is to assassinate or intimidate the enemies of Trujillo in the United States. They don't draw the line at ex-patriate Dominicans. They will murder Americans too.

MURROW: The Dominican government says there is not one shred of evidence on which these charges are based...that they emanate from Leftists and Communists intent on attacking the Trujillo regime. It would seem that the Galindez-Murphy case has provided ammunition for Trujillo's enemies.

It would also seem that the charges made in this case warrant investigation by a Grand Jury and by the FBI. The investigation continues. We have attempted to chronicle certain events and accusations in the public interest.

This is Ed Murrow. Good Night!

ANNCR: CBS Radio has presented a report on the Galindez-Murphy Case: A Chronicle of Terror. Narrated by Edward R. Murrow. Produced by Jay McMullen. Associated in production, Arthur Rabin and Ted Sack.

This has been a CBS Public Affairs Program.

"Unit One's "Galindez-Murphy Case: A Chronicle of Terror" received a First Award in the Special One-Time Broadcast category from the Ohio State Institute for Education by Radio-Television. It was also named as one of the year's top documentaries in the annual poll to determine the Radio-Television Daily All-American Awards of the Year; Jay McMullen, producer of the program, was recipient of the Mystery Writers of America annual "Edgar" award, the first ever accorded to a non-fiction radio production."

Complete Report filed with CBS reports.

Morris Ernst

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

BURN BEFORE READING

December 2, 1960

Burn Before Reading

My dear Ed:

You may recall ages ago that I indicated the illegality and cruelty of CBS, viz-a-viz, a lawyer on my staff in the Galindez matter.

I am advised today that CBS and not its insurance company paid a handsome sum of money running into thousands of dollars rather than run the risk of a trial for libel.

If my skin were not utterly thick, I should have sued in my behalf and retired on the proceeds. I still don't know what I could have retired into!

I write you this note because there is an agreement between the parties that the resolution of the libelous article and the law suit derived therefrom should receive no publicity. I have no objection to such gentle tactics in our culture. I was not personally involved. But I do suggest that if we had a courageous and vigilant press, radio and tv, private parties would not be allowed to put to sleep the termination of a law suit which was propelled by an utterance on a mass media and which obtained some publicity at the time of the instigation of the litigation.

Tuck this all in the back of your all too over-busy mind.

Yours,

MLE:LK

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

See Morris Ernst File

Ernst.

TIME
INCORPORATED

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

June 2, 1958

Dear Kay:

Because of CBS' interest in the Galindez case, thought you might like to show Ed an advance set of proofs of the blast LIFE will feature this week on Ernst's report on Galindez. The attached release might be helpful.

Bestest,

Shirley

Shirley Potash Clurman

P.S. This issue of LIFE (June 9) will not go on sale until Wednesday.

S.

Galindez
Ernst

NEWS *from* LIFE

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
9 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, N. Y. 20, N. Y.
JUDSON 6-1212

FOR RELEASE

6 p.m. Sunday, June 1, 1958

"LIFE" DENIES ERNST REPORT DISPROVES ITS THEORY OF GALINDEZ DISAPPEARANCE; DARES DOMINICANS TO SUE FOR LIBEL

NEW YORK, June 1 -- The report by lawyers Morris Ernst and William Munson, released today, has contributed nothing substantial to refute the theory, reported in the February 25, 1957 issue of LIFE Magazine, that Dr. Jesus de Galindez was kidnapped by agents of Dominican Dictator Trujillo and was flown from Long Island to the Dominican Republic, via Florida, by Gerald Murphy, a free-lance American flyer. According to this week's issue of LIFE Magazine, the Ernst-Munson investigation does not alter the record as to Murphy's flight or explain away the coincidence of the Galindez disappearance on the same night that Murphy, after weeks of preparation and after working with a convicted agent of the Dominican Republic, headed on a long flight southward.

The magazine notes that the Ernst-Munson paper attempts to retrace LIFE's investigation. "It delves into every step minutely, but the result never disproves LIFE's story. In many ways it substantiates it." LIFE says that if the allegations of its theory were unjust "as hinted and not proved by the Ernst report," Espaillat and Trujillo are welcome to come to the U.S. and sue for libel.

In support of its position the magazine quotes Congressman Charles O. Porter of Oregon, a prime mover behind the Washington investigation into the Murphy-Galindez case: "The report changes nothing basic in the known record of Murphy's part in the Galindez disappearance. The United States Government -- the Department of Justice, the Department of State and other agencies -- know these basic facts. And the Dominican Espaillat, for whom Ernst is trying to provide an alibi, is so deeply

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Mr. Seward

from: Mr. Murrow

I suppose the only thing I can do is to register my opinion that for obvious reasons this deal was a mistake and I wish to state that I want nothing whatever to do with it.

fc E.R.M.

Galindez

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Mr. Murrow cc: Messrs. Gitlin, Dunn

from: Jay McMullen

re: The Galindez-Murphy Case

December 3, 1957

We now have a recorded statement from the daughter of the night watchman at Zahn's Airport to the effect that she gave us her original statement voluntarily and that this was not distorted by us in any way. She made this second statement in the presence of our reporter and her husband.

Briefly, this is her recorded story on the Ernst affidavit:

> Three men came to her home; told her they were from the New York Daily News. She says these men pointed out to her that her father could not have told her about the ambulance at Zahn's Airport on the night of March 12, because he did not return home from the airport until 1:00 A.M., March 13th. The men then asked her to sign a document they had prepared, infering that this was merely a release to use her story.

After the recording, she also told our reporter, that the men flashed identity cards too quickly for her to read them; that she signed their document without reading more than the last two or three lines of it; that she did not charge to these men (or to anyone else) that we "distorted" her story; and that she had never heard of Morris Ernst until his name was mentioned by our reporter.

J.M.

JMcM:emk

E.R.M. 11/22/57

Leon Pierson of N.B.C. called. Says Morris Ernst told him he had written you a letter challenging certain facts in the Galindez story. Ernst wrote similar challenges to Life Magazine and Pierson. The latter thinks all this would make a very interesting broadcast and asks whether we would be willing to give him copies of our correspondence on the subject; or, if you have not written a reply to Ernst, would you be willing to let Pierson know what you said verbally.

Pierson says his main point is that he doesn't want to go on the air and say merely that Ernst challenged you, and then fail to present your side of the matter.

K.C.

TO Mr. Murrow

FROM Mrs. Crissan Nov. 19

Jay McMullen is coming in Thursday at 3:30.

Galindez

515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 5-3360

MORRIS L. ERNST, Counsel

WILLIAM H. MUNSON, Associate Counsel

October 21, 1957

Mr. Edward Murrow,
580 Park Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Ed, RE: Murrow-Galindez program.

I told you that in our opinion much of the program which you sponsored in regard to Galindez indicates assumed prejudices pointing in a desired direction, or gross carelessness. I also told you that when we spoke to McMullin, we asked him would he identify for us the man or woman who drove Galindez from Columbia to the 59th Street subway station. He told us he had this information in secret, and could not even tell us whether such person was a man or woman. As soon as we realized that the program which McMullin prepared identified the person as a woman, we had grave doubts as to McMullin's desire to cooperate honorably with us.

Here are four or five items to start off with, on which I think you should insist that McMullin give you the answer. I assume that nothing he received in confidence should be withheld from you.

(1) Around page 17 of our transcript, the statement is made that Murphy did not take off with his plane until night, and that a sick person was unloaded from an ambulance. I suggest that you get McMullin to identify the ambulance, license number, name of operator, or any single fact that he may have about such an ambulance -- plus the name of the patient. What does McMullin say, and what do you say, if there was no ambulance?

(2) Somewhere in the program, also I think around page 17, there is a reference to a statement made by the watchman's daughter. You might ask McMullin to let you have both of the recordings made for McMullin by the watchman's daughter. She tells us that she was forced to indicate that her father referred to an ambulance on March 12, 1956, and her quote is "on

March 12, 1956, he told me of a case of a man who was being flown to Florida". The watchman's daughter tells us that the first recording had no reference to March 12th; that your man cajoled or forced her into making the statement that appeared on your program; and that, in fact (as she states in an affidavit which we hold), the conversation with her father took place many weeks after March 12th. Furthermore, the father could not have talked to his daughter on March 12th, since he didn't even get home until the 13th.

(3) On page 16 there is an anonymous reference to the fact that "Murphy told me he became personal pilot of General Espaillat". Fearful as you and I are always of people who can only live with anonymity, I suggest that you get from McMullin the name of the anonymous informant, and what evidence, if any, McMullin had that the statement made was true.

(4) On page 15 there is reference to a Sally Caire statement. I think you should find out who interviewed Sally Caire, and where the tape recording was made. You might ask McMullin to let you know where Sally Caire is at this moment.

(5) On page 19 there is reference to a statement by a gas attendant. You might ask McMullin the name of the gas attendant, and let him supply to you the entire file that he has of his contacts with the gas attendant. I can tell you at this time that our investigation and conversation with the gas attendant cast complete doubt on the statement of the gas attendant as contained in your program.

(6) On page 21 there is reference to the fact that Murphy is supposed to have said to a friend in the summer of 1956: "I can take you to Galindez in ten minutes". Ask your friend McMullin where did he get this information, and to give you all of the facts underlying it.

I could send you many more items which, to say the least, create severe doubts in our minds as to the truthfulness of the reporting job which you did based on the McMullin inquiry. In order to save you time, I suggest that you merely follow up with McMullin the identification of the ambulance, and after you have that file from him, you might later suggest that the three of us could sit together.

I have no desire to hurt McMullin -- I love you; but in this situation I love my search for truth even more.

Wishing you the same,

Yours,

MLE:ap

Galindez

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Mr. Murrow

cc: Mr. Becker
Mr. Jay McMullen

from: Mr. Seward

October 2, 1957

I can't help but feel that you have been badly misinformed about the proposed arrangement for a Galindez film. May I request, therefore, that you meet with Mr. McMullen, Mr. Becker and me? If you will set a time, I believe that we will be able to meet your convenience.

Jim

J.M.S.

693

Galindez

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Mr. Seward

from: Mr. Murrow

October 1, 1957

I asked for but did not receive a copy of the contract CBS signed regarding a possible Galindez film.

Here is what I believe to be an exact paragraph from that contract. It is a shocking document since it obligates us to violate the pledge of anonymity given by our researcher.

fc

E.R.M.

Galindez

(1) Identify the ambulance, license, name of operator, etc.

(2) Were two recordings made of the watchman's daughter?
Did her father refer to an ambulance on March 12th?

(3) "Murphy told me he became personal pilot of General Espaillat."
Are we satisfied regarding identity of the man who made this statement.

(4) Who interviewed Sally Caire?

(5) What is the source of the statement that Murphy said to a friend, "I can take you to Galindez in ten minutes."

Allied Chemical
McKay

Galendez

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York • PLaza 1-2345

7

May 28th, 1957

Dear Mr. Kleinfuss:

In response to your letter of May 22nd to Mr. Edward R. Murrow concerning our broadcast of THE GALINDEZ-MURPHY CASE: A CHRONICLE OF TERROR on the CBS Radio Network Monday, May 20th, 8:00-9:00 PM, we wish to inform you that in our opinion this presentation was a fair and objective report of the ascertainable facts concerning these events. Consequently, we do not see any necessity for a rebuttal on either a sustaining or a "paid time" basis.

You will recall that our program people tried to enlist the assistance of your New York and Washington offices many times, both by letter and telephone. In addition, the nature of the broadcast and our desire to present a balanced picture of arguments pro and con in this case, were made clear to your office. Despite this, you chose not to furnish us any information for this program. As a result, we used the official published statements of the Dominican Government regarding the Galindez-Murphy case.

You will recall further that on March 21st, 1957, Mr. Theodore F. Koop, Washington Director of CBS News and Public Affairs, addressed a letter to His Excellency Senor Dr. Joaquin E. Salazar, Ambassador of the Dominican Republic in Washington, officially summarizing our many attempts to obtain an interview or statement outlining the position of the Dominican Republic with regard to the Galindez-Murphy case.

In addition, on March 11th, at the request of the First Secretary of the Dominican Embassy, Mr. Victor Aybar, our Washington office submitted a number of specific questions to which we requested answers. As you know, we never received a reply to these questions.

We share with you your concern for serving the best interests of the public and feel that these interests are most strongly advanced by the free flow of information on subjects of national and international concern. We therefore stand ready to assist in the dissemination of any new information that can help clear up the mystery surrounding the disappearance of Dr. de Galindez and Gerald Murphy.

Respectfully yours,

Irving Gitlin

IG/pe
bc: Messrs. Hayes
Salant
Mickelson
Murrow
Mrs. Zorbaugh

Mr. Richard Klemfuss
Assistant Director
Dominican Republic Information Center
507 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Special Proj.

May 24, 1957

Dear Mr. Klemfuss:

I write to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 22.

Your request is being considered by the appropriate officials of the network and they will advise you of their decision as promptly as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Richard Klemfuss,
Assistant Director
Dominican Republic Information Center
307 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

fc

Dominican Republic Information Center

507 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 7-7834

Rec'd 6:15 P.M. May 24

May 22, 1957

MAY 23 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Radio
485 Madison Avenue
New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

This office requests free time to make rebuttal to the CBS documentary "The Galíndez-Murphy Case" of May 20th for the reason that it does not consider that a balanced, impartial presentation was made.

This by virtue of the scant amount of time devoted to presenting official Dominican Republic views and those of impartial persons equally convinced that the republic is not involved as was so pointedly indicated; by virtue of omissions made; by virtue of the uneccessary introduction of a preponderance of commentary by ultra-liberal elements to the exclusion of other political adherents and by lack of adequate evidence in support of testimeny.

If the request for free time is not acceptable as a courtesy, if not by obligation, as explained in conversation with Director of Public Affairs, Mr. Irving Gitlin, kindly advise what rates apply to class A network time, weekday, for 15 and 30 minutes, and when available.

It is recalled that the government declined to make recorded statements for the documentary at a time when the complete nature and direction of the program was not fully understood.

Consideration of radio time in comparison, or conjunction with, other media is therefore being made for referral to the government in the event it does not wish to consider as unworthy of comment, the "Galíndez-Murphy Case" documentary.

It is felt that the best interests of the public is not being served when a program of this nature, without presentation of clear, concrete police evidence and with apparent prejudice, seriously offends a friendly nation which maintains United States installations on its soil, is straightforward in its opposition to communist infiltration in the Caribbean, supports State Department policy, and in other ways acts in the interests of United States security.

Most sincerely,

Richard Klemfuss

Richard Klemfuss
Assistant Director

RK:mr
cc: Irving Gitlin

May 15th, 1957

By Hand

Jay McMullen, Esquire
Producer, C.B.S.
545 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. McMullen:

Relative to your conversation with me yesterday, attached please find photostats, clipping, pictures, etcetera, confirming, we trust, in your mind the several facts we discussed, including the political and religious sanctuary that is the Dominican Republic. We also have materiel on many other subjects indicative of many forms of social and industrial progress in the Dominican Republic, but as we could not very well explore Mr. Murrow's broadcast plans, we are holding same pending your request for the additional materiel.

Mr. Rosenzweig is the newly-elected Dominican Congressman.

We sincerely feel that we could be of additional assistance, and regret our arriving upon the scene at the eleventh hour, so to speak, but, as we explained, we were only recently put on the account.

May we remind you that we are Foreign Agents for the Dominican Republic, but we are objective, professional Public Relations counsel representing many other USA industrial clients, so that you can expect ethical cooperation from this office.

Please return our materiel after Monday, or have your secretary call us so that we can send over a messenger, as most of the enclosures are FILE copies that in many cases have not been released, as we obtained them too late to be "News", from various agencies.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
PAN-AMERICAN PUBLIC RELATIONS, LTD.

Sandy M. J. Pitofsky
PRESIDENT

SMP:kkf
Enclosures

"WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER?"

April 21, 1958

"Unit One" production of the Public Affairs Department of CBS News for the CBS Radio Network. Edward R. Murrow, Narrator.

This is broadcasting's first in-depth analysis of the factors involved in juvenile crime. It contains actual statements by many members of the gang who testified, and by their parents, as well as comments by psychiatrists, criminologists, social workers and educators.

Transcript attached

Correspondence

Special Pgm

VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT

2

CBS NEWS
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

"WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER?"

as broadcast over the

CBS RADIO NETWORK

Monday, April 21, 1958 -- 8:00-9:00 PM CNYT

NARRATOR:	EDWARD R. MURROW
PRODUCER-WRITER:	JAY L. McMULLEN
ASSOCIATED IN PRODUCTION:	ARTHUR RABIN

"WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER?" is a "Unit One" production of the Public Affairs Department of CBS News.

This transcript is being made available to you with the understanding that no part of it may be released prior to 6:00 PM, EST, Monday, April 21, 1958.

Not for release before 6:00 PM EST,
Monday, April 21, 1958

OPENS COLD:

MURROW: This is Ed Murrow. Here is how a mother and a father remember their son -- Michael Farmer.

ET: MR. AND MRS. FARMER:

MRS. FARMER: Michael was tall and very good looking. He had blond hair and blue eyes. Maybe I'm prejudiced as a mother, but I thought he had a saintly face.

MR. FARMER: He was always laughing and joking. He was a very courageous and spirited boy. He was athletic, even though he walked with a limp from an attack of polio when he was ten years old. He was an excellent student who had great plans for his future. It's a hard thing to realize that there is no future any longer.

Not for release before 6:00 PM EST,
Monday, April 21, 1958

MURROW: Michael Farmer died on the night of July 30, 1957. He was fifteen years old. He was stabbed and beaten to death in a New York City park. Boys in a teenage street gang were arrested for this crime. Ten gang members -- under fifteen years of age -- were convicted of juvenile delinquency and committed to state training schools. Seven other boys -- fifteen to eighteen -- stood trial for first degree murder. . . were defended by twenty-seven court-appointed lawyers. Their trial lasted ninety-three days; ended last Tuesday. This was the verdict of an all male, blue ribbon jury.

ET: JUROR:

We found Louis Alvarez and Charles Horton guilty of murder in the second degree, and we also found Lencio de Leon and Leroy Birch guilty of manslaughter in the second degree. We found Richard Hills and George Melendez not guilty because we believe these boys were forced to go along with the gang the night of the murder. We also found John McCarthy not guilty because we were convinced, beyond a reasonable doubt, that this boy was mentally sick and didn't know what was going on at any time.

Not for release before 6:00 PM EST
Monday, April 21, 1958

MURROW: It would seem that this case now is closed. All that remains is for a judge to pass sentence. Under the law, the gang alone is guilty of the murder of Michael Farmer. But there is more to be said. More is involved here, than one act of violence, committed on one summer night. The roots of this crime go back a long ways. In the next hour -- you will hear the voices of boys and adults involved in the case. This is not a dramatization.

The trajedy first became news on the night of July 30, 1957. At 6:30 on this steaming summer evening in New York City, the Egyptian Kings and Dragons gang began to assemble. They met outside a neighborhood hangout -- a candy story at 152nd Street and Broadway, in Manhattan's upper West Side. They came from a twenty-block area. . . from teeming tenements, rooming houses and housing projects. One of their leaders remembers the number of boys present this night.

Not for release before 6:00 PM EST
Monday, April 21, 1958

ET: GANG MEMBER:

We had a lot o' little kids, big kids, we had at least seventy-five -- then a lot of 'em had to go home before nine o'clock; we was supposed to leave at nine o'clock but then we changed our plans to ten o'clock, you know. So I told a lot o' little kids I don't wanna see them get into trouble, you know, nice guys, so I told them they could go home. So they went home. That left us with around twenty-one kids.

MURROW: People sitting on the stoops and garbage cans along this street watched them . . . grouped together, talking excitedly. They called each other by their nicknames: Magician, Big Man, Little King, Boppo. No one bothered to ask what they were talking about. This boy remembers.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

They were talking about what they were going to do and everything. They were going to fight and everything. But they'd never planned nothing. They just said we were gonna go to the fight and we were just gonna get some guys for revenge. They said we ain't gonna let these Jesters beat up any of our guys no more.

MURROW: The Jesters are a street gang in an adjoining neighborhood -- Washington Heights, where Michael Farmer lived. The two gangs were feuding. Boys on both sides had been beaten and stabbed. There is evidence that this night the gang planned to surprise and attack any Jesters they could find. They came prepared for a fight.

Not for release before 6:00 PM EST
Monday, April 21, 1958

ET: GANG MEMBER:

Some picked a stick and some had got some knives and chains out of their houses and everything. One had a bayonette, No, a machete.

MURROW: Holding these weapons they lingered on the corner of a brightly lit street in the heart of a great city. A police station was one block away. One gang leader went to a candy store. . . telephoned the President of a brother gang. . . requested guns and cars for the night's activity. . . was told: "We can't join you. We have troubles of our own tonight." Shortly after nine PM, the gang walked to a nearby park. . . was followed there by some girl friends. A gang member, 14 years old, continues the story.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

We went down to the park and we sat around for a while. Then we started drinking and we drank whiskey and wine and we was drunk. Then we started talkin' about girls. We started sayin' to the girls that if they get us to bring us some roses an' all that -- that if we get caught to write to us and all this.

MURROW: In one hour, Michael Farmer would be dead. The gang prepared to move out. Some had doubts.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

I didn't wanna go at first, but they said come on. So then all the big guys forced me to go. I was scared. I was worried. I realized like what I was doing I'd probably get in trouble.

MURROW: They left the park and headed for trouble at about ten PM. They walked uptown toward the neighborhood of the rival gang -- the Jesters. They walked in two's and three's to avoid attention. Along the way, they met, by chance, this boy.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

I was walkin' uptown with a couple of friends, and we ran into Magician and them there. They asked us if we wanted to go to a fight, and we said yes. When they asked me if I wanted to go to a fight, I couldn't say no. I mean I could say no, but for old-times sake, I said yes.

MURROW: He was a former member of the gang -- just went along this night, "For Old-times Sake." Next stop: Highbridge Park. . . within the territory of the Jesters. Michael Farmer lived one block from the park. In the summer, the Egyptian Kings and Dragons fought the Jesters at the park swimming pool. This pool is closed at ten PM. but not drained. Boys in the neighborhood frequently slip through a breach in the gate to swim here late at night. The Egyptian Kings and Dragons regrouped near the pool. Two gang members continue the story.

ET: GANG MEMBERS:

FIRST BOY: We were waiting over there, in the grass. Then two guys went down to see if there were a lot of the Jesters down there. To check. I was kind of nervous; felt kind of cold inside.

SECOND BOY: They sent three guys around the block. We walked around the block to see how strong the club was we was gonna fight. To see if they had lots of guys and what-not. What we saw, they had lots of big guys. I'd say about nineteen, twenty or eighteen, like that. And we figured it out so we kept on walking around the block .

MURROW: While their scouts prowled the neighborhood, Michael Farmer and his friend, sixteen year old Roger McShane, were in Mike Farmer's apartment . . . listening to rock 'n' roll records. This is Mrs. Farmer.

ET: MRS. FARMER:

They stayed in his room playin' these new records that they had bought and Michael came out to the kitchen, just as I asked my husband what time it was, to set the clock. It was then five after ten. He asked for a glass of milk and as he walked from the kitchen, he asked, "I'm going to walk Roger home." and that was the last time I saw him.

MURROW: Both boys had been warned by their parents to stay out of Highbridge Park at night. But, as they walked along the street on this steaming July evening, they decided to sneak a swim in the park pool. At this pool, the Egyptian Kings and Dragons were waiting for their scouts to return. Here is what happened next; first in the words of Roger McShane; then in words of the gang members.

ET: McSHANE AND EGYPTIAN KINGS:

McSHANE: It was ten-thirty when we entered the park; we saw couples on the benches, in the back of the pool, and they all stared at us, and I guess they must 'ave saw the gang there -- I don't think they were fifty or sixty feet away. When we reached the front of the stairs, we looked up and there was two of their gang members on top of the stairs. They were two smaller ones, and they had garrison belts wrapped around their hands. They didn't say nothin' to us, they looked kind of scared.

(MORE)

ET:
Continued:

FIRST BOY: I was scared. I knew they were gonna jump them, an' everythin' and I was scared. When they were comin' up, they all were seperatin' and everything like that.

McSHANE: I saw the main body of the gang slowly walk out of the bushes, on my right. I turned around fast, to see what Michael was going to do, and this kid came runnin' at me with the belts. Then I ran, myself, and told Michael to run.

SECOND BOY: He couldn't run anyway, cause we were all around him. So then I said, "You're a Jester," and he said "Yeah," and I punched him in the face. And then somebody hit him with a bat over the head. And then I kept punchin' him. Some of them were too scared to do anything. They were just standin' there, lookin'.

THIRD BOY: I was watchin' him. I didn't wanna hit him, at first, Then I kicked him twice. He was layin' on the ground, lookin' up at us. I kicked him on the jaw, or some place; then I kicked him in the stomach. That was the least I could do, was kick 'im.

FOURTH BOY: I was aimin' to hit him, but I didn't get a chance to hit him. There was so many guys on him -- I got scared when I saw the knife go into the guy, and I ran right there. After everybody ran, this guy stayed, and started hittin' him with a machete.

MURROW: The rest of the gang pursued Roger McShane.

ET: McSHANE:

I ran down the hill and there was three more of the gang members down at the bottom of the hill, in the baseball field; and the kids chased me down hill, yelling to them to get me.

MURROW: Members of the gang remember.

ET: EGYPTIAN KINGS AND McSHANE:

FIRST BOY: Somebody yelled out, "Grab him. He's a Jester." So then they grabbed him. Mission grabbed him, he turned around and stabbed him in the back. I was . . . I was stunned. I couldn't do nuthin'. And then Mission -- he went like that and he pulled. . . he had a switch blade and he said, "you're gonna hit him with the bat or I'll stab you." So I just hit him lightly with the bat.

SECOND BOY: Mission stabbed him and the guy he. . . like hunched over. He's standin' up and I knock him down. Then he was down on the ground, everybody was kickin' him, stompin' him, punchin' him, stabbin' him so he tried to get back up and I knock him down again. Then the guy stabbed him in the back with a bread knife.

THIRD BOY: I just went like that, and I stabbed him with the bread knife. You know, I was drunk so I just stabbed him. (LAUGHS) He was screamin' like a dog. He was screamin' there. And then I took the knife out and I told the other guys to run. So I ran and then the rest of the guys ran with me. They wanted to stay there and keep on doin' it, so I said, "No, come on. Don't kill the guy." And we ran.

(MORE)

ET: Continued

FOURTH BOY: The guy that stabbed him in the back with the bread knife, he told me that when he took the knife out o' his back, he said, "Thank you."

McSHANE: They got up fast right after they stabbed me. And I just lay there on my stomach and there was five of them as they walked away. And as they walked away they. . . this other big kid came down with a machete or some large knife of some sort, and he wanted to stab me too with it. And they told him, "No, come on. We got him. We messed him up already. Come on." And they took off up the hill and they all walked up the hill and right after that they all of 'em turned their heads and looked back at me. I got up and staggered into the street to get a cab. And I got in a taxi and I asked him to take me to the Medical Center and get my friend and I blacked out.

MURROW: The gang scattered and fled from the park. This boy believes he is the last gang member who saw Michael Farmer this night.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

While I was runnin' up the footpath, I saw somebody staggering in the bushes and I just looked and turned around, looked up and kept on runnin'. I think that was the Farmer boy, he was staggerin' in the bushes.

MURROW: He left behind a boy nearly dead. . . continued home. . . had a glass of milk. . . went to bed. But then.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

I couldn't sleep that night or nuthin' cause I used to fall asleep for about half an hour. Wake up again during the middle of the night. My mother said, "What was the matter with you? Looks like something is wrong." I said, "Nothin'."

MURROW: That boy used a baseball bat in the attack. This boy used a bread knife.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

First I went to the river to throw my knife away and then I went home. An' then I couldn't sleep. I was in bed. My mother kept on askin' me where was I and I . . . I told her, you know, that I was in the movies. I was worried about them two boys. If they would die. . . I knew I was gonna get caught.

MURROW: At Presbyterian Medical Center, Roger McShane was on the critical list. Before undergoing major surgery that saved his life, he told about the attack in Highbridge Park. The official police record reveals what happened next. The speaker: New York City's Deputy Police Commissioner, Walter Arm.

ET: COMMISSIONER ARM:

A member of the hospital staff notified the police and patrolmen of the 34th precinct arrived at the hospital a few minutes afterwards and learned from the McShane boy that his friend Michael Farmer was still in the park, under attack. The patrolmen rushed to the park, where they found the Farmer boy just before eleven PM. He was lying on the ground off the footpath and moaning in pain. The policeman were soon joined by detectives and young Farmer told them, "The Egyptian Kings got me." The Farmer boy made this comment as he was being rushed to the hospital at 11:05 PM. The parents of the boy were notified.

MURROW: Mr. and Mrs. Farmer continue the story.

ET: MR. AND MRS. FARMER:

MR. FARMER: The Sergeant from the 34th Precinct called us, and asked who I was, and was I the father of Michael Farmer. I said I was, and he said, "Well, your boy is in Mother Cabrini Hospital, in serious condition." I identified myself further, as a fireman in this area, and he said, "Oh, I'll come right down and give you a lift down to the hospital." So this sergeant drove us down to the hospital; as we walked in, the officer who was on duty there called the sergeant, and he said the boy had died fifteen minutes earlier.

MRS. FARMER: And the sister there in the hospital, took us downstairs to identify the body. He had an expression as though he was just calling for help.

MR. FARMER: Well, it was real bad. . . he was my number one boy.

MURROW: This boy had never been in trouble with the police. Several Egyptian Kings and Dragons claim they often saw him with the Jesters; assumed he was a member. The Jesters say neither Farmer nor McShane belonged to their gang. . . and according to police, there is no evidence to the contrary. From the Jesters, police learned which boys might have been involved in the assault at Highbridge Park. At 6:30 AM, this gang member heard somebody knocking at the door of this apartment in a housing project.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

I hear this knockin' on the door. I didn't think it was the police, you know. 'Cause, you know, I thought I wasn't gonna get caught, so I was layin' in bed and told my mother, "Mommie, I think that's the milkman knockin' on the door or somebody." She said, "Why don't you answer it," and I said, "No, I'm in my underwear." So she says, "OK, I'll go." She opened the door and my mother comes over, "You get in any trouble last night?" And I says, "No, Mommie, I didn't get in no trouble last night." And then she says, "Well, there's a policeman over here, wants to see you." And I says, "What for," and he says, "Somethin' that happened last night." and I says, "OK," then, I started thinkin' of trying, you know, runnin' away from the house, so I put on my clothes and acted innocent, you know. He said to me, "You know what happened last night?" I say, "No, No. I don't know a thing that happened last night. I was in the car from ten on." He says, "Oh, if that's the truth, you have nothin' to worry about. You like to come down to the police station with us?" And I said, "OK."

MURROW: Another gang member spent the morning in Children's Court, pleading innocent to a robbery committed two weeks earlier. He was released, pending a hearing. When he returned home, police were waiting to question him about the murder of Michael Farmer. This is the boy who used a bread knife in the assault at Highbridge park.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

Well, when we was goin' to the. . . to the paddy wagon, the detective, he kept wipin' his feet on my suit. So I told him to cut it out, and he still won't cut it out. So then, then the Sergeant says, "Cut it out," so then he said, "Why don't you mind your business," and he kept on doin' it. He kept on wipin' his feet on my suit, and I just got the suit out of the cleaners, that's all. I told him, "I just got the suit out of the cleaners," and he says to me, "That's just too bad. That suit belongs in the garbage can." So he kept on wipin' his feet on my suit, and he kept on sayin', "You murderer" and all this. They kept on sayin', "You're gonna get the electric chair, you're gonna get the electric chair, you murderer, you murderer, you're gonna get the electric chair." He kept on sayin' that to me; he made me mad. If I had a gun, I would have shot them all.

MURROW: He told us, "I hate cops." The police say his story of what happened in that paddy wagon is fantasy. They also deny threatening another gang member who explains why he wanted to be caught.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

I was crackin' up 'cause I wanted them to hurry up and come and get me and get it over with, so when I got picked up, I felt safe then. We went in the car and then they threatened me. I mean, not exactly a threat, but they told me what was goin' to happen: I'd get beat up if I didn't talk. So I told them, "Tell me, who was the guy that squealed?" They told me,"Who do you think you are, Dillinger or somebody -- ya gonna get even with the guy?" I said, "No, I just wanted to know." They said, "No." So they took me to the Precinct; it made me laugh to see all the guys sitting there in the . . . in the. . . when I walked in, everybody said, "Ha ha," and started laughin' so I felt all right with the fellas then. My girl was sitting there anyway, and she. . . she had the knives.

MURROW: Police found two hunting knives hidden in the bureau drawer of a fifteen-year-old girl-friend of the gang. Two gang members admitted that they gave these knives to the girl after the assault at Highbridge Park. The police record continues.

ET: COMMISSIONER ARM:

The search of the gang during their interrogation yielded five knives, several garrison belts and a heavy length of chain. All of the young men arrested made full admissions to police officers and to representatives from the staff of District Attorney Hogan. At 8:00 PM the following day, seven of the boys were charged with homicide, two others were charged with attempted homicide, and ten others were charged with Juvenile delinquency.

MURROW: Police said, "This is the largest group of boys ever arrested for a New York City killing." Statistically, they were among 58 youths in the city arrested in 1957 for murder and non-negligent manslaughter. . . among more than three thousand youths under twenty-one arrested in the nation last year for crimes of major violence. . . and among an estimated one million youths arrested for crimes of all kinds. The father of Michael Farmer attended the preliminary court hearing of the gang members later indicted for the murder of his son. As we watched them arraigned before a judge, he made a judgment of his own.

ET: MR. FARMER:

They are monsters -- in my mind I classify them as savage animals. That's all. I don't think that they have any civilization in them. I think they're just two-legged animals. They haven't any concept of living with other people, outside of to show that they can do something worse than the other or to claim any sort of notoriety. These boys didn't even hang their heads, most of them, when they came to court. They stood erect and looked around the court for their relatives. And so forth. One of them had a small smirk when they looked in our direction. They should be put away, and kept away. Or if the penalty is death, to be executed. Certainly they set themselves up in the form of a judge, jury and execution squad in the case of my son. All in the matter of minutes. This is pure jungle activity.

MURROW: Two detectives told the judge at the gang's arraignment, "These boys showed no remorse and gave us little cooperation." At their murder trial, some of the boys testified that police beat and frightened them into making confessions. The police officers accused, denied this under oath. First reports on this crime suggested that at least one gang member had stabbed for thrills. Police said the fourteen-year-old boy who used a bread knife in the attack told them, "I always wanted to know what it would feel like to stick a knife through human bone." This same boy denied to us that he said that; gave us three other reasons for his crime. First.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

I told you I didn't know what I was doing, I was drunk. I went out, you know, I . . . you know, I was drunk, I just went like that, and I stabbed him.

MURROW: We asked him, "Did you know the boy you stabbed?" Answer: "No, but I thought he was a Jester." Question: "Had the Jesters ever done anything to you?" Answer:

ET: GANG MEMBER:

They kept on callin' me a Spick. They kept on saying, "You dirty Spick, get out of this block." Every time I go in the pool, they said to me the same thing. I don't bother them, 'cause, you know, I don't want to get into no trouble with them, but one day they beat me up. You know, there was about five of them, and they wouldn't leave me alone. They beat me up, and I had to take a chance to get the boys so we could beat them up.

MURROW: He said his third reason for stabbing a boy he did not know involved his fear of gang discipline.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

See, because we say before, if anybody don't beat up somebody, when we get back, he's gonna get beat up. So I say, "OK." They got special guys, you know, to keep their eyes on the boys. Anyone who don't swing out is gonna get it when we come back. They got to pass through a line; they got about fifteen boys over here, and fifteen boys over there, and you know, in a straight line, like that. They got to pass through there and they all got belts in their hand.

MURROW: So far, we have heard that a boy was killed because other boys -- most of them under fifteen -- got drunk, wanted revenge, feared gang discipline. Only one boy charged with murder pleaded not guilty on grounds of insanity. He was declared legally sane. But a psychiatrist testified in court that this boy was epileptic and "incapable of premeditating and deliberating." Court-appointed defense councel did not request psychiatric examination of the other six boys on trial for their lives. The jury that convicted some of them heard very little about their mental and emotional make-up. Our reporter tried to get psychiatric reports on the other gang members too young to be tried for murder. He questioned Marion Cohen, head of the treatment service, New York City Youth House. She told him.

ET: MISS COHEN AND REPORTER:

COHEN: We see our function as holding boys remanded temporarily by Children's Court until disposition of their case is made by a judge. While the boy is here, we try to study and diagnose his problem.

REPORTER: Well, now, the younger members of the gang that killed Michael Farmer were brought here. Did you study the individual boys; make reports on them for the judge who was going to try them?

COHEN: No, we did not.

REPORTER: Why not?

COHEN: Because the judge did not request it.

REPORTER: Is this usual practice?

COHEN: No, in most cases, judges are interested in finding out as much as they can about the individual boy's problems, in order to differentiate his needs.

REPORTER: But in this case, nothing was found out about the mental make-up or the individual needs of these boys. Is that right?

COHEN: Yes.

REPORTER: Do you usually wait for the court to request such studies?

COHEN: No, when we are fully staffed, we do a study on every boy who is here for more than a week.

REPORTER: Why didn't you study these boys then?

COHEN: Because we are two-thirds under-staffed. We have only four case-workers for three-hundred boys.

MURROW: The New York City Youth House is a brand-new five-million-dollar building. It has a swimming pool, self-service elevators, -- the most modern equipment. But there are only four case-workers for three-hundred boys. Reason: low pay and a shortage of trained personnel. Our reporter continues his conversation with Marion Cohen.

ET: MISS COHEN AND REPORTER:

REPORTER: Can you make any generalizations about the gang members you have studied?

COHEN: Yes, these are kids who essentially feel in themselves weak and inadequate. . . and have to present a tough facade to others. Of course, most adolescents feel insecure. But these boys have a distorted idea of what real adequacy is. They become easy prey for leaders whose sole drive is aggressive. They are egged on by their peers to establish a tough reputation. . . each kid daring the other to go one step farther. They have to compete on a level of violence.

MURROW: It would seem that members of the Egyptian Kings and Dragons gang fit the pattern. Consider the statement of this fourteen-year-old gang member who participated in the assault at Highbridge park.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

I didn't want to be like . . . you know, different from the other guys. Like they hit him, I hit him. In other words, I didn't want to show myself as a punk. You know, ya always talkin', "Oh man, when I catch a guy, I'll beat him up," and all of that, you know. So after you go out and you catch a guy, and you don't do nothin', they say, "Oh man, he can't belong to no gang, because he ain't gonna do nothin'."

MURROW: Are we to believe that a boy is dead -- murdered -- because those who killed him fear being called "punks"? Another gang member says he acted to protect his reputation. He calls it "rep."

ET: GANG MEMBER:

Momentarily, I started to thinking about it inside: did I have my mind made up I'm not going to be in no gang. Then I go on inside. Something comes up den here come all my friends coming to me. Like I said before, I'm intelligent and so forth. They be coming to me -- then they talk to me about what they gonna do. Like, "Man, we'll go out here and kill this guy." I say, "Yeah." They kept on talkin' and talkin'. I said, "Man, I just gotta go with you." Myself, I don't want to go, but when they start talkin' about what they gonna do, I say, "So, he isn't gonna take over my rep. I ain't gonna let him be known more than me." And I go ahead just for selfishness. I go ahead, and get caught or something; sometimes I get caught, sometimes I don't. I'm in some trouble there.

MURROW: That boy admits that he kicked and punched Roger McShane during the attack at Highbridge Park. . . didn't stab him because he didn't have a knife. We asked, "Suppose you had a knife; would you have used it?" Answer:

ET: GANG MEMBER:

If I would of got the knife, I would have stabbed him. That would have gave me more of a build-up. People would have respected me for what I've done and things like that. They would say, "There goes a cold killer."

MURROW: He wants people to say, "There goes a cold killer." He is only fourteen years old -- the same age as the boy who used a bread knife in the Highbridge Park attack. . . and who told us why he too wants to be known as a "cold killer."

ET: GANG MEMBER:

It makes you feel like a big shot. You know some guys think they're big shots and all that. They think, you know, they got the power to do everything they feel like doing. They say, like, "I wanna stab a guy." and then the other guy say, "Oh, I wouldn't dare to do that." You know, he thinks I'm acting like a big shot. That's the way he feels. He probably thinks in his mind, "Oh, he probably won't do that." Then, when we go to a fight, you know, he finds out what I do.

MURROW: Some gang members told police that they bragged to each other about beating and stabbing Farmer and McShane. . . wanted to make certain they would be known as "tough guys". According to the official police record, this was the reaction of their parents.

ET: COMMISSIONER ARM:

During the hours that the boys were rounded up and brought to the police station, many of their parents came to the scene. They expressed shock and bewilderment and disbelief over the fact that their boys were being questioned by police and might have had a part in this hideous crime. When they finally realized that this was true, they still couldn't believe it.

MURROW: One mother told our reporter.

ET: MOTHER OF GANG MEMBER AND REPORTER:

MOTHER: I had absolutely no problems with him. Everyone in the neighborhood can vouch for that. When I walked out there this morning, all my store-keepers and everythin' just can't believe that my son is mixed up in anything like this. (SIGH) I have no idea what I can do for him right now. I doubt if there is anything we can do for him right now.

REPORTER: Do you plan to go over to see him?

MOTHER: Of course I have to go to see my child. (SOBBING) I can't let him down now. Even though he was wrong, I still can't just turn my back on him. (SOBBING)

MURROW: Parents went to see their sons in jail; and how did they react when they saw them? One boy said:

ET: GANG MEMBER:

My mother said she was ashamed of me, and everything, and I told her that it wasn't my fault and I couldn't help it. My father wanted to kill me at first, and after I explained to him what happened he was still. . . he was still like. . . felt bad about it, ashamed to walk the streets after somethin' like that, but then you know, he wouldn't touch me then, after I told him what happened.

MURROW: The statement of another gang member.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

My father understood. He didn't actually understand, but you know, he didn't take it as hard as my mother. My mother. . . it came out in the newspapers, she had a heart attack. It's a lucky thing she's alive today.

MURROW: One mother talked to her son in the presence of the other boys arrested. Here is what she said, according to this gang member present.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

When she sees him she says to him, "How did it feel when you did that to Farmer? It was good, eh?" You know, jokin' around with the kid. So we told her, "you know what your son did?" I says, "He stabbed him in the back." She says, she just went like that, shrugged her, you know, shoulders. Then we didn't pay any attention to her, because ya know, you don't like to see a mother actin' like that with a kid ya know.

MURROW: What is known about the mental and emotional make-up of parents whose children commit crimes? Dr. Marjorie Rittwagen, staff psychiatrist for New York Children's Courts, gave us some statistics.

ET: DR. RITTWAGEN:

We find that some seventy-five to eighty per cent of parents of children who are brought into this court are emotionally ill or have severe personality or character disorders. They include sociopathic personality disorders, alcoholics and the like. And about ten per cent of this seventy-five to eighty per cent are commitably psychotic -- in fact, some parents go completely berserk in Court, threaten judges and are sent to psychiatric wards for observation. Most of these parents are so overwhelmed with their own problems, that they ignore their children. Kids feel not so much rejected as nonentities. Usually, in these homes, there are no fathers.

MURROW: There are no fathers in the homes of five of the seven gang members tried for the murder of Michael Farmer. Four of these boys live with their mothers; one with his grandparents. His mother told our reporter why she left her son.

ET: MOTHER OF GANG MEMBER AND REPORTER:

MOTHER: He has lived with my mother all his life from birth (SOBS) I lived there up to two, three years ago. It seems like since I left my child everything has happened. (SOBS) Not that I just walked out on him, but when I planned to get married I spoke to him. He said, "Well, go ahead, you have to have some happiness; you can't just stay with me all the time." So I said, "will you be willing to come with me?" He said, "No, I don't want to leave my grandparents." (SOB)

REPORTER: Do you think that it would have been important if he had stayed with you?

MOTHER: I think it would have been important had I stayed with him and not leave him at the age of fifteen. I wouldn't advise that to anyone who has a boy, or any other child. (SOBS)

MURROW: Eleven of the eighteen boys arrested in the Farmer case come from homes broken by desertion, divorce or death. Children's Court psychiatrist Marjorie Rittwagen says this is the pattern.

ET: DR. RITTWAGEN:

Some seventy to eighty per cent of our children come from homes broken by desertion or divorce. Most of the children stay with their mothers. At critical times in their lives they are left in a fatherless home. They're almost afraid to relate too closely to their mothers, and are often driven into the streets to seek companionship with a gang. They find the superficial group relationship more comfortable than individual ones. In fact, difficulty in relating to people is one of their big handicaps. They don't talk out their problems, they act them out.

MURROW: Example: this thirteen year old boy. He lives with a mother married and divorced three times. She works to support him. . . cannot spend much time with him. Her son has plenty of problems, but she doesn't know about them.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

I never tell her about my problems. One reason is that if I tell her my problems, like some guys were beating me up, she would keep me in the house . . . and wouldn't let me go out. Or if I tell her I'm doing badly in school, she'll probably hit me. Or if I tell her I had an argument with a teacher, or something like that, she'd probably hit me. She don't give me a chance to explain, you know. She just comes out, and pow, she hits me. I don't tell her anything.

MURROW: He doesn't talk out his problems; he acts them out -- sometimes by firing a beebee gun at adults.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

Tell you the truth, I used to shoot people myself. Sometimes I would shoot the people I don't like too much, you knoww. (LAUGHS) I would be up on the roof and they would be walkin' by with packages or something -- and Pow, I would shoot them.

MURROW: Violence is all around him, he says.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

Usually I go for horror pictures like "Frankenstein and the Mummy" or things like that. I like it when he goes and kills the guy or rips a guy in half or something like that (LAUGHS) Or when he throws somebody off a cliff. You know, all them exciting things.

MURROW: Next: the gang member who used a bread knife in the Highbridge Park attack. He lived with his mother and step-father; told us he often quarreled with his mother; wanted his step-father to spend more time with him.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

I'll ask him to take me boat-riding, fishing, or some place like that, ball game. He'll say, "No." He don't go no place. The only place where he goes, he goes to the bar. And from the bar, he goes home. Sleep, that's about all he do. I don't talk to my parents a lot of times. I don't hardly talk to them -- there's nothing to talk about. There's nothing to discuss about. They can't help me.

MURROW: THEY CAN'T HELP ME. What he wants, he says, is to be like his favorite comic book hero.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

Mighty Mouse -- he's a mouse -- he's dressed up like Superman. He's got little pants -- they're red. The shirt is yellow. You know, and then he helps out the mouse. Everytime the cats try to get the mouse, Mighty Mouse comes and helps the mouse, just like Superman. He's stronger than the cats. Nothing can hurt him.

MURROW: Another boy told us: "My father doesn't want to hear my troubles. They make him mad." Reason:

ET: GANG MEMBER:

He wants me to be better than my other brother. That's why every time he comes to me and say, "You see, you gonna be like your brother. The one that's in the Tombs. If you keep on doing wrong, you gonna be like him." He kept on telling me that, so I said, "Well, if he wants me to be like him, I'm gonna be like him." So I started doing wrong things. And then he says to me, "I don't wanna catch you in trouble." Well, in one way he should have got me in trouble before, because he found a gun that I had. . . you know, I had a home-made. And he found it, and he didn't say nothin', he just broke it up and threw it away and kept me in the house for one day. He should have took it to the police or somethin', and told them that I had it. Maybe I would have been sent to the Youth House or someplace, before, and I wouldn't have gotten into so much trouble, and I would have learned my lesson.

MURROW: This was his first arrest. But ten of the eighteen boys involved in the Farmer case had previous records as juvenile offenders; some for such minor offenses as trespassing or chalking names on buildings; others for serious crimes, including assault, burglary and attempted grand larceny. Three gang members were under the supervision of probation officers. But how much supervision does a boy on probation get, in New York City? Clarence Leeds is Chief Probation Officer at Children's court.

ET: CLARENCE LEEDS:

Our probation officers have minimum case loads of between sixty and seventy delinquent boys apiece. This means that at best they can talk to each boy perhaps once a month. And you can't give a child the guidance and help he needs by seeing him that infrequently. We are doing just about double the number of case loads and investigations that we're equipped to handle and possibly as a consequence of this, about thirty per cent of the boys on probation commit new offenses which will bring them to the attention of the court once again.

MURROW: Three Egyptian Dragons on probation participated in the murder of Michael Farmer. Another member of this gang had served one year in a state training school for juvenile delinquents. . . was diagnosed as a "dangerous psychopath". . . but received no psycotherapy. Reason: there are 500 boys in this institution; only one psychiatrist and one psychologist to treat them. Five months after this "dangerous psychopath" was released from the institution, he stabbed Roger McShane at Highbridge Park. Who is to blame? John Warren Hill, Chief Justice of New York's Children's Court, told us why many very disturbed children are released quickly by state institutions.

ET: JUDGE HILL:

It is a shocking fact that children committed to state institutions by this court often are discharged from these institutions within four to six months without having received any real treatment or help. Why? Because our state facilities for the long term care of delinquent children are so shockingly inadequate that our state institutions must make these discharges quickly in order to make room for new court commitments. For while the rate of delinquency has increased in New York City, since 1951 through 1956, by 83 per cent, as revealed by our own court statistics, there's not been a single additional bed provided in our state institutions for delinquent children, aside from some few which the city made available for use by the state. But that was a bare nothing compared to the great need which has developed increasingly in this area.

MURROW: Children released from New York institutions are put on parole. The Egyptian Dragon diagnosed as a "dangerous psychopath" was assigned to a youth parole worker. . . was under the supervision of this worker at the time of the Farmer murder. But how closely was he watched? Joseph Linda is in charge of youth parole workers, New York City area.

ET: JOSEPH LINDA:

Each of our youth parole workers supervises about 80 boys, and in some cases, about 100 boys, because of staff shortage. This means that they may see these boys as infrequently as once every two months.

MURROW: Youth parole and probation agencies are non-existent in half the counties of this nation. In most of the other counties, they are under-staffed, according to a survey by the National Probation and Parole Association. Some responsibility for supervising problem children often is shifted to the schools by the courts. This happened in the case of several Egyptian Kings and Dragons brought to court prior to the murder of Michael Farmer. The speaker, Murray Sachs, court liaison officer, Board of Education, New York City.

ET: MURRAY SACHS:

The courts had made a number of requests in the helping of these youngsters. The unfortunate thing about these children was this: they would refuse to come to school. Not coming to school, they wouldn't be doing the things that we think are constructive and helpful. Those, we know, have such deep-rooted behavior problems must be dealt with on that basis by specialists who are equipped to handle it, and, for heaven's sake, our community, our citizens should not expect the school to do that. It seems that the only one that might help them would be the institution where they might be placed, and given individualized and controlled assistance, of one kind or another. Again we're faced with the serious problem of there's just no place for them.

MURROW: In the richest state of the nation, long-term institutional care is not available for eighty per cent of delinquent children under twelve years of age. No state institution for these children exists. The few private institutions are jammed. One gang member involved in the Farmer case committed five offenses before he was twelve years old. Within a week or two after each arrest, he was set free in the community. At twelve, children are eligible for state training schools. But even then it is difficult to place them because of overcrowding. John Warren Hill, Chief Justice of New York's Children's Court, sums up the result.

ET: JUDGE HILL:

In a great number of cases of very disturbed children, children who should be removed from the community, this court has been unable to find any placement for the child and our only alternative has been to place these children on probation, which, of course, means their return to the community.

MURROW: They are sent back to the streets -- unhelped, unsupervised. Set free in the community, what do they do with their time? Listen to one boy describe a typical summer day in his neighborhood of brick tenements in Manhattan's upper west side.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

I usually get up at 11 or 12 o'clock, you know, I sleep late. And then I will go out and see the guys, sitting on the stoop, you know, doing nothin'. I would sit there with them, and sometimes they will say, "Let's split and go to a movie," so I would go to the movie with them. Or sometimes we would try and get a game of stickball or somethin' like that. Our block is crowded, we didn't hardly have a chance to play because the busses kept going back and forth, back and forth. We couldn't do nothin'. So that we just sit, then when it got to night-time, well, you know, we would go around, and say, "Come on, man, let's go break windows for some excitement" or "Come on, man, let's go boppin'." Then we would go and look for guys, to beat 'em up. Then we would come back. And then, (LAUGHS) we would sit on the stoop, man, and we'd hear a cop car outside and we would all fly up to the roof, or somethin' like that. Then, we just come down and start talkin' and talkin'.

MURROW: Consider the day of another boy, sixteen years old. He makes the rounds of schools, pool halls, and candy store hangouts. He works for a syndicate . . . sells marijuana cigarettes to other children and smokes them himself.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

I'd get the dough by sellin' it. I'd take about four or five a day. It keeps me goin'. All depends . . . when I get up in the morning I take one or two; three hours later take another one. If I ain't got nothin' to do, I just feel like goofin', crackin' up and everythin'. I just take another one. Go to a dance, take two or three. If you don't get it easy, you try all kinds of -- not violence, but you see an easy dollar to rob, you rob it. You see somethin' to pawn, you pawn it.

MURROW: Boys troubled and adrift in the community formed the gang that killed Michael Farmer. Sociologists call gangs of this breed "anti-social groups" or "fighting gangs." They exist in most of our large cities. According to police estimates there are 134 of these gangs in Los Angeles County; 24 in Miami; 110 in New York, including the Egyptian Kings and Dragons. We shall attempt now to report some of the history of this gang up to the time of the killing at Highbridge Park. In the course of the story, you will hear gang terms that require definition. This gang member defines them for our reporter.

ET: REPORTER AND GANG MEMBER:

REPORTER: What is a "piece?"

BOY: A "piece" is a gun.

REPORTER: How about "to burn?"

BOY: "To burn" means to shoot a guy with a gun.

REPORTER: What'd you mean by "bop?"

BOY: "Bop" -- it means a gang war.

REPORTER: What'd you mean by "rep?"

BOY: "Rep" means reputation.

REPORTER: What is a "coolie?"

BOY: A "coolie" is a guy that ain't in a gang -- he ain't in nuthin', you know; he's just conservative.

REPORTER: What is "turf?"

BOY: "Turf" -- that means territory; each gang has its territory.

MURROW: The "territory" of the Egyptian Kings and Dragons is a neighborhood in transition. Crowded tenements and some modest apartment houses are giving way to giant housing projects. The population is constantly shifting. A spokesman for City Youth Board says, "Whenever you have great population mobility and disruption, gangs spring up to replace the broken stability of the group." Criminologist Lewis Yablonsky of Columbia University directed a crime prevention program in this area at the time the Egyptian Kings and Dragons gang was organized.

ET: DR. YABLONSKY

This gang began forming about two years ago in a twenty-block area of Manhattan's upper west side. The pattern was typical of anti-social gangs in large cities. It was organized by a handful of emotionally disturbed leaders -- boys who have a long record of gang activity. First, they organized the so-called Villains and Scorpions -- merged these two gangs into the G.G.I.'s, meaning Greater Gangs Incorporated. That broke up. Then these same leaders started a gang known as the Dragons which joined forces with the Egyptian Kings to form the overall gang that killed Michael Farmer.

MURROW: Dr. Yablonsky studied this gang for two years -- and closely observed its leaders.

ET: DR. YABLONSKY

These leaders are boys in their late teens and early twenties. They have strong needs to push people around -- primarily because of their own feelings of insecurity. They are Hitler types who have delusions of being persecuted. For example, when you talk to these boys, they say, "Everybody is against me," or, "They're all out to get us." They feel they have no future; no ability to be successful except in gang activities. In the fantasy world of the gang, they picture themselves as supreme commanders -- dominating an army of boys and controlling vast areas of territory. One of them indirectly involved in the Farmer killing is a 25-year-old youth named Frankie.

GANG MEMBER:

[illegible] be nothin'.

MURROW: One Egyptian Kings and Dragons leader told us, "We organize for protection -- the other gangs start the trouble." According to him, this is how the trouble begins.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

You have a certain piece of land, so another club wants to take over your land, in order to have more space, and so forth. They'll fight you for it. If you win, you got your land; if you don't win, then they get your land. The person that loses is gonna get up another group, to help out, and then it starts all over again. Fight for the land again.

MURROW: The ancient tragedy of nations repeated on city streets. Their leaders assume familiar titles.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

First, there's the president. He got the whole gang; then there comes the vice president, he's second in command; then there's the war councillor, war lord, whatever you're gonna call it -- that's the one that starts the fights; then there's the prime minister -- you know, he goes along with the war councillor to see when they're gonna fight, where they're gonna fight. And after that, just club members.

MURROW: Membership in this gang was fluid. Some boys joined one week and quit the next. Several boys arrested in the Farmer case had been members for only a few months. They did not participate in some of the gang's activities about to be mentioned in this report. Not all of the gang members joined because they wanted to fight. They gave us other reasons.

ET: GANG MEMBERS -- MONTAGE:

FIRST BOY: I joined because all them guys, you know, they used to go around to parties; I figured it must be a new experience so I joined to see how it was.

SECOND BOY: Why I joined the gang? To be with the rest of the guys. I wanted to be one of the others. I joined, most of my friends were in there, most of the guys I hang around with. So they told me, if I didn't belong to the gang, not to come around the block so much.

THIRD BOY: Most of the fellas joined our gang because, ya know, they had trouble at home. The rest of the guys would take care of them; give them money; help them out when they would run away from home; give them sonething to eat; help 'em out until they get a job, you know.

MURROW: Some boys were forced to join the gang. Reason.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

We made 'em join the club because we thought they could fight, so we made them join the club; and after they got in they seen that the club was all right, you know, not so much trouble, so they stayed in.

MURROW: At the start of this report you heard one gang member say he was "forced" to attack Michael Farmer and Roger McShane at Highbridge Park. Here is the same boy explaining why he joined the gang in the first place.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

I didn't wanna be in a gang -- but they forced me cause they say if you don't join we'll beat you up. How'd I know they might have somethin' in their pockets like a knife or gun, maybe.

MURROW: According to Murray Sachs, Board of Education Court Laison Officer, the gang intimidated many boys in the neighborhood.

ET: MURRAY SACHS:

These youngsters were threatened on the way to school or were held up or were approached and asked to become members of the Egyptian Kings. Very often they were told that if they weren't going to bring money, they would be beaten up. It wasn't until sometimes these youngsters got so involved by having to bring an average of a dollar a week as part of the extortion arrangement -- and under pressure they couldn't produce it -- that they would stay out of shcool. And that's where we first get the reports, by this absence. And when you try to get the youngster who was assaulted or threatened to talk, they'd fear talking. Parents themselves sometimes feared to even make a charge where an assault and extortion was actually carried out. And so we were left in a position where we could do very little.

MURROW: Instead of action: paralysis and fear. Some parents forbade their children to play on the streets in the evening. A mother who requested anonymity told us.

ET: MRS. R.

I was very frightened -- in fact, I had to stay at the window every evening while they were playing ball because these boys were comin' up in gangs and they had garrison belts and they had knives and three times I called the police station -- and there were also girls comin' up too. They had Pepsi-Cola bottles in their skirts and my fourteen year old girl would come up cryin'. It was pretty bad.

MURROW: A father who would not record a statement or permit us to use his name says members of this gang beat him up in the street when he tried to stop them from molesting his son. Murray Sachs reports on what happened to some school teachers.

ET: MURRAY SACHS:

We had the unfortunate experience of some of these youngsters coming into the school and threatening teachers. In some cases, we actually had instances where they assaulted teachers who tried to stop them. As I recall in one instance, they thought their friend was going to be hurt, or he was going to be punished . . . I don't recall the exact detail, but anyway, they walked in, simply warned the teacher, or said they wanted to go to see someone. The teacher said you can't, unless you go to see the principal and they simply hauled off and let the teacher have it.

MURROW: The gang liked one school recreation center. This was the reason.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

Once we was in the school, we'd go down to the lunchroom where they were playin' records and some cards -- we'd get in the group, you know, a big circle, have our meetings. The teachers'd never bother us because we never made any noise. We just kept it low.

MURROW: What could have been done to check this gang? The New York City Youth Board assigns street workers to some gangs, especially violent ones. The worker remains w th the gang on the streets and in its hangouts. According to the Youth Board, no gang assigned a street worker has rumbled or been involved in a killing. Two years before the Farmer killing, several members of the Egyptian Kings asked their Youth Parole Officer, Lloyd Johnson, to get them a street worker.

ET: LLOYD JOHNSON:

I had about ten boys who were in the Egyptian Kings under my parole supervision. They came to me and said, "Well, look, we'd like to have a detached worker, someone who can spend a lot more time with us." I explained that I would go ahead and contact the youth board and see what could be done.

MURROW: He found out what could be done in one word: "Nothing." Ralph Whelan, Executive Director of the New York City Youth Board, explains the reason.

ET: RALPH WHELAN:

You must remember that this is an experimental project and a demonstration project, that we have been only active in five areas in New York City. Now, we have not had the funds to expand our program beyond those five areas and if we had the funds available, we would have covered every fighting gang that had come to our attention in New York City. And that includes the Egyptian Kings' gang.

MURROW: No funds; no street worker. That was the answer Parole Officer Johnson took back to the gang.

ET: LLOYD JOHNSoN:

I'll never forget it -- one of the boys said to me, half in jest and still disappointed, "I guess we'll have to go off and kill someone before they ever give us a worker." As it turned out, one of the boys that I was working with was involved in the Michael Farmer killing.

MURROW: Before the killing, the New York City Youth Board got a warning from a community crime prevention committee, headed by Dr. Lewis Yablonsky.

ET: DR. YABLONSKY:

Two months before the Farmer killing we warned the New York City Youth Board at a meeting, that unless something drastic was done about this gang, a possible killing could be expected. We went into detail about the number of incidents the gang had been involved in and we stressed that the leaders of this gang were dangerous psychotics. Our recommendation was that a so-called detached gang worker be assigned to the group. But the youth board indicated they could not free a worker from another gang to work with this gang.

MURROW: Dr. Yablonsky and a community organization of adult volunteers tried to reach the gang.

ET: DR. YABLONSKY:

We talked to them in their hangouts and tried to get them interested in constructive activities. But it was impossible to make any progress with the leaders. They were too emotionally disturbed to work with, in the open community. But we were able to work with other gang members who accepted help.

MURROW: Dr. Yablonsky tape-recorded some of his conversations with these boys. The conversation you are about to hear is ominous, in view of what was to happen. This gang member feared he would commit a murder.

ET: GANG MEMBER AND YABLONSKY:

BOY: As I say, I have to be gone, pretty soon, before I'm gonna get in bad trouble.

YABLONSKY: Well, you think you're gonna shoot somebody.

BOY: Shoot them, stab them, or strangle them. What's gonna happen to me after? So if I go now, I don't have to go long, like if I strangle somebody. Then I get sent.

YABLONSKY: You figure, now you'll do a year.

BOY: A year or two, I don't care. So you want me to see that psychiatrist, or whatever he is?

YABLONSKY: I would like you to.

BOY: Make an appointment for me Monday.

YABLONSKY: All right.

MURROW: That boy did not participate in the murder of Michael Farmer. He got help and quit the gang. Two men in the community -- one a chef; the other an import-export executive -- became Big Brothers to ten other gang members . . . helped these boys with their problems . . . took them on excursions to places of interest . . eventually persuaded them to leave the gang. They did this in their spare time. When they tried to recruit other volunteers to work with the gang -- this is what happened.

ET: CHARLES KLEIN:

As a matter of fact, we couldn't get a single person to work with these kids on a volunteer basis. The reason given was that they were actually afraid of these kids. They thought that they should be sent away through the courts and taken out of the community. The other reason was that people would much rather worry about their own problems than take part in community activities.

MURROW: People were afraid . . . or concerned with their own problems. The gang was not their problem, they said. . . Let the courts handle it . . . or the police . . . or the schools . . . or the social agencies. By the summer of 1957, the gang was feuding with the Jesters . . . predominately an Irish gang in Michael Farmer's neighborhood. According to a Jester, the Egyptian Kings and Dragons started the trouble.

ET: JESTER:

We're mostly a defensive fighting team, you know, but they're offensive. You know, they . . . they start the trouble. Then we just . . . you know, we're just protectin' ourselves. Now, like they . . . they come up here on raidin' parties then we'll fight, you know, but if they don't come up, we don't fight. There's never been a time when we've invaded them when they haven't come up here first.

MURROW: They came up to use the swimming pool at Highbridge Park. The Egyptian Kings and Dragons claim the Jesters tried to keep them out; said: "This is our territory," Some parents in the neighborhood wanted the pool closed. The mother of Roger McShane told us why.

ET: MRS. McSHANE:

There has been petitions signed and signed and signed, and the mothers have complained that their children that are growing up here can't use the pool. Why should the others, the crowds coming up in the subway, to use it, when the children up here cannot use it. The children have to sneak in after hours to get a swim, like Roger and Michael, and a few of the other boys that were around. In the day time, they couldn't go in, unless they wanted to be in gangs and fight and use knives and guns like them. And stand up to them. Any boy who did not want to do that could not go in that pool through the day. Why was it allowed to go on so long till a boy was sacrificed over in the park?

MURROW: According to a member of the Egyptian Kings and Dragons, here is what the Jesters did at the pool two weeks before the assault on Farmer and Roger McShane.

ET: GANG MEMBER:

They came behind the pool. One guy, the president, he's a negro, he said, "I'm gonna burn you." So he pulled out a gun; it looked like a 45, but we weren't too sure. So he put it behind my back, and the rest of the guys backs, and one pulled out a sawed off rifle, and pointed it at us. Everyone said, run to the water, you know, so I ran. I dived into the water, they were waiting outside, you know, around the pool, we seen them, so we told some little kids to go down and get some of the fellas, so we could get out of the pool. So they went down, and 3 of them came to the pool, in front of the gate, and told us it was all right to come out now, cause we had the fellas around.

MURROW: Here is a Jester's version of the same incident.

ET: JESTER'S SPOKESMAN:

There was about 15 of them in the pool, and a few of us walked behind there, and we looked in, and we seen them, and they started hollerin' things out, like, you know, names and you're gonna be wasted, and all this, so we told them they weren't going home then, and then we went back around the block, and we thought they were gonna come around the block for a fight. And this boy was walkin' in the park, and he isn't on a team, or anything like that, just walkin' through the park lookin' at the pool, and about 35 guys from the Kings come out and they smacked him on

(more)

ET:
Continued

the head with a bat. And he got 8 stitches, I think.

MURROW: Two weeks later Michael Farmer was killed. Before his murder, a mother in the neighborhood wrote a letter to city officials requesting a police crackdown on both the Jesters and the Egyptian Kings and Dragons. But, she did not mail the letter. In telling us her reason, she requested anonymity . . . said she feared gang retaliation.

ET: MOTHER:

I didn't send the letter because some of the mothers whom I was asking to sign had told. . . were saying to me that their son said that this here business had ended, that there was a truce nogotiated between the Egyptian Kings and the Jesters and there wouldn't be any more trouble.

And a lot of the mothers felt that if we were to send this petition regardless, perhaps it would start these flareups all over again. And many pointed out to me very specifically that if I were the one that were to send them, perhpas my children would be hurt because of it. And well, it made me a little worried. To my regret, I waited, and Michael Farmer was killed.

MURROW: No truce existed, and on the night of July 30, 1957, the Egyptian Kings and Dragons went to Highbridge Park. The news of Michael Farmer's murder shocked the city - and now it acted: The Youth Board got an emergency appropriation of funds..assigned street workers to the Jesters and to the Egyptian Kings and Dragons who remained in the community. The police department assigned more patrolmen to the Highbridge Park area. (MORE)

MURROW: Continued

The community Mental Health Board sent a so-called "disaster team" to the area to survey the causes of juvenile crime. It released a report two weeks after the death of Michael Farmer. Here is the essence of it.

ET:

GREENHILL REPORT:

Residents trace the origin of juvenile crime to parents' inability to control their children, racial issues, newcomers in the area, lack of police protection, intimidation of teachers and policemen by youth gangs, and a lack of restrictive measures in Highbridge Park. Persons interviewed reported 16 major incidents leading to death or hospitalization in the last three years. Ten of them in the last two weeks. Most of the incidents had not been reported to police for fear of gang retaliation. Among the population in general, there were attitudes of hopelessness and fear. A large number of people expect gang retaliation after the present crisis has quieted down. They are cynical and see no way of preventing retaliation for it has always occured in the past. About 40 per cent of children between the ages of 3 and 16 reacted immediately with a variety of physical and emotional symptoms. For the first time, some children began to carry knives for their own protection.

MURROW:

One boy in the neighborhood who fears for his life is Michael Farmer's friend, Roger McShane - a State's witness at the murder trial of the Egyptian Kings and Dragons. During the trial, McShane received two death threats in the mail. One letter said: "You are alive. But if them guys get the chair, we will kill you." That threat possibly came from a crank. But on one can be sure - (MORE)

least o

MURROW: Continued least of all Roger McShane.

ET: Mc SHANE:

There's nothing you can do except protect yourself. It's just gonna get wilder and wilder. I mean, it's just gonna get worse. You can't have a policeman walking around with every boy or girl that leaves his house at night. And follow him to the store if he has to go to the store or follow him up to the show or you can't have a policeman follow each individual all around the neighborhood just so they can be protected.

MURROW: The parents of Michael Farmer.

ET: MR. AND MRS. FARMER:

MR. FARMER: I'm very much afraid for my son Rayme. Rayme's 14. Who knows the rest of these Egyptian Kings won't come up looking for him, or trying to extend their activities; make themselves a little bit more infamous. You can't reason with the type of minds that they have. You don't know what they'll come up with next.

MRS. FARMER: I'm worried about all of us. There was a time when I'd run down at night for milk, or to mail a letter, now I wouldn't go down the street after nine o'clock. I just have that terrible feeling that something is lurking there in the dark.

MURROW: Fear remains in this community. A new summer approaches..and according to one volunteer youth worker in the area already there are danger signals.

ET: YOUTH WORKER:

The situation is beginning to look critical once again. We find that one of the Egyptian Kings apparently not involved in the Michael Farmer killing is now trying to reorganize a gang and is recruiting in the area. Unless something is done very quickly with this particular gang, we are definitely going to run into the same situation in a very short time. You can't say whether that will be six months or a year from now, but if this gang is allowed to reorganize again, there may be more killings and something had better be done, fast, if we are interested in saving other children from the fate of Michael Farmer.

MURROW: What has been solved by the verdict of a jury and the commitment of 15 boys to institutions which are ill-equipped to re-habilitate them; and because of overcrowding, may soon return them to the community? The problem of juvenile crime continues. The experts may list all sorts of causes. But they agree on one answer to why these conditions continue to exist: We permit them to. This is Ed Murrow. Good Night.

Spec. Pgms

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK • PLAZA 1-2345

April 16, 1958

ROBERT J. SULLIVAN

Manager
Program Promotion
and Merchandising

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I thought you would be interested in seeing our Program Promotion kit for "Who Killed Michael Farmer?"

Sincerely,

Robert J. Sullivan

RJS/mr
Enc.

ON RADIO TONIGHT!

"WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER?"

The documented study of a gang of teen-age boys who senselessly killed another boy one night last summer in New York...told in the actual words and voices of gang members, parents and juvenile authorities. The implications of this case, and the ensuing trial, concern everyone. You will not find this a comfortable hour of radio. But you will find it an unforgettable one! Narrator: Edward R. Murrow.

WAAA: DIAL 0000 AT 00:00 PM

CBS

CBS RADIO PROGRAM PROMOTION

PROGRAM:	WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER?
BROADCAST DATE:	To be announced
BROADCAST TIME:	To be announced
CAST:	Edward R. Murrow, narrator
	Jay McMullen, producer-writer Arthur W. Rabin, associate in production

PROGRAM INFORMATION

CBS RADIO PROGRAM PROMOTION

WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER?

WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER? is the first in a projected series of Unit 1 "Actuality Reports" produced for CBS Radio by the Public Affairs Department of CBS News.

The program is a stark, moving (and often frightening) document of teen-age hoodlumism -- in the actual voices of some of the boys, their parents and the police.

The study is based on the killing of 15-year-old Michael Farmer by a gang of teen-agers in a New York City park. Seventeen boys were arrested in connection with the killing. Seven were indicted for first degree murder.

The program not only brings you eyewitness accounts of the gang-attack -- but also probes into all aspects of gang life: parental attitudes, codes of behavior and other factors.

In a special presentation on the new Unit 1 series, it has been suggested that you might find it valuable to use the broadcast as a jump-off point for a panel discussion by local authorities. The presentation is included with this kit.

In this kit, you will also find on-the-air material, an ad-mat and a photo of Edward R. Murrow. Also, we will send you recorded announcements by closed circuit broadcast.

LOCAL ANNOUNCEMENT

58 Seconds

How does a juvenile gang spring up? What leads a teen-ager to commit acts of vandalism and violence? Why would a gang of boys beat and stab to death another boy? _____ tries to answer some of those questions in a startling and important case history of one particular juvenile crime at _____ tonight. The program: WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER?, a special Unit 1 presentation featuring Edward R. Murrow as narrator. WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER? brings you the actual voices of some of the boys themselves, their parents and the police as it probes the reasons and background of this wanton slaying. WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER? will not be pleasant listening. But it is important listening. Hear it tonight at ____ over ____. And then stay tuned for a special panel discussion of juvenile crime in (CITY), featuring _____ _____, _____ _____ and _____ _____.

ADVANCE PROMOTION

CBS RADIO PROGRAM PROMOTION

LOCAL ANNOUNCEMENT

55 Seconds

A fifteen-year-old boy is dead -- beaten and stabbed to death by a gang of teen-age hoodlums in a New York City park. Seventeen were arrested. Seven were charged with first degree murder. Who was the dead boy? Why was he killed? At ____ this (INSERT DATE) evening, _____ presents a special broadcast on teen-age violence, featuring Edward R. Murrow as narrator. Produced by the Public Affairs Department of CBS News, the program brings you the case history of this crime in the actual voices of some of the boys themselves, their parents and the police. Here, in grim and often frightening detail, is a story all the more dramatic because it is true. Don't miss this special Unit 1 presentation: WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER? this (INSERT DATE) at ____ over _____. And then stay tuned for a panel discussion on juvenile crime in (CITY) at _____.

ADVANCE PROMOTION

CBS RADIO PROGRAM PROMOTION

LOCAL ANNOUNCEMENT

16 Seconds

WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER? For the dramatic and often frightening case history of a teen-age crime -- in the actual voices of some of the boys involved -- don't miss this special Unit 1 broadcast (INSERT DATE) at _____ over _____.

LOCAL ANNOUNCEMENT

18 Seconds

A fifteen-year-old boy is dead -- beaten and stabbed to death by a gang of teen-age hoodlums. Why was he killed? Who killed him -- WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER? Be listening for this important Unit 1 presentation at _____ (INSERT DATE) over _____.

LOCAL ANNOUNCEMENT

15 Seconds

Michael Farmer is dead. Seventeen teen-agers were arrested in connection with his death. Seven were charged with first degree murder. WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER? Hear the shocking case-history of this crime at ____ tonight over ____.

LOCAL ANNOUNCEMENT

19 Seconds

Special Unit 1 broadcast on _____ at _____ tonight. It's WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER? ___ case-history of a juvenile gang killing in the actual voices of some of the boys involved, their parents, the police. Don't miss this important broadcast, featuring Edward R. Murrow as narrator, tonight at _____.

ADVANCE PROMOTION

CBS RADIO PROGRAM PROMOTION

LOCAL ANNOUNCEMENT

7 Seconds

WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER? Don't miss this special broadcast on teen-age crime tonight at _____ over _____.

LOCAL ANNOUNCEMENT

10 Seconds

A 15-year-old boy is dead -- beaten and stabbed to death by a gang of teen-agers. WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER? Hear this special broadcast tonight at _____ on _____.

HOMEMAKER ANNOUNCEMENT

59 Seconds

When does a high-spirited teen-ager become a delinquent? Where do teen-age pranks end and crime begin? These are questions facing the entire nation -- and many parts of the world -- these days. Almost every city has its juvenile crime problem. Almost every expert has some answers -- but not all of them. Tonight at _____, as a public service, _____ presents a special broadcast on juvenile crime -- the shocking case-history of one particular crime. It concerns a 15-year-old boy killed by a gang of teen-agers in a New York City park. You'll hear from some of the boys themselves -- you'll hear their reactions to the attack -- their reasons. You'll also hear from their parents -- and the parents of the dead boy. And from the police and other officials. The program -- WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER? -- is not a pleasant one. But it is important. Don't miss this special broadcast tonight at _____ over _____ -- WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER?

PUBLICITY

CBS RADIO PROGRAM PROMOTION

WAAA TO PRESENT CASE HISTORY
OF TEEN-AGE SLAYING TONIGHT

Using the actual voices of some of the boys themselves, their parents and the police, WAAA will present a special case history of a teen-age slaying tonight at 00:00 PM.

Entitled "Who Killed Michael Farmer?" the program is a Unit 1 presentation of the Public Affairs Department of CBS News -- and features Edward R. Murrow as narrator.

"Who Killed Michael Farmer?" will trace step-by-step the attack on this 15-year-old polio victim by a gang of teen-agers in a New York City park. It will also probe into all aspects of gang life: modes of behavior, parental attitudes and other factors.

The program was written and produced by Jay McMullen, with Arthur W. Rabin associated in production.

NEWS FROM CBS RADIO
Press Information Department,
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.
Phone: PLaza 1-2345

Spec. Pgms.

December 4, 1958

WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER?", BROADCAST LAST APRIL,
IS STILL REVERBERATING THROUGHOUT THE NATION

When "Who Killed Michael Farmer?", a searing documentary of a brutal juvenile gang killing on New York's upper West Side was broadcast over the CBS Radio Network last April, the nation was shocked. The program has had an unprecendted impact, and the repercussions throughout the country are still being felt today, more than seven months later.

So far, approximately 7,000 copies of the broadcast transcript have been distributed, in response to requests by schools, universities, libraries, penal institutions, churches, civic organizations, police departments, social agencies and public officials.

As additional requests for transcripts and recordings of the program keep coming in, the Public Affairs Department of CBS News, which produced the broadcast, has decided to distribute a limited edition of an LP album, containing the full program, to institutions requesting it.

As of December 1, 1958, nearly one hundred schools and universities, including Yale, Columbia, Cornell, University of California and Nebraska University, are using tape recordings or transcripts in connection with graduate and undergraduate courses.

Their reactions have been highly favorable, judging from letters received by Jay McMullen, who produced the program. Typical

(More)

among these is a report by Dr. Douglas D. Bond, Director of the Department of Psychiatry, School of Medicine, Western Reserve University, who wrote: "We are using your tape recording of 'Who Killed Michael Farmer?' in the teaching of medical students as an introduction to the problems of delinquency. I could think of no finer way of bringing up this whole problem than through the recording that you made."

"This program probably does more for students than a great many lectures and reading assignments," was the comment made by Professor Howard B. Leavitt, Department of Education, Northern Illinois University.

Professor Alfred J. Kahn, The New York School of Social Work, reported: "The documentary presents an excellent point of departure for serious discussion of a number of matters crucial in our curriculum: causation of delinquency, methods of treatment, administration and organization of agencies....CBS has made a very substantial contribution to public education."

Marion Clark, Assistant Superintendent, Board of Education of the City of New York, stated: "We have already used this (tape) in guidance conferences and shall find additional use for it in teacher-training in the months ahead."

"I know of no audi-visual document in the field of delinquency that does the beautiful educational job that this does," was the opinion of Albert K. Cohen, Associate Professor of Sociology, Indiana University.

In addition to its use in schools, "Who Killed Michael Farmer?" transcriptions were played before a State Convention of the Ohio Bureau of Probation and Parole; at a meeting of the Bureau of Rehabilitation

(More)

in Washington, D.C.; the Congregational-Christian Conference last Summer in Pembroke, N. H., and other agencies. Also, excerpts of the program were broadcast by 78 non-commercial radio stations affiliated with the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

On April 25, 1958, lengthy excerpts of the broadcasts were inserted into the Congressional Record by Senator Jacob K. Javits (R., N.Y.).

"Who Killed Michael Farmer?", a Unit One presentation, was narrated by Edward R. Murrow and produced by Mr. McMullen under the supervision of Irving Gitlin, Director of the Public Affairs Department of CBS News.

* * *

Spec Pgm.

June 23, 1958

Dear Mr. Scott:

Thank you for your very nice letter expressing an interest in the "Michael Farmer" and "POW- A Study in Survival" broadcasts.

It was nice of you to take the time and trouble to write me about them.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. R. K. Scott
President
America's Future, Inc.
542 Main Street
New Rochelle, New York

mcc

AMERICA'S FUTURE, INC.

542 MAIN STREET, NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y.

Publishers of pro-American books, pamphlets and periodicals.

"Eternal Vigilance Is the Price of Liberty"

Producers of the John T. Flynn and other radio programs.

NEW ROCHELLE 3-6000

R. K. SCOTT
President

TRUSTEES

W. R. ARCHER, *President, Uncle Johnny Mills, Houston, Texas*

AMBROSE W. BENKERT, *President, A. W. Benkert & Co., New York, N. Y.*

DONALDSON BROWN, *Director, General Motors Corporation, Port Deposit, Maryland*

WALTER E. DITMARS, *President, The Gray Manufacturing Company, Hartford, Conn.*

LAMAR FLEMING, JR., *President, Anderson, Clayton & Co., Houston, Texas*

WALTER HARNISCHFEGER, *President, Harnischfeger Corp., Milwaukee, Wis.*

DR. V. K. HART, *Charlotte Eye, Ear and Throat Hospital, Charlotte, North Carolina*

CHARLES R. HOOK, *Chairman, Armco Steel Corporation, Middletown, Ohio*

RAGNAR A. HUMMEL, *Chairman, Lone Star Cement Corp., New York, N. Y.*

JOEL Y. LUND, *Vice President, Warner-Lambert Pharmaceutical Company, Morris Plains, New Jersey*

H. W. PRENTIS, Jr., *Chairman, Armstrong Cork Co., Lancaster, Pa.*

HERBERT RAMEL, *Vice President, Moog Industries, St. Louis, Mo.*

J. R. WILKINS, *President, Hardwood Charcoal Co., Steelville, Missouri*

GEN. R. E. WOOD, *Director, Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill.*

Tax

June 10, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

You and the CBS Radio Network are to be commended on the two recent documentaries dealing with the Michael Farmer murder case and "POW-a Study in Survival" which was aired last evening.

I should think that listener reaction in the latter case would be tremendous and in this connection I would be very much interested to know whether or not CBS plans to reschedule this program as they did in the Michael Farmer case.

Sincerely yours,

R. K. Scott

R. K. Scott
President

RKS:ma

NEWS FROM CBS RADIO
Press Information Department,
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.
Phone: PLaza 1-2345

MR. ED BLISS Spec Pgm.
485/17

F41

April 28, 1958

EXCERPTS FROM CBS RADIO'S "WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER?"
INSERTED IN CONGRESSIONAL RECORD BY SENATOR JAVITS

Senator Jacob K. Javits (R.-N.Y.) praised CBS Radio's broadcast of "Who Killed Michael Farmer?" and inserted lengthy excerpts of the program into the Congressional Record for Friday, April 25. The senator's remarks occurred as part of a talk in which he demanded national action against juvenile delinquency.

Javits termed juvenile delinquency "a national emergency." He added "It demands action. It demands leadership on the national level ---I think it should be impressed on Congress that, just like national security, internal security against crime must come first...I address the earnest hope to my colleagues that they give this matter early and careful attention."

The New York Republican entered in the record various clippings and speeches. He remarked further, "Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the record, excerpts from tne transcript of a radio documentary produced by the Public Affairs Department of the Columbia Broadcasting System and broadcast over that network April 21, 1958. Narrated by Edward R. Murrow, it was called "Who Killed Michael Farmer?" and concerned a young boy who was the victim of a juvenile delinquency crime in my home city which aroused great interest."

(More)

"Who Killed Michael Farmer?", a shocking analysis of juvenile crime through the first-hand reports of a 15-year-old boy's murder on New York's upper West Side, was first broadcast on CBS Radio April 21. The program will be offered again in response to widespread demand of social groups, universities, law enforcement agencies, the press, jurists and the nation's radio audience on Wednesday, April 30 at 8:00-9:00 PM, EDT.

"Who Killed Michael Farmer?", a presentation of the recently established Unit One of the Public Affairs Department of CBS News, was produced and written by Jay McMullen. Arthur W. Rabin was associated in the production. The program was produced under the supervision of Irving Gitlin, Director of the Public Affairs Department of CBS News.

* * *

NEWS FROM CBS RADIO
Press Information Department,
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.
Phone: PLaza 1-2345

MR. ED MURROW
485/17

April 24, 1958

"WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER?" TO BE RE-BROADCAST WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30 OVER THE CBS RADIO NETWORK IN RESPONSE TO NATIONAL ACCLAIM

"Who Killed Michael Farmer?", a special actuality report by the Public Affairs Department of CBS News which this week attracted national acclaim, will be re-broadcast on the CBS Radio Network, Wednesday, April 30 from 8:00 to 9:00 PM, EDT. The program, narrated by CBS Newsman Edward R. Murrow, will be offered again in response to the widespread demand of social groups, universities, law enforcement agencies, the press, jurists and the nation's radio audience.

Since the first (April 21) broadcast of the program, which presents a shocking analysis of juvenile crime through the first-hand reports of a 15-year-old boy's murder on New York's Upper West Side, laudatory telephone calls and letters have flooded the network's headquarters in New York. Commissioner Anna M. Kross, Department of Correction, New York City, was one of many who dubbed the public service program a "superb" offering. Commissioner Kross stated that she would like to declare the study "mandatory listening" for all Department of Correction staff members and the 6,000 inmates of New York's penal institutions.

Several educational institutions have requested transcripts and a re-broadcast at a time when the program can be assigned to classes in government, civics, sociology, criminology and psychology.

(More)

Among these were Columbia University's Criminology Department; New York University's Center for Human Relations and Community Studies; Brooklyn College and Rutgers University. Wires from Midwestern and West Coast educators and community leaders indicate heavy additional requests in the future from those areas.

A police lieutenant assigned to New York's 34th Precinct, which includes the Highbridge Park area where the Farmer killing occurred, asked for the opportunity to play the program before an audience which would include the neighborhood's Coordinating Council of Citizens.

Professor Robert MacIver, Chairman of the New York City Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project, initiated under Mayor Robert F. Wagner in 1956, asked for the opportunity to play the program at special assemblies of staff members of various city agencies.

The New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, urged re-broadcast of the program. Its staff would inform all the area's students of social work about the time and date of broadcast, the school assured the network. Careers in Social Work, a professional organization which recruits career personnel for social work, requested a special presentation of the program to demonstrate the problem's gravity to workers in the juvenile area. Such a facility might serve to aid in recruiting help to combat juvenile delinquency, CSW observed.

Newspapers throughout the nation paid tribute to the program in reviews and editorials. Many publications are planning extensive coverage of the program's text.

Typical of the requests for special playings or re-broadcast were messages from officials of The Brooklyn House of Detention, the

(More)

Bronx YMHA and Manhattan's High School of Commerce. All asked for use of the program in classrooms, study groups, student guidance sessions and teachers' conferences.

Among the judicial leaders who praised the program was Stanley Mosk, Judge of Los Angeles' Superior Court, who telegraphed: "The problem of juvenile delinquency has been discussed for so long that few people realize fully that it is now not just a matter of kids letting off steam. Senseless violence which results in murder, gang warfare which kills and cripples, is taking the proportions of a national crisis requiring bold and imaginative action now." Judge Mosk declared, "We need a National Commission on Youth, with full cooperation of state and local law enforcement officials, utilizing the best minds in the social sciences. CBS Radio is to be commended for its documentary, 'Who Killed Michael Farmer?' Greater public awareness is needed," he concluded, "if law enforcement and social agencies are to be effective."

Arthur Hull Hayes, President of CBS Radio, commented: "The response to 'Who Killed Michael Farmer?' has a significance that far outreaches the critical acclaim with which the program has met. Network radio has demonstrated again its role as a spokesman and analyst of the American social scene. The national reaction to the program also re-emphasizes America's keen awareness of radio's presence as a contribution to the age's social conscience."

"Who Killed Michael Farmer?", a presentation of the recently established Unit One of the Public Affairs Department of CBS News, was produced and written by Jay McMullen. Arthur W. Rabin was associated in the production. The program was produced under the supervision of Irving Gitlin, Director of the Public Affairs Department of CBS News.

* * *

NEWS FROM CBS RADIO
Press Information Department,
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.
Phone: PLaza 1-2345

MR. ED MURROW
485/17

April 16, 1958

CBS RADIO TO PRESENT "ACTUALITY REPORT" ON
"WHO KILLED MICHAEL FARMER?", APRIL 21

Edward R. Murrow to Narrate Hour-Long Chronicle-in-Sound

The case history of one of the most appalling and widely-discussed cases of juvenile delinquency -- the killing of 15-year-old Michael Farmer on New York's Upper West Side -- will be presented in a searching actuality report on CBS Radio Monday, April 21 at 8:00-9:00 PM, EST.

Narrated by Edward R. Murrow, the program, titled, "Who Killed Michael Farmer?", will contain actual statements by many members of the gang who testified, and by their parents, as well as comments by psychiatrists, criminologists, social workers and educators.

This will be broadcasting's first in-depth analysis of the factors involved in juvenile crime. The program will attempt to assess responsibility by answering the question, "Who Killed Michael Farmer?"

Young Farmer was killed on the night of July 30, 1957, while he was walking with a friend through Highbridge Park in New York's Washington Heights section. A teen-age gang, calling themselves the Egyptian Kings, were accused of the crime, and their trial aroused

(More)

nation-wide interest. Four youths were convicted and three were cleared.

Irving Gitlin, Director of the Public Affairs Department of CBS News, under whose general supervision the program is being produced, stated: "We consider 'Who Killed Michael Farmer?' to be one of the most important broadcasts we have ever produced. We expect that some will be shocked by it, but we think it is our duty to present this program in the hope that the public will be made aware of this most pressing community problem. And while this tragic case happened in New York City, it could have happened in other localities where similar conditions exist."

"Who Killed Michael Farmer?" -- a presentation of the recently formed Unit One of the Public Affairs Department -- has been in preparation since last December, with literally hundreds of interviews having been conducted in order to expose all facets of the case.

Jay McMullen is the producer-writer. Arthur W. Rabin is associated in the production.

* * *

Hayes

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Mr. Hayes cc: Messrs. Seward, Nickelson, Gitlin

from: Mr. Murrow January 31, 1958

I have heard a rough cut of the tapes on "Who killed Michael Farmer"? It is an outstanding and original piece of radio reporting. The impact will be enormous - not even my narration will ruin it.

I hope that even in these days of economic vicissitude you will squeeze out a little money for promotion.

fc E.R.M.

"POW--A STUDY IN SURVIVAL"

June 24, 1958

Broadcast over CBS Radio Network, narrated by Edward R. Murrow, and produced by "Unit One" of the Public Affairs Department of CBS News.

The report, which probed the physical and moral stamina of American captives in the Korean war, was made by a cross-section of the ex-prisoners themselves, and by military and psychiatric experts who examined them after their liberation. What emerged from their accounts was the fact that we had never before faced an enemy nation which attempted to use a large body of American prisoners of was for political purposes.

Summary

NEWS FROM CBS RADIO
Press Information Department,
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.
Phone: PLaza 1-2345

Spec Pgm.

MR. ED MURROW
485/17

June 18, 1958

CBS RADIO TO REPEAT "POW--A STUDY IN SURVIVAL"

Because of impressive public demand, both from official sources and from private individuals, the CBS Radio Network will repeat "POW--A Study in Survival," on Tuesday, June 24 at 10:05-11:00 PM, EDT.

The actuality report narrated by Edward R. Murrow, was first broadcast on Monday, June 9, and presented the actions and reactions of a group of American prisoners of war in a Communist Chinese camp during the Korean War, as told by the men themselves.

The program won high praise from critics and public alike. In addition, it aroused interest in various official quarters, such as the Department of Defense, the Permanent Mission of the Republic of China to the United Nations, and educational institutions.

The office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense requested permission to reproduce the program for in-service indoctrination, and advised CBS that the Department of the Army wished to adopt the program in its entirety for internal use at the United States Military Academy, service schools and other Army Training facilities.

The Chinese delegation to the United Nations asked for transcripts so that its members may study the text of the program.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology at Cambridge, Mass., and Benjamin Franklin High School in New York City were among the schools requesting recordings of the broadcast for the use of study groups.

(More)

Typical reactions by individual listeners included letters from a former member of the Marine Corps who had served in Korea, and a former Army sergeant, who expressed their appreciation of the program and suggested that it be repeated.

"POW--A Study in Survival" is a Unit One production of the Public Affairs Department of CBS News. It was produced by George Vicas, with Arthur Rabin, the associate producer.

* * *

NEWS FROM CBS RADIO
Press Information Department,
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.
Phone: PLaza 1-2345

MR. ED MURROW Spec. Pgms.
485/17

7

June 10, 1958

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT OF

"POW - A STUDY IN SURVIVAL"

(Broadcast over CBS Radio Network
Monday, June 9 at 8:00-9:00 PM, EDT)

Behind the tragedy of the Korean prison camps lie deep flaws in the education and moral indoctrination of American youth, it was asserted last night (Monday, June 9) in a CBS Radio Network broadcast, "POW - A Study in Survival," with Edward R. Murrow, as narrator.

The report, which probed the physical and moral stamina of American captives in the Korean war, was made by a cross section of the ex-prisoners themselves, and by military and psychiatric experts who examined them after their liberation. What emerged from their accounts was the fact that we had never before faced an enemy nation which attempted to use a large body of American prisoners of war for political purposes.

It was a situation in which, an official Army study found, only five per cent of the captured G.I.'s could be classified as resisters to Chinese pressures, while fifteen per cent were classified as collaborators. The other 80 per cent represented various degrees of passivity.

"Politically, I was completely ignorant," one soldier said. "I was just seventeen...I'd never voted, I never had any civics, I knew nothing from school, even, of any politics. The Chinese gave me my first lesson in politics."

(More)

Another commented, "If the men had been educated ahead of time in what difficulties they would meet, they would know how to cope with them. No one knew, and when they faced them, it hit them like a flash out of a blue sky."

Summarizing the views of the military and psychiatric experts, Mr. Murrow commented, "The problem is still a major one for the armed forces. It would appear that the services can do better in preparing men physically and psychologically to resist...It is a problem that does not begin in the armed forces. It begins in the home, the schools and the churches -- all help to form the character and educate the future soldier."

Dr. Edgar Schein, a member of the Psychiatric Processing Team, who interviewed many of the returning POW's and has made intensive studies of the Chinese indoctrination program, gave some reason for collaboration. "Few collaborated because they were ideologically converted," he said. "There were many who were unaware of the consequences of their own behavior. They did not realize they were collaborating..."

General John Hull, former Far Eastern Commander, and Vice Chairman of the Committee which formulated a Code of Conduct for the Secretary of Defense, as a guide for future POW's, said, "It is recognized that the prisoner of war may be subjected to an extreme of coercion, beyond his ability to resist. There is a final line, however, beyond which he cannot recede: disclosure of vital military information, and above all, disloyalty in word or deed to his country, his service or his comrades."

Commenting on whether the Code of Conduct would be a help to a future prisoner of war, Dr. Henry Segal, former Chief of the Psychi-

(More)

atric Processing Team at Inchon, Korea, said: "I don't believe that the Code of Conduct can or should be devised in an effort to prevent men from giving information. This can't be done. On the other hand, I see the Code of Conduct as an ideal -- as perhaps the best method to insure that men taken prisoner will continue to live together as American soldiers, within a group framework."

The program presented a moving account of how American prisoners reacted to the pressures of an enemy determined to use them for political and propaganda purposes. It opened with the "Death March" to the camps in which "we lost a man for every mile." Men described the loathesomeness of prison camp life, the crowded sleeping conditions, lack of sanitation, malnutrition, disease, intense cold, lack of clothing, and the results in terms of "give-up-itis." ("It was a whole lot easier to get into your room in a corner and eventually die than it was to get up in the morning and go outside.") It is estimated that 38 per cent of the 7,190 American prisoners died in captivity.

The ex-prisoners recalled the gradual breakdown in morale of the freezing and starving men, and the subsequent beginning of the Chinese indoctrination policy. The men told of the forced group discussions, the bribes, the personal interrogations, the physical pressures used to induce collaboration. "You could feel the Chinese pressure all the time," commented one soldier. Another said, "You either agreed, and everything was forgotten about 'til the next day -- or you disagreed and they made it rough on you." All members of Camp No. 5 were "induced" to sign a peace appeal to the United Nations, "except those people who were too sick to sign it and some of their names were signed for them."

(More)

Mr. Murrow, in closing, commented: "The Korean War ended in 1953. Much has been forgotten. Much has been ignored. Accusations have been made and denied. But what happened in Korea is too important merely to determine who is to blame and who should be punished.

Whether we apply the lessons learned (in Korea) may well affect our survival as a nation."

"POW - A Study in Survival" was a "Unit One" production of the Public Affairs Department of CBS News. It was narrated by Edward R. Murrow, and produced and written by George A. Vicas, with Arthur Rabin as associate producer.

The program included statements by the following:

General John E. Hull, U.S.A. (Retired), Former Commander in Chief, U.S. Far Eastern Command and United Nations Command; and Vice Chairman of the Committee on a Code of Conduct, established by the Secretary of Defense.

Dr. Henry Segal, Chief of the Psychiatric Processing Team at Inchon, and former Chief of Psychiatric Out-Patient Service at Walter Reed Army Hospital. He is now a psychiatrist in private practice in Washington, D. C.

Dr. Edgar H. Schein, a member of the Psychiatric Processing Team who worked aboard troop transports on which POWs were being repatriated. He is now a professor of psychology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.

Captain Clarence Anderson, U.S.A., captured Army doctor held at the Chinese-administered POW Camp 5. He now holds the rank of Major and is stationed at Letterman Army Hospital, San Francisco.

Some 15 ex-POW's, not identified by name, but representing a cross-section of the 7,190 Americans who endured captivity during the Korean conflict.

Spec Pgm

AMERICA'S FUTURE, INC. 542 MAIN STREET, NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y.

"Eternal Vigilance Is the Price of Liberty"

NEW ROCHELLE 3-6300

June 23, 1958

Dear Mr. Scott:

Thank you for your very nice letter expressing an interest in the "Michael Farmer" and "POW-A Study in Survival" broadcasts.

It was nice of you to take the time and trouble to write me about them.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. R. K. Scott
President
America's Future, Inc.
542 Main Street
New Rochelle, New York

mcc

AMERICA'S FUTURE, INC.

542 MAIN STREET, NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y.

Publishers of pro-American books, pamphlets and periodicals.

"Eternal Vigilance Is the Price of Liberty"

Producers of the John T. Flynn and other radio programs.

NEW ROCHELLE 3-6000

R. K. SCOTT
President

TRUSTEES

W. R. ARCHER, President,
Uncle Johnny Mills,
Houston, Texas

AMBROSE W. BENKERT,
President,
A. W. Benkert & Co.,
New York, N. Y.

DONALDSON BROWN,
Director,
General Motors Corporation,
Port Deposit, Maryland

WALTER E. DITMARS,
President,
The Gray Manufacturing
Company, Hartford, Conn.

LAMAR FLEMING, JR.,
President,
Anderson, Clayton & Co.,
Houston, Texas

WALTER HARNISCHFEGER,
President,
Harnischfeger Corp.,
Milwaukee, Wis.

DR. V. K. HART,
Charlotte Eye, Ear and
Throat Hospital,
Charlotte, North Carolina

CHARLES R. HOOK,
Chairman,
Armco Steel Corporation,
Middletown, Ohio

EGNAR A. HUMMEL,
Chairman,
The Star Cement Corp.,
New York, N. Y.

NEL Y. LUND,
Vice President,
Warner-Lambert
Pharmaceutical Company,
Morris Plains, New Jersey

W. PRENTIS, Jr.,
Chairman,
Armstrong Cork Co.,
Lancaster, Pa.

BERT RAMEL,
President,
Ramel Industries,
St. Louis, Mo.

WILKINS,
President,
Wood Charcoal Co.,
Neville, Missouri

R. E. WOOD,
Director,
Sears, Roebuck & Co.,
Chicago, Ill.

June 10, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

You and the CBS Radio Network are to be commended on the two recent documentaries dealing with the Michael Farmer murder case and "POW- a Study in Survival" which was aired last evening.

I should think that listener reaction in the latter case would be tremendous and in this connection I would be very much interested to know whether or not CBS plans to reschedule this program as they did in the Michael Farmer case.

Sincerely yours,

R. K. Scott

R. K. Scott
President

RKS:ma

"THE HIDDEN REVOLUTION" SERIES"

1958-1959

On October 22, 1958 the first in a series of six documentaries called "The Hidden Revolution", dealing with the momentous issues facing mankind at that point in time, was broadcast on CBS Radio. Produced for Nationwide Insurance by the CBS Public Affairs Department and narrated by Edward R. Murrow. In Prime Time Alexander Kendrick described this series as "exploring the social consequences of scientific discoveries in the nuclear-space age." Edward R. Murrow was the Narrator.

H Rev.

October 6, 1958

The Editor
The Observer
195 Boulevard
HasbrOok Heights
New Jersey

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing a photograph of Mr. Murrow for use in the issue of COOP HIGHLIGHTS which is going to press Wednesday. I understand from Mr. D.A. Williams that it is needed in connection with an article you are running on the first of the series THE HIDDEN REVOLUTION, narrated by Mr. Murrow, to be broadcast on October 22.

We shall be grateful if you will send us a copy of your article.

Yours very truly,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

enc.

H. Rev.

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

Mr Murrow
I think this in order. Jim
10/15

to: MR. SEWARD cc: Mr. Connors

from: Donald C. Hamilton October 10, 1958

re: THE HIDDEN REVOLUTION - Edward R. Murrow

Enclosed, please find three copies of the proposed amendment to Mr. Murrow's contract covering his services on six broadcasts of THE HIDDEN REVOLUTION.

If acceptable, kindly have Mr. Murrow sign all three copies and return to me. I will then send two executed copies to you.

D. C. H.

bj
Encls.

Send back to Hamilton

H. Rev.

October 23, 1958

Mr. Irving Gitlin
Director of Public Affairs
CBS Radio Network
545 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Irving Gitlin:

Just a quickie to let you know how generally pleased we are with last night's show. All of us here feel that it presented Nationwide exactly as we would like the public to see us. It's already done us immeasurable good, I know, to be identified with CBS and Ed Murrow. We're downright proud.

As you might suspect, I do have some specific thoughts about the dramatic and structural aspects of the program, which may or may not be helpful to you in preparing the subsequent ones. Hal Graves tells me I'll have an opportunity to pass these reactions along to you in a meeting in New York next Thursday. I look forward to seeing you then. By that time, too, we should have a partial evaluation from our field forces to share with you.

Thanks again, and congratulations!

Sincerely,

C.

Calvin Kytle
Vice President-Public Relations

js
cc: Mr. Murrow
Mr. Graves
Mr. Campbell

Open Letter To An Ordinary Man

Columbus, Ohio
October 1, 1958

Dear Sir:

Wednesday evening, October 22, your CBS radio station will broadcast a program of interest to you.

The program will be called *The Hidden Revolution,* and it will be the first in a series of documentaries dealing with the momentous issues facing mankind today. Produced for Nationwide Insurance by the CBS Public Affairs department, the series will be narrated by Edward R. Murrow and carried by 75 CBS-affiliated stations.

We're sponsoring these programs because we believe they will contribute to listeners' understanding of themselves and of the rapidly-changing world. As you know, the lives of all of us have been affected and are being altered by unprecedented scientific and technological progress. This progress presents one of the greatest problems man has ever had to face—the problem of making himself at home in an environment grown suddenly too complex to understand and seemingly too big to control.

Faced with such a problem, a person has one alternative—either he does his best to solve it or he retreats from it.

Several sociologists and writers have claimed to see evidence of retreat on every side. They say we're all afraid; that man no longer feels he is the master of his destiny; that we've given up. They say people don't want to think any more; that they want to leave the thinking to the "experts." All people want to do, we're told, is watch television, hide, deal only with the little problems they *can* control.

All these charges may be true. We believe, though, that the problem of adjusting to great technological changes can be solved only by people themselves, not by "experts." We believe many people are

On CBS Radio, October 22, hear "The Hidden Revolution," first of a series of docu-

The H. Rev.

searching for a solution, but that the problem is too big to be solved by one man alone. *We also believe that ordinary people, working together, can do extraordinary things.*

In support of these beliefs, on the evening of October 22, throughout our operating territory, many Nationwide Insurance agents will hold meetings of policyholders. We hope you will be able to attend one of these meetings. Each group will listen to the radio program, then discuss it. Everyone will have a chance to take part. We believe the discussions, by focusing attention on important issues, will shed light on the total problem. Anyone wishing to discuss the issues further will be given discussion guides and other materials.

The meetings will be the first in the 1958-59 Advisory Committee of Policyholders cycle. Now seven years old, the Advisory Committee program starts at the agent level, continues with a district meeting, a regional meeting, and finally a company-wide meeting in Columbus each spring. Purpose of the meetings is to provide a way for Nationwide policyholders to pool their thinking about insurance and other matters, to their benefit and ours.

We welcome your participation—as a listener to the radio program in your own home, as a guest at your agent's meeting, or as a member of an Advisory Committee at later meetings. We know you'll find the radio program engrossing and thought-provoking. We think you'll find meeting with others to discuss a matter of mutual concern a stimulating experience. And we hope you'll make the exciting discovery that no problem is too great if people—ordinary people—will only face it together, think about it, talk about it, and act.

Sincerely,

NATIONWIDE INSURANCE

mentaries narrated by Edward R. Murrow and sponsored by Nationwide Insurance.

NEWS FROM CBS RADIO
Press Information Department,
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.
Phone: PLaza 1-2345

MR. ED MURROW
485/17

November 6, 1958

AMERICA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD FREEDOM IS SUBJECT
OF SECOND "HIDDEN REVOLUTION" BROADCAST

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas will be among the experts who will examine America's attitude toward freedom and conformity, on the second broadcast in "The Hidden Revolution" series, to be heard on CBS Radio Wednesday, Nov. 19 at 8:30-9:00 PM, EST.

Narrated by Edward R. Murrow, the program, titled "Freedom's Last Stand," will use the case of a Hutterite community in South Dakota as its focal point. The Hutterites, descendants of a Moravian sect which followed the teachings of Jacob Hutter, a 16th century Tyrolian minister, are a source of irritation among their neighbors because of their refusal to conform with local customs and ways of life. Their farming methods, by which all of their purchases and sales are handled by the community -- resulting in higher efficiency and lower cost with which their neighbors cannot compete -- have caused the South Dakota Legislature to pass a law, banning future sale of land to the Hutterites.

"Freedom's Last Stand" will examine the Hutterites' "right to be different" and their neighbors' economic plight resulting from it. The program will include interviews with South Dakota storekeepers, farmers, and the head of the Hutterite community.

(More)

The broadcast will then present a cross-section of American opinion -- by farmers, businessmen, students and professional people -- concerning this question.

This will be followed by analyses of the complex problem by experts in the field of human relations. These will include, in addition to Justice Douglas, the following:

ADOLF A. BERLE, Jr., Professor of Law at Columbia University and author of "Twentieth Century Capitalist Revolution." Mr. Berle is also Honorary Chairman of the Liberal Party of New York;

MAX LERNER, Professor of American Civilization at Columbia University and author of "America as Civilization." Mr. Lerner is also a columnist for the New York Post;

ROBERT MacIVER, Director of the Mayor's Committee on the Study of Juvenile Delinquency in New York City, and author of "Academic Freedom in Our Time";

PATRICK M. MALIN, Executive Director, Civil Liberties Union;

DR. JOOST MEERLOO, author of "The Rape of the Mind." Dr. Meerloo is an expert on thought control and "brain washing";

SAMUEL A. STOUFFER, Professor of Sociology at Harvard University and author of "Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties."

"Freedom's Last Stand" will be produced by Don Kellerman for Unit One of the Public Affairs Department of CBS News.

"The Hidden Revolution" is sponsored by Nationwide Insurance, Columbus, Ohio.

* * *

H. Rev. Kellerman, Don

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: Mr. Murrow

from: Don Kellerman

November 17, 1958

Sorry we are late with the script but last minute revisions were in order. I am enclosing a list of the tapes we are using on the show so that you can get the idea about the content. We will have them with us for the recording this afternoon.

We have added three tapes to this list. One is a montage of suburban voices discussing the illusion of freedom. Another is a tape by Patrick Malin in which he talks about the advantages of freedom on this continent. He states peace and prosperity are necessary for its maintenance. The third is a tape in which Adolph Berle talks about extending the Bill of Rights to cover other power groups besides the Federal Government.

Thank you.

Don Kellerman

Don Kellerman

DK:cs
Enc.

H Rev.

November 13, 1958

Cut 1 Tease same on open and close cues on script.

Cut 2 Song sung by Hutterite children on "Good Neighbor Policy." Beautiful German accents but lyrics are clear.

Cut 3 Hutterite leader talks about what change in communal life would mean to his people.

Cut 4 Exposition of Hutterite living. Talks about property establishment and "Insurance Policy" value of living this way.

Cut 5 Local editor explains that Hutterites have economic advantages over non-Hutterites and that Hutterites bring no community spirit to the area. They isolate themselves from their neighbors.

Cut 6 Politician talks about background of situation. Makes bitter indictment of Hutterites. Says they are a blight on the American way of life.

Cut 7 This comes in hard. Says the Hutterites "out-Americanize" the Americans. It is a paradox.

Cut 8 Appliance dealer tells how he raises the prices on Hutterites' appliances after they asked for wholesale prices. The undertone of bitter prejudice runs through the tape.

Cut 9 Open cue will be changed. It is a statement by Wurz that Christians thrive on persecution and that his people will survive. He says the law will do them more good than harm.

Cut 10 Bull session at Rutgers in which student explains the view that the Hutterites' way of life is more valuable than our own. The interchange of ideas -- and then a girl emotionally asks, "What's the meaning of the way we live. Where are we going".

Cut 11 Students discuss freedom -- general tenor of tape is negative as far as the importance of freedom to man's life.

Cut 12 Lerner explains why people shy away from freedom. He says it is a difficult thing. It means responsibility and intelligent use of one's faculties. That is why many people are willing to give it up.

Cut 13 Berle repeats his definition of freedom as a matter of intelligent choice and development of full faculties and potentials for the individual.

HER NEIGHBORS INSIST)

Cut 14 Humorous bit in which Levittown housewife explains she keeps scrubbing her floors although she has more important things to do with her time. An indirect slap at conformity.

Cut 15 Lerner explains the origins of conformity and tells us we are products of the period during which we are brought up by our families.

Cut 16 A teacher says her role is limited by mores of the community that hires her. She explains that that is the way things should be. Another man in the group says that if he were a student he would want a teacher that went "out of bounds" sometimes.

Cut 17 Justice Douglas says that the real teacher should be a spark for ideas and progress, etc.

Cut 18 Is a montage of a farmer, a business man and an artist. They tell us how the Hidden Revolution has affected and limited their own freedom. The point is not negative but rather one of the acceptance of the inevitable.

Cut 19 A series of one liners -- some humorous -- some groping of the opinions ordinary people hold about freedom. The closing one is a tape in which Peter Finnegan says that a married man surely loses his freedom. The ring on his finger is actually a ring through his nose -- earthy, humorous voice.

Cut 20 Is an assessment of Justice Douglas of the future for American freedom. He says we have to fight for it.

Kellerman, Don

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: Mr. Murrow

from: Don Kellerman

This is the script for the Hidden Revolution broadcast due for recording on Monday afternoon. Hope it is satisfactory. If there are any questions or changes you have in mind, please contact me.

Thank you.

D.K.

The Press and the People

A SERIES OF TELEVISION PROGRAMS
PRODUCED BY WGBH-TV, BOSTON, MASS.
WITH A GRANT FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

8 & 9

The Responsibilities of Television

EDWARD R. MURROW

LOUIS LYONS, Moderator

In Two Parts

This is part of a series of television programs produced by Station WGBH-TV in Boston, Mass., under a grant from the Fund for the Republic. The series is being carried currently by forty television stations in the United States. Moderated by Louis M. Lyons, Curator of the Nieman Fellowships at Harvard, the programs are designed to bring television audiences informed discussion of the problems and performance of the American press in reporting the leading questions of the day. The series is directed by Loyd Brydon and produced by Joseph P. Lyford.

The Fund for the Republic is supporting the series as a part of the study of the mass media by its Consultants on the Basic Issues, whose work is directed at clarifying fundamental questions of freedom and justice as they are affected by our highly developed industrial society. Eric F. Goldman is the Consultant Specially Responsible for the study of the mass media.

These transcripts have been edited. Single copies are available free from the Fund for the Republic; additional copies 10 cents each.

The Fund for the Republic
60 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

VOICE: Today and every day the American people must make decisions on which their whole survival may depend. To make sound decisions the people must be informed. For this they depend on the nation's free press. How well is the nation's press doing its essential job? The people have a right to know the truth. They have a responsibility to ask.

ECHO: The right to question.

VOICE: The Press and the People.

As Moderator, from Harvard University, the winner of the Peabody Award for television and radio journalism and the Lauterbach Award for outstanding contributions in the field of civil liberties, Mr. Louis Lyons.

LYONS: Our guest is America's foremost television journalist.

VOICE: No reporter has penetrated more deeply into the forces that move our world or has had a greater personal impact upon our people than Edward R. Murrow of the Columbia Broadcasting System. Mr. Murrow says this about television today, and I quote: "Surely we shall pay for using this most powerful instrument of communications to insulate the citizenry from the hard and demanding realities which must be faced if we are to survive."

LYONS: Mr. Murrow's "See It Now" programs, which ranged searchingly over the great issues of our time, are television's documentary classics. And his recent treatment of the school desegregation crisis in Virginia was perhaps the best of nationally televised programs to attack the highly explosive issue of integration.

Mr. Murrow, in dealing with news and in your documentary programs, you have certainly dealt with the burning realities, and yet you say that television tends to insulate us from the grim facts of our times. Won't you explain this?

MURROW: May I say, first of all, that I would be much more comfortable on your side of the desk asking the questions, than here attempting to answer them. I am grateful for such a gracious and generous introduction. And perhaps you would let me say at the outset that I appear in this academic atmosphere voluntarily, but in no sense as a representative of CBS, merely as an employee.

LYONS: We take you on any terms. We appreciate it.

MURROW: You are quite right in saying that I have been most fortunate in having an opportunity to do documentaries. The quotation that was used a moment ago was from a little speech I made to a professional group in Chicago. I'm not going to bore you by attempting to recapitulate it. But what I was saying, I think, was that I believe this country is in grave and perhaps mortal danger, and that to a large extent during the hours between 8 and 11 in the evening the television audience is being fed a diet that tends to cause it to be indifferent, that tends to insulate it from the realities of the world in which it lives.

I do not believe that this can be solved merely by the networks nor merely by the sponsors. I have nothing against westerns or quiz shows. I merely was contending that the program structure is in some degree in imbalance, and that during peak listening times there should be more attention to serious subjects. The piece we did on Norfolk, I am happy to report, went on in peak evening time.

LYONS: We were all impressed with what you said

in Chicago, Mr. Murrow, and we want to inquire as to how inevitable this lack is that you feel and that certainly concerns us all. What would you say are some of the serious omissions in television coverage of the great facts of our time?

MURROW: I would say at the outset that most of the meaningful programming is done in what has come to be called the intellectual ghetto on Sunday afternoons. This is a time when many people find it inconvenient to view television.

LYONS: When the football game is on.

MURROW: True. And when the children are at home. In addition to that, there is very little done in the area of searching examinations of our foreign policy, very little in the way of a critical examination of the state of education in this country. In short, very little is done to use television as a mirror to hold behind the events of the day. So far as I am concerned, it doesn't matter to me in the least whether what is reflected is a picture of bigotry, of intolerance, of indifference, or of great, high achievement. The important thing is that the mirror should be there.

LYONS: I understand. Certainly millions of Americans have been disappointed that your great "See It Now" series is no longer on television. Is it because it is just too costly that this kind of show can't be continued?

MURROW: I'm not sure I can give you an answer as to why it was removed. I do not believe it was primarily financial. The program that in a sense has replaced it, "Small World," is almost as expensive as "See It Now."

LYONS: I suppose you could even have kept the same title. We certainly are seeing some things very immediately on that. People must remember your extraordinary interview with Dr. Oppenheimer and that program on atomic energy, which included the interview with Admiral Rickover. Now, without knowing anything about this, except as a kibitzer, I assume it takes enormous preparation, a great

staff of technicians, great costs. Would you tell us a little about what it means to put on such programs?

MURROW: It takes not only preparation and cost, but I think also a degree of flexibility. You mentioned the interview with Professor Oppenheimer. I went down to the Institute for Advanced Study with my colleagues, determined to do the impossible, namely, a television program on the Institute, as such. We shot a fair amount of film, and as you know down there every time you open a door you encounter a Nobel Prize winner. Most of them I was unable to understand and I was becoming very discouraged when I went in and sat down with Professor Oppenheimer, with no advance warning, no submission of questions in advance. We sat and talked, came back and developed the film, and decided that there we had it, rather than attempting to do a program on the entire Institute.

You mentioned the program on peacetime uses of atomic energy. There we learned a lesson, because, in our ignorance and inexperience, we thought we would really use this television medium. So we shot—I think it was—2800 coal cars in a single switching yard, and then we shot a film of a simulated block of enriched uranium alongside a typewriter, to give the comparative size. This uranium was the equivalent in fission power of the power of the 2800 coal cars. And we thought, "Now, this will really demonstrate it."

Immediately afterwards we did a ten-minute interview with Admiral Hyman Rickover. And as nearly as we could discover, no one really saw our coal cars or our little block of simulated uranium. Admiral Rickover, yes, they remembered, for the simple reason that here was a man who (1) knew what he was talking about, (2) had a fire in his belly about it, and (3) was able to communicate. I think one thing at least we have learned out of television, and that is that there is no substitute for a good picture of a man talking with conviction and with knowledge of his subject.

LYONS: You certainly have learned how to dramatize and personalize great issues to us as in the case of the Oppenheimer and Rickover interviews.

MURROW: I hope we are learning.

LYONS: Your special report on Africa was another great picture that I am sure is remembered. This dealt, among other things, with the aspirations of the Negroes and the way they are treated in Africa. I wondered to what extent that encountered any ban in the South here.

MURROW: None. We had a similar experience about two years ago. We did a piece on Clinton, Tennessee. We ran it on a closed circuit four or five days before the program was to be presented on the network. Not a single Southern station refused to carry the program and, in fact, two Southern stations that had not ordered it saw it on the closed circuit and decided to carry it voluntarily and for no fee.

LYONS: Just the other day, January 21, you did a program on "The Lost Class of 1959," that is, on the closed schools of Norfolk, Virginia. It's pretty soon to have got complete reaction, but what sort of reaction in the South particularly?

MURROW: It's a little early to tell what the reaction was in the South, but as an old and experienced and much wiser journalist than I am, you would agree, Mr. Lyons, I think, that the real test of a program or a piece in print is whether the people involved, those who live there, believe it to have been a fair account, not distorted. I am told that both newspapers in Norfolk regarded that program as being just that, and that many of the participants were quoted as saying that we gave both sides of the question, which was our purpose.

LYONS: In this same week you did an extraordinary program, "The Business of Sex," tackling a subject which is not much tackled in the press, to say nothing of the more intimate mediums of radio and television. I noticed that the critics dealt admiringly with your success in treating it. I noticed also the police in New York seemed to think you ought to join the police force and follow it up. What kind of reaction did you get from that?

MURROW: Not a massive reaction from that one,

which was a radio program. As you know, in the newspaper world frequently when you deal with sex you say it is a sociological study. Well, we rather regarded this as a sociological study. And I was somewhat surprised, I must confess, when the police regarded it as a matter for sustained examination and possible criminal action. I think I would be safe in saying that we did not reveal anything in that program that was not already known to the police force of New York.

LYONS: You speak of sociology. I remember when Adolph Ochs was alive, as the great publisher of *The New York Times,* he was once chided for the extent to which the *Times* covered a sex trial. And Mr. Ochs said, "Oh, but you don't understand. In the *Times* it is sociology." It does make a difference how such a subject is tackled. It also raises the question of the extent to which our tastes and modes are changing. When James Reston was on this program a little while ago, we were talking about the problem of covering government and politics in Washington. He said the pace of our own history is moving so fast that this has become one of the chief problems of reporting. You must encounter that.

MURROW: I would agree with that. But there is an attendant problem which concerns me. I have no competence in the field of print, but it concerns me in regard to television. The problem is not so much rushing to keep up with current events but rather the necessity of trying to convey to the viewer something of the heritage, the ethics, the history of this pluralistic society of ours. One thing that is terribly missing is reminders to the viewer of what made this country what it is, that it is not an economic plot, that there were people and principles and arguments. To a frightening extent we are not informing people of our heritage and our background, our roots. I am sure that in times of crisis, without exception, every nation in history has gone back to its folklore, to its history, to its mythology. Even the Russians did it in the last war in the darkest days. They forgot about orthodox Marxist doctrine, and they went back to Suverov and all of their old-time heroes. If the times are as desperate as they appear to be, we in this country with television

ought to try not only to report current events but to tell people how we got here, who did it, what the issues were.

LYONS: You are demanding then that the people who do this, the reporters and the television journalists, should know their history, and you spoke of sociology too. These have got to be informed people with what it takes to move in in depth.

MURROW: Yes, I think it is important that people should know and recognize and be able to assess and evaluate a Governor Faubus or a Governor Almond. I think it is also important that they know about Thomas Jefferson and Tom Paine.

LYONS: For perspective.

MURROW: Yes, sir. And for pride. I spent most of the war in Britain and I am quite sure that in the darkest days there a certain sense of support and sustenance came to those people, not just from Churchill, but from Frobisher and Drake and Raleigh and Hawkins and all of the other pirates in British history. Television in this area is a limited medium, but I do think that it can arouse curiosity and stimulate interest so that the viewer, when he encounters a book or a magazine article or something, will be stimulated to read and inform himself.

LYONS: These programs of yours must have involved great cost. To what extent is cost a limitation on what television can do?

MURROW: I can speak only from my own experience. I have never been refused permission to do a program simply because it was expensive. And some that I have done have been exceedingly expensive, and some of them exceedingly unsuccessful. An hour's program of a documentary nature will come into the studio at roughly $150,000. That is just for the program and does not include the air time. One of the difficulties involved is that if you put that program on in sustaining time, a substantial number of stations will refuse to carry it. They will sell the time locally for a rerun of a dramatic show or a western, or something like that.

This is why I attempted to suggest that there should be a degree of cooperation between sponsors and the network, with the network paying the cost of producing the program, the sponsor paying the air time, and occasionally—I don't want to turn these networks into educational networks or into long-hair operations—but just occasionally at peak listening time there should be presented programs of an informative nature. I think it would be good business for the corporations, because I do not believe that most corporate heads want the so-called corporate image to consist of talking horses and dancing cigarettes and so forth.

LYONS: I imagine a certain number of our viewers saw Jack Gould's criticism of your speech in *The New York Times*. In effect, he felt that it was up to the networks to do this rather than the sponsors. What would you say to that?

MURROW: The primary responsibility rests on the network, but, as I mentioned a moment ago, there is (1) the matter of circulation and (2) the matter of presentation in peak time. If this job is to be adequately done, financially and in terms of network structure, it can best be done on a cooperative basis. I can quote Mr. Churchill, who once said, "Not even I have always been right," but this was the best suggestion I could think of.

LYONS: You ask that we reach into issues deeply. This suggests that some of them may be controversial issues. We keep hearing that sponsors of television worry about controversial issues. Is that a serious matter?

MURROW: I think they do. I have personally been very fortunate in that respect, but I think there is a tendency on the part of corporations to say, "Let's be safe, let's not offend any segment of the society." It is entirely appropriate that corporations should refrain from editorializing. That, I think, we would both agree upon.

LYONS: You aren't saying that the networks should do no editorializing?

MURROW: No, sir, I am not. Quite the contrary.

LYONS: But you would say that the sponsored programs should not editorialize?

MURROW: Yes, sir, I would. And obviously, if this cooperative venture should be worked out, the control of program content should be in the hands of the network rather than in the hands of the sponsor, because that is where both the legal and the moral responsibilities rest.

LYONS: To get back to the sponsor for a moment, we also hear it said very generally that the sponsor feels there is more public interest in who-dun-its and westerns than in news and information. How do you feel about his appraisal of the public interest here? Does he underrate it?

MURROW: I think he does. I regret talking about my own programs so much, but they are the only ones with which I am familiar. I believe that, when the figures are in, it will be demonstrated that the program we did on the school situation in Norfolk had as large an audience, perhaps slightly larger, than the two half-hour programs it replaced. I am entirely persuaded that there is an audience for more serious and informative programs, provided they be well done with some attention to showmanship and proper dramatic presentation.

LYONS: Networks seem to get criticism for any omission in dealing with great public events, but I'm sure that very often they provide programs that the local stations don't use. You may be surprised to know that on two of your programs of greatest interest to us, when President Pusey was the new president of Harvard and you interviewed him, and then when Robert Frost, who lives in Cambridge, was interviewed by you, we read about these programs in the New York papers. We could not see them in Boston. How much of that kind of experience do you have?

MURROW: A fair amount. I don't know how widespread it is, but certainly it is true that frequently programs of valuable content, produced and fi-

nanced by the network, are not carried by local stations, because they can sell that time to their own profit.

LYONS: Many times on this program the corps of CBS foreign correspondents has been mentioned with admiration, and yet they come through to us, you know, a snatch from Schoenbrun in Paris, or two minutes or a minute from Kendrick in London. Is it conceivable that we might get them periodically, a half-hour review from Berlin one time, from Moscow another time? Is that beyond the economics of the business?

MURROW: I'm not sure it is. As you know from experience, every foreign correspondent, whether he is working for print, radio, or television, is always frustrated. He always wants exposure and an opportunity to tell his story.

LYONS: And yet your men do a terrific job. It must be a highly developed art to condense so much into these two-and-a-half minutes, really a crystallization.

MURROW: Yes, I think they do.

LYONS: The only thing is, could we get more?

MURROW: I think I will have to refer that question to the management of CBS. I have no control over that.

LYONS: You have said that a five-minute news program just isn't a real news program.

MURROW: I certainly have.

LYONS: The problem here is time and the cost of time, I suppose.

MURROW: It's only partly that.

LYONS: You certainly have the talent.

MURROW: We have. We have. It is not being utilized as well as it might be.

LYONS: What about radio, Mr. Murrow? I think of radio as something which doesn't cost much, and there's more time and more leisurely discussion. Has radio been overwhelmed by the more dramatic television medium? What's the chance that in radio we may get more of this?

MURROW: I would think rather good. I would hope that radio would seize the opportunity to do what it does best, and that is not only to tell what happened and where it happened and why, but something of the consequences that might be expected to flow from a given set of events. For example, due to the limitations of the instrument, if Konrad Adenauer arrives at Idlewild, he is going to get twenty-five seconds on television. He will come down the ramp and say, "I hope for fruitful discussions in Washington," and so forth. This is the time for radio to take itself a good fifteen-minute period and do a profile of this man, some of his political problems, and some of the importance of the position that Germany occupies in the heartland of Europe. This is the sort of thing that radio can do that television cannot, partly because it hasn't the pictures and partly because the time is too expensive.

LYONS: Won't you say a little more about the things radio could do that television can't, that radio has time for, that you would like to see done on radio?

MURROW: Well, radio to me, so far as news is concerned—and this is perhaps heresy—is a more satisfying instrument than television. The reason is that I would contend that most news consists of ideas in one form or another. I find it very difficult to translate ideas into words for radio, and frequently impossible to translate them into pictures for television.

There is an enormous job to be done by radio in reporting this country to itself. I think the absence of regionalism in this country is deplorable. I think the fact that most people talk with the same accent, wear the same kind of clothes, tell the same story from one end of the country to the other, is deplorable and is diminishing the sum total of our strength.

I would like to see radio dealing more with ideas than it does now, less with the five-minute capsuled headlines, more with biography, more with verbal profiles, obviously much more foreign reporting in depth. I would like to see it also deal more with the image of the United States as viewed from abroad. It would be good programming, because we are all curious, we all want to know what our neighbor across the fence or across the street thinks of us. It would get an audience and might jar us out of some of our complacency and self-satisfaction and our belief that we can do anything better than anybody else can.

LYONS: We have been talking about the limitations of commercial broadcasting. But what about educational television? It hasn't any sponsors to get in the way. It hasn't any revenue from these non-existent sponsors either. How effective do you feel educational television is?

MURROW: I don't want to try to hide, but I haven't seen enough educational television to be able to make an informed comment. I would guess one thing, which I think has pretty well been demonstrated, and that is that great teachers are rare, but when you find a great teacher, he is likely to be able to teach by television as well as in the classroom. But again this is an uninformed comment. I haven't done my home work or research on that.

LYONS: We mentioned the problem of editorials on the air. Now, in the newspaper there is a separate editorial page. People know where it is and the newspaper makes a rule of separating news from comment. On the air your format doesn't allow you this physical separation; you don't put a column rule between. To what extent is that a limitation on comment on the air?

MURROW: I think we would both deplore the editorializing with adjectives. I believe that editorializing on radio or television should be obviously unsponsored, should be clearly labelled. This is not too difficult to do. I mean, one can ring bells or flash lights and make it quite clear that this is the end of ascertainable facts and now comes an edi-

torial comment. The responsibility for the editorial must obviously rest on the network or the local station. It should not be assigned to an individual, no matter what the capabilities or experience of that individual might be. I believe that it would stimulate more serious consideration of national issues. It would make the broadcasters themselves more responsible and more concerned. The fact that there is no tradition of editorializing in radio and television seems to me no reason why it should not be attempted.

LYONS: Thank you, Mr. Murrow. The problem that deeply concerns Mr. Murrow is that ways be found to get information through to us on the vital issues that, as citizens, we must meet and deal with. He has described this problem to us. He has also challenged the broadcasting industry and its sponsors —and that means the businesses of America—to see that enough time is provided for news and discussion of those things which it is essential that we understand. It will be interesting to see what the answer to Mr. Murrow's challenge will be.

* * *

VOICE: The following program is an extension of last week's interview between Louis Lyons and Edward R. Murrow on the program The Press and the People.

LYONS: Mr. Murrow, if we consider broadcasting and the press together, to what extent do you feel that they are just competing, or to what extent do they supplement each other? That is, in thinking about their different limitations, are there some things one does better than the other?

MURROW: As you know, we recently had a newspaper strike in New York, and anyone who doubted the importance and necessity of newspapers certainly had his answer there. I believe that the mediums are basically not competitive. I think they are supplementary. There are some things that radio and television can do better, more effectively, than print, and the other side of the coin is also true.

LYONS: I'm in the habit of hearing newspaper editors say, "Well, television has come in now and they are faster; they can beat us to the spot news. So we must do the interpretive, the background, the reporting in depth." But that is the very thing for which you yourself are famous on television.

MURROW: We both remember the days when it was said by uninformed people that radio news would destroy newspapers. The people who now say that television news will destroy radio are equally wrong.

LYONS: I'm sure lots of editors will be glad to hear you say that.

MURROW: I would like to see more reporting in depth on radio. But I find that when I work on a story myself, and try to do it in depth, the first thing I do the next morning is to grab a handful of newspapers and read on the same subject. I think this is true with sports, that people who go to a sporting event want to read about it the next day to find out what the expert's view was. The competition comes in the area of the advertising dollar. I would guess that a certain amount of the criticism—not specifically by professional critics of radio and television but in a number of feature articles that have appeared in various publications recently—has as its basis this competition for the advertising dollar.

LYONS: That's an argument, then, for an expanding economy so there'll be dollars enough to go round. I think of Mikoyan's talk before the National Press Club the other day. This had an hour on television, which is certainly all you can ask for television, a full hour. In full text in *The New York Times* it was less than a page, one of about sixty pages. The proportion between this tremendous amount of time on television and a relatively small part of a total newspaper suggests one of the limitations.

MURROW: That is quite true, because radio and television have no second pages, no turnovers. They have a front page and nothing else. Whatever is there for that fifteen minutes or that hour is their front page, and there is no alternative.

LYONS: I suppose, as you cover the news, you really think of yourself as limited to the Page 1 stories. I know I pick up *The New York Times* every morning, not so much in the first instance to find out what the news is as to find out what they had that I didn't have in my broadcast at 6:30 the previous night, and whether they put the day in perspective. There isn't much.

MURROW: Yes, that's true. I find that each morning I look at *The New York Times* to see whether the night before I chose the same lead for the 7:45 radio piece that the *Times* chose. You were speaking of Mikoyan. This raises a very interesting question. It seems to me one of the most interesting things he said was that he was convinced that the American people wanted peace above everything else. I would rather interrogate him on that subject than any other, because if this is the message he carries back to Moscow it could be the basis of a major miscalculation. He could have concluded that we in this country have become so soft, so indifferent, that we will pay any price for peace. If that is his interpretation of the phrase, it could be disastrous.

LYONS: Many remember an interview with Khrushchev, which revealed a part of the difference between the newspapers and television—a difference in the standards applied by the public and, I gather, by the government. You remember the criticism that was made quite generally of that interview with Khrushchev. It was a great scoop on television. But even the President in a press conference was critical of it. Yet when Reston had an interview with Khrushchev in *The New York Times,* it was assumed that it was a great scoop and there was no criticism. Do you feel that this difference in attitude toward the mediums is because television is perhaps a more intimate medium and gets into the living room? Or is there some other reason?

MURROW: Perhaps more intimate and also more powerful. I felt that the criticism of the Khrushchev interview was entirely unwarranted. I say that not because it was done on CBS, but because any time you can get microphones and cameras to interview the devil, it should be done.

LYONS: To what extent do you think that things have moved along since then? That was a break-through. The first time anything happens, it sort of surprises people. Mikoyan was interviewed on "Meet the Press" and before the National Press Club. Do you feel we have moved beyond the time when people would be critical of interviewing the head of a Communist government?

MURROW: Yes. I think very considerable progress has been made in that area.

LYONS: We were mentioning the problem of editorials on television, and I'm concerned a little with the limitations of format. People are certainly familiar with your evening broadcast on radio. You run over the news and then you do a powerful editorial piece at the end. I think anybody who becomes familiar with the Murrow program knows that that piece at the end is his editorial. That's one way to separate it from the news. I'm sure there are other ways. Is it as easy as it is in a newspaper to let the listener know when it is editorial and when it is news? How much of a risk do you feel there is in a broadcast of mixing up the reporting and the commenting too much?

MURROW: I think there is a real danger. But I think there is also a danger that we may get involved in semantics here. Let's try it anyway. I do not regard the last five or six minutes that I do on radio as an editorial, and that requires a little explaining. I do not advocate action; I do not urge a policy. What I attempt to do is to set out a group of developments or circumstances and then to suggest what consequences may flow from them. I say this because I think it is very important that the listener should be exposed to the same conditions, the same set of facts, so that if he reaches a different conclusion from the one that I reach I have at least, prior to that, given him the information. Perhaps I have said more than I know. I frequently do. I think we all do. But I do not regard this as an editorial in the sense of urging or advocating action.

LYONS: That is very interesting, although I think I'd be inclined to argue that very often the most effec-

tive editorial is a complete analysis, adding up to an interpretation of the facts, and very often it leads to a point where the conclusion is pretty obvious.

MURROW: This is the most difficult to do, because I am certainly aware that through the accident of position and sponsorship I occupy a monopolized opportunity five nights a week, and I must not abuse this monopolized opportunity by advocating my own prejudices or juggling my own prejudices in an effort to advocate a given line of policy. I have never known—and I don't think you have—a completely objective reporter. There isn't any such thing.

LYONS: You mean where there is any trace of mind, there's going to be some point of view? And you wouldn't want to eliminate it.

MURROW: No. We're all a prisoner of our own reading, our own experience, our own conversations, our own travel, everything else. We can't help it. No one can eliminate his prejudice. The only thing he can hope to do is to recognize it and try to beware.

LYONS: And to discipline it. Wouldn't you agree that the really essential discipline of journalism is that the reporter shall be faithful to the facts and shall deal factually with the subject, but that this doesn't eliminate his putting in his judgment, his point of view, which, I would say, is inescapable.

MURROW: That is certainly true. I know in my own case, having spent ten years in England and having acquired a reputation of being pro-British, when I write a story about England, I try to be unusually careful about my facts, because I know that the prejudice is there. I can't do anything about it.

LYONS: As to news on television—that is, other than radio, the visual news—to what extent is it apt to be limited to what can be visualized? To what extent is the accessibility of the picture the determining factor in television news? I imagine it is pretty hard to get a picture of an idea, and I often wonder how much is left out of a television news presentation,

which the broadcaster would love to put in if he could find a picture to justify it.

MURROW: That is the sort of question that would only come from an old pro like you. I should preface this by saying that I have never worked on a daily television news show, so what I am about to say applies only to weekly or monthly programs, mostly of a documentary nature. There is no doubt that editorial judgment is twisted or warped by the availability of pictures and animation support. If you've got good pictures or animation for a second- or third-rate story, there is a terrible temptation to play it on top.

LYONS: Of course you can always get a picture of the President or of Mr. Dulles making a statement. These are the ideas which are pictures, but except for that it is a little hard to get it.

MURROW: My own disposition always is that if we haven't the pictures—this was true when we were working on a weekly basis—you just sit there and say it, and say it as simply as you can. You try to prevent the pictures you do have from twisting your judgment as to what is important. It is the same problem that would confront the boys in Mr. Luce's empire, if they were trying to edit *Time* and *Life* in the same book. It would be very difficult.

LYONS: When a correspondent voices critical opinions, editorial or whatever, to what extent may he be restrained because of the equal-time consideration, the feeling that if he isn't awfully careful he may involve his network in having to give away fifteen minutes to somebody sometime in order to answer him? Does that get in his way?

MURROW: I don't think that's a serious consideration. I think the equal-time provision operates in a different and rather more limiting fashion. For example, in the last campaign in New York State, I wanted to have Averell Harriman and Nelson Rockefeller on the same program. I couldn't do it, because there were either two or three additional candidates in the field and no one knew who they were. Had I done those two, I would have had to do

the other three. This is where the limitation of equal-time is very onerous.

LYONS: We hear a lot from England about their broadcasting, which until recently was not commercial and which is still partly public, at least. We hear a good deal about their Third Program as a quality program, just as we hear in England the difference between the quality press and the popular press, a conception we at least don't admit and recognize here. As you look at it, how much of a bulge do they have on us in the quality of their television, the standard or the level they pitch to?

MURROW: I shouldn't think there is very much difference in the level of excellence or lack of it in commercial television in England and here. A great many of the top-rated programs in this country are also the top-rated programs on commercial television in England. But I think there is a very interesting point here. I would suggest that in most countries radio and television operations are an accurate reflection of the political, social, and economic climate in which they grew, and that if you compared, for example, the BBC in England and commercial broadcasting here, you would end up with a comparison between Britain and the United States—the BBC being factual, rather pedantic, cautious, somewhat paternalistic; the American system being highly competitive, commercial, experimental, willing to try almost anything. If you really made a detailed comparison of the two systems, you would end up with a comparison of the two cultures.

LYONS: A newspaper reporter doesn't need anything but a pencil, and sometimes he can get along without that, if his memory is good. He can get into all kinds of places. A television reporter has a lot of gear and a lot of accessory companions, and so on, which must be a physical limitation in all the preparation it takes. To what extent does this physical limitation—plus the attitude toward the more intimate exposure of the camera—reduce the range that television can report on? Is it a serious limitation in covering public affairs?

MURROW: There are artificial limitations on televi-

sion and radio reporting—certain Congressional committees, both Houses of Congress, the courts. I think they are artificial, and I think that as the gear becomes less bulky and the lights less blinding gradually the cameras will be permitted into areas from which they are now barred. I hope that will be the case. As for televising court proceedings, I rather favor the suggestion that this is a matter that should be left up to the Judge in each case.

LYONS: Do you remember Joe Welch once saying about this that when the public in general, including witnesses, had become as conditioned to television cameras and lights as they were to newspapers and the reporter's pencil then, yes, television in courts. Until then it really was an additional ordeal on the witness and an additional tenseness. Do you see anything in that?

MURROW: Yes, I do, and I think it tends also to a certain extent to make actors out of participants. The Australians for a long while broadcast their proceedings in Parliament, and they had great difficulty because parliamentarians, being intelligent and able to read a clock and a schedule, were always scrambling to make their speech in Parliament at the peak listening period, which tended to distort the proceedings in the ears of the listeners.

LYONS: As to the kind of pressures that anybody in such a medium becomes aware of, we all think of certain business interests, we think of special-interest groups, labor groups, religious groups, and we think of general prejudice, not only such a regional prejudice as the South might now feel, but in other areas on other matters—how much does this hem you in?

MURROW: Much less than the average layman believes. Again I can speak only of my own experience. When you lose a sponsor, you can never be quite sure why you lost him. Just as frequently—or inevitably—you can't tell why he bought you in the first place. But, in my own experience, the pressure of people saying, "Don't do that, don't do this," or, after the event, saying, "You shouldn't have done that," just doesn't happen.

LYONS: I was thinking not so much about whether you actually lose a sponsor or the sponsor loses business but about how limiting a factor the consciousness of these pressures might be—pressures that tend to make sponsors timid and to make broadcasters or their employers cautious. I assume it must bear more heavily on a great network with its vast audience than on an individual newspaper which depends really pretty largely on the outlook and courage of an individual publisher.

MURROW: I would think that you are right, that the individual publisher or editor has more freedom of maneuver, fewer taboos. In radio and television the timidity, I think, is exaggerated, and what there is of it is to a large extent unwarranted.

LYONS: It is a relief to hear you say so.

MURROW: I really believe that.

LYONS: Let me speak of something else, and that is taste and standards of taste, which certainly are not unaffected by the terrific impact of these great media. I remember when my dear old friend, Professor Ernest Hocking, did a little book on the press, which he called *Framework of Principles,* his chief accusation against the press—and this was over the long haul—was their debasement of standards of taste. Pretty harsh, you know. Now, since he wrote that, this great new medium of television has had its far greater impact. I'm not going to accuse anybody of anything, but just ask you to what extent you feel such a medium has a responsibility as to taste, and whether if the critics say the appeal is to the lowest common denominator there is any responsibility in television to try gradually to lift it up. I'm sure you've thought about this, whether other people in the business end of television have or not.

MURROW: That the responsibility exists, no one can deny. I would think that any mass instrument of communication can accelerate or retard public opinion or taste, although it cannot reverse it. I would think further that if it be true that the broadcasting of Philharmonic concerts has in fact raised

the general level of music appreciation, it is equally true that the persistent broadcasting of material of a low intellectual order can depress the taste. In this area it is a matter, perhaps, of appreciating the old British phrase about the inevitability of gradualness —that gradually tastes may be improved because it will come to be demonstrated that it is profitable and that there is a larger audience in the upper levels than is generally believed. That's badly put, but—

LYONS: Not badly put at all, very graphically put. It's an old cliché of journalism that there is more interest in people than things; that is, the human-interest story. You seem to reach for personalizing and dramatizing news in your "See It Now" and "Person-to-Person" programs. You must be inherently conscious of the importance of the human drama, and I often suspect that you see more in it than that, that you see it as a way to reach into something. Would you say a little about the way you pattern these things?

MURROW: I see much more than that. In the first place, we never work with a script; we don't write a line of copy. We go and shoot the film, and we shoot it generally a thousand feet for every hundred that ends up on the air.

LYONS: I wish we could do that in educational TV.

MURROW: Yes, this is a luxury, I agree. We are always looking for the individual who is believable, not necessarily intelligent. We did a piece once during a flood in Missouri, at 4 o'clock in the morning. I shot some film with a little man who worked in an insurance office during the day. He had been there for thirty-two hours, controlling traffic across the river, and the bridge was thrumming underneath, just at crest time, the flood. I asked him why he had been there so long. I will not even attempt to paraphrase his answer, but in substance it was that he and his family and his grandparents had fought that river and this was something that had to be done.

I came back to New York and a friend of mine said, "Who is the writer on that program? Who

wrote the copy for that man on the bridge?" And I said, "I know a number of people who can write moderately well. I know no one who can write that kind of copy." It just has to come from the middle, and, when it does, the viewer understands it, appreciates it, and believes it, I think.

LYONS: Yes. And this must also be the inspiration, the fun of this kind of business. You go out into the field after these things yourself. You're a reporter. You spoke of—I think you called it—the luck of running into Oppenheimer.

MURROW: Yes.

LYONS: We say in sports that the team gets the breaks that's making the breaks. And we used to say in the newspaper office that you don't get scoops sitting at your desk. You must feel quite strongly that this kind of enterprise, as we call it in journalism, is a key part of doing the job—being in the field and seeing the things.

MURROW: Oh, yes. I have the sort of peasant's mind that really can't grasp a thing unless I go and look at it, however superficially. And I think particularly in television, in addition to getting the people, you can frequently get them in a setting that is very eloquent. While I was ad-libbing so badly, I was trying to think of an example of that. We did a piece in Louisiana, and the only thing we saw was the hand of a colored man making letters in a very painful fashion, and his voice said, "I want to learn to write so that I can form pretty letters and write to my children." In terms of the necessity for more teaching of literacy in this country, this was to me at least very eloquent.

LYONS: It was a surprise to me, as ignorant a kibitzer as I am about your profession, that you say you actually go out into the field without knowing what it's going to be.

MURROW: Oh, yes.

LYONS: And this involves taking all the gear and the apparatus and the equipment and the expense and

the commitment and the stake. It takes a good deal of confidence to be able to keep one's mind open to that point where you'll take it as it comes.

MURROW: It also takes a degree of luck.

LYONS: I don't know, but I suggest you are making your luck.

MURROW: We did a piece on Marian Anderson in a trip through Southeast Asia, an hour's program. When we started on it, the camera crew and the reporter said, "Look, all we're going to get out of this is an opera singer traveling through Asia singing songs. This doesn't make a program." It so happened that she also did some talking. She was interviewed about segregation in this country. She sang at Gandhi's memorial. And so on. It turned out to be one of the best things to which we have ever put our hand. And it just happened.

LYONS: Mr. Murrow, if you were going to take, say, a couple of months off, and could go out and explore the story that you really most wanted to do, are there one or two things you've got in the top of your mind you'd most like to get into?

MURROW: Oh, in two minutes I couldn't begin to list half of them.

LYONS: We'll settle for half.

MURROW: I would like to do an hour-long piece on Canada, because I think it is an important and relatively unknown country. I would like to do a whole series of pieces around the world as to the image of the United States from outside, how we look to other people. I would like to do a lot of reporting of this country to itself. As we both know, the lines of communication are broken down in the South between the white and the colored people. To a certain extent they're broken down throughout the country. We are so concerned about what the Russians are doing that we are not paying enough attention to what we ourselves are doing and are capable of doing. This is a big place.

LYONS: Thank you, Mr. Murrow. We have heard one of our wisest journalists telling us that we need to be informed. That's essentially what he's telling us. He's telling us we need to be informed about what is going on in our world, the great issues of our times, and also to be informed about ourselves. Mr. Murrow's concern is with communication, and that's one he can share with all of us, for communication is sharing. It is not a one-way street. We all participate in it, either negatively, if we shrug it off, or positively, if we respond. It's a problem for all of us whether our channels of communication are to be kept open and made as broad and deep as possible, for on this depends the kind of images we get in our heads, all our heads.

The Fund for the Republic

Board of Directors

Honorary Chairman:
PAUL G. HOFFMAN
Pasadena, Calif.

Chairman: ELMO ROPER
Elmo Roper & Associates
New York, N. Y.

Vice-Chairman:
GEORGE N. SHUSTER
President, Hunter College
New York, N. Y.

HARRY S. ASHMORE
Executive Editor, Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Ark.

BRUCE CATTON
Editor, American Heritage
New York, N. Y.

CHARLES W. COLE
President, Amherst College
Amherst, Mass.

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG
Attorney, Washington, D. C.

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, II
New York, N. Y.

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
President
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

WILLIAM H. JOYCE, JR.
Santa Barbara, Calif.

MEYER KESTNBAUM
President, Hart Schaffner & Marx
Chicago, Illinois

MSGR. FRANCIS J. LALLY
Editor, The Pilot
Boston, Mass.

HERBERT H. LEHMAN
New York, N. Y.

M. ALBERT LINTON
Director
Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co.
Philadelphia, Pa.

J. HOWARD MARSHALL
Vice-President, Signal Oil & Gas Co.
Fort Worth, Texas

JUBAL R. PARTEN
President, Woodley Petroleum Co.
Houston, Texas

ALICIA PATTERSON
Editor and Publisher, Newsday
Garden City, L. I.

ELEANOR B. STEVENSON
Oberlin, Ohio

HENRY PITNEY VAN DUSEN
President, Union Theological Seminary
New York, N. Y.

Consultants on the Basic Issues

A. A. BERLE, JR.
Attorney, author,
former Assistant Secretary of State

SCOTT BUCHANAN
Philosopher, author,
former Dean of St. John's College

EUGENE BURDICK
Political scientist,
University of California; novelist

ERIC F. GOLDMAN
Professor of history, Princeton;
Bancroft Prize winner

CLARK KERR
President, University of California;
labor economist

HENRY R. LUCE
Editor-in-Chief, Time, Life, Fortune

JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY, S.J.
Theologian, Woodstock College;
Editor of Theological Studies

REINHOLD NIEBUHR
Vice-president and graduate professor,
Union Theological Seminary

ISIDOR I. RABI
Nobel Prize scientist;
Higgins Professor of Physics,
Columbia University

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
President of the Fund,
serves as Chairman of the Committee

"SEE IT NOW"

CLINTON AND THE LAW

Clinton, Tennessee

January 6, 1957

"SEE IT NOW"

BURMA, BUDDHISM, NEUTRALISM

February 3, 1957

"SEE IT NOW"

POLAND, 1957

March 31, 1957

"SEE IT NOW"

THE PUERTO RICANS - AMERICANS ON THE MOVE

May 5, 1957

"SEE IT NOW"

AUTOMATION: WEAL or WOE

June 9, 1957

"SEE IT NOW"

CONVERSATION WITH MARSHAL TITO

Followed by live discussion with
Richard Hottelet moderating; Clare
Boothe Luce, Hamilton Fish Armstrong
and William Lawrence.

June 30, 1957

"SEE IT NOW"

THE POST OFFICE

OCTOBER 6, 1957

"SEE IT NOW"

ATOMIC TIMETABLE

Part I

NOVEMBER 25, 1957

NEWS

Spec Pgms

F41

December 23, 1957

NATO DEVELOPMENTS TO BE ANALYZED BY MURROW
ON CBS RADIO'S "BIG NEWS OF '57"

Edward R. Murrow, CBS News' distinguished reporter-news analyst, will join 20 of his colleagues, members of CBS News staff of correspondents, in the special hour and 25-minute report of the "Big News of '57" on CBS Radio Sunday, Dec. 29 at 3:05-4:30 PM, EST. The program will be narrated by CBS Newsman Blair Clark.

Mr. Murrow, who has just returned from Paris where he observed and reported the NATO Summit Conference, will analyze the year's developments and their implications within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

With his colleagues, Mr. Murrow will augment his report with material from CBS News' library of tape recordings of the year's top events.

Since early this Fall, Dan Bloom, "Big News of '57" producer, has been amassing material for the broadcast from more than three quarter million feet of tape recordings of the year's principal developments.

Since that time, the NATO Summit Conference and the launching of the first earth satellite have figured prominently in the year's top news stories.

* * *

NEWS FROM CBS RADIO
Press Information Department,
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.
Phone: PLaza 1-2345

~~[illegible]~~
Sy Brogyas

December 23, 1957

NATO DEVELOPMENTS TO BE ANALYZED BY MURROW
ON CBS RADIO'S "BIG NEWS OF '57"

Edward R. Murrow, CBS News' distinguished reporter-news analyst, will join 20 of his colleagues, members of CBS News staff of correspondents, in the special hour and 25-minute report of the "Big News of '57" on CBS Radio Sunday, Dec. 29 at 3:05-4:30 PM, EST. The program will be narrated by CBS Newsman Blair Clark.

Mr. Murrow, who has just returned from Paris where he observed and reported the NATO Summit Conference, will analyze the year's developments and their implications within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

With his colleagues, Mr. Murrow will augment his report with material from CBS News' library of tape recordings of the year's top events.

Since early this Fall, Dan Bloom, "Big News of '57" producer, has been amassing material for the broadcast from more than three quarter million feet of tape recordings of the year's principal developments.

Since that time, the NATO Summit Conference and the launching of the first earth satellite have figured prominently in the year's top news stories.

* * *

Recorded Dec. 24th

A CBS News broadcast

4 to 5 pm, EST, December 29, over the

CBS Television Network

YEARS OF CRISIS

A year-end round-table report

and analysis of international affairs

by CBS News Correspondents

1957

"SEE IT NOW"

THE LADY FROM PHILADELPHIA

Marian Anderson

DECEMBER 30, 1957

"SEE IT NOW"

FROM PRECINCT TO PRESIDENT

Harry S. Truman

February 2, 1958

See SPECIAL PROGRAMS

CBS NEWS SPECIAL
"Harry S. Truman, 1884 - 1972"
December 26, 1972

"SEE IT NOW"

STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA - HAWAII?

March 2, 1958

FEATURE SERVICE FROM CBS RADIO

Press Information Department,
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.
Phone: PLaza 1-2345

Spec Pgms

March 14, 1958

QUOTE AND UNQUOTE

The following remarks were spoken by Edward R. Murrow on "We Take You Back," a special CBS Radio broadcast heard March 13, observing the 20th anniversaries of Mr. Murrow as a CBS News Correspondent and of CBS Radio's "World News Roundup :

Before the Anschluss, arranging broadcasts from Europe was a leisurely, civilized sort of business -- plenty of time to read and see your friends. It involved such things as relaying to this country the Vatican choir at Easter time; a speech by De Valera; folk music from Scandinavia; the song of the nightingale in a Surrey wood. After the Anschluss, things became rather more interesting and considerably more hectic. We began to recruit our own staff of reporters.

A radio reporter is a special kind of animal. He requires to know what he is writing about, must be able to write it; and after that's done he must be able to read it in such a fashion as to be believable.

In putting together our crew in Europe, I tried to concentrate on finding people who were young and who knew what they were talking about, without bothering too much about diction, phrasing and manner of speaking. There were occasional complaints from the home office on this score, which were generally answered by saying that we were trying to collect a group of reporters who would be steady, reliable and restrained, even though they might not win any elocution contests.

(More)

In those days before and during most of the war, we were not permitted to use recordings. Everything was live, and moved directly from the reporter's microphone into your home. There were no editors or re-write men who might tone down or hot up the copy as a result of their working in a more detached and tranquil atmosphere.

We had no budget; nobody gave orders. New York asked us only to find the news, try to report it, and keep our heads. When we made a mistake, we tried to be the first to correct it. I don't recall that anyone ever objected to an assignment; and we never developed the habit of second-guessing each other on stories. Risks were run as a matter of course. And no one ever tried to examine how the other fellow felt about it, or expound about his own reactions (you get more of that kind of stuff on a dull evening on television than I heard in Europe, North Africa or Korea). I think it would be fair to say that we were pridefully serious about our job, but not too serious about ourselves; and all felt that words were puny things indeed to use in the effort to collapse distance between the men who were fighting and those who were at home.

We argued with the censor, argued with each other. Sleep was a luxury; every day was important; and most of us were frequently filled with a sense of black futility bordering upon despair because we couldn't do a better job. But we didn't talk much about that, either.

It is difficult to realize or admit that twenty years have passed since that first multiple-point pick-up. For my own part, I have not yet reached the age where my reminiscences fascinate me. One of the advantages in reporting through a medium as fast as radio is that you don't have the time or the inclination to look back. The next

(More)

story is the important one. The place names all the way from the Nile to the Naktung, the names and faces of friends who are dead, and those who were lucky, are all a little vague. The door of memory is only slightly ajar, and it is necessary to close it completely when the red light goes on and the microphone is hot, lest we remember too much of the past, and understand too little of the present. The echoes of old broadcasts are not a good sonar device to determine either the present or the future.

This particular type of radio reporting is only twenty years old. The twenty-first year in humans is supposed to produce maturity and responsibility. The best in radio reporting is yet to be.

* * *

"SEE IT NOW"

FALLOUT

March 30, 1958

"SEE IT NOW"

SPECIAL

CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER MacMILLAN

May 23, 1958

"SEE IT NOW"

WATCH ON THE RUHR - GERMANY

July 7, 1958

October 12, 1958

ANOTHER MURROW-FRIENDLY PRODUCTION WAS "SMALL WORLD", A HALF-HOUR TELEVISION PROGRAM IN WHICH PROMINENT PERSONS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES EXCHANGED VIEWS BY SHORT-WAVE. SINCE COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITES DID NOT EXIST, PARTICIPANTS IN THESE INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSIONS WERE FILMED SEPARATELY. LATER THE SEGMENTS -- RECORDED VOICE AND FILM -- WERE COMBINED AND BROADCAST FROM NEW YORK.

THE DRAMATIS PERSONAE OF THE FIRST BROADCAST IN THIS WEEKLY SERIES, BESIDES MURROW, WERE PRIME MINISTER NEHRU OF INDIA, GOVERNOR DEWEY OF NEW YORK AND ALDOUS HUXLEY.

Your friend Hal
has caused even mor
who pretend to be t
"Ed Murrow is now s

al Roach (who was recently caught in the arms of a $100 callgirl)
more embarrassment for the NAM and other pillars of society
e the big wheels of Wall Street. As Drew Pearson said last Sunday
w sitting pretty!" Godd luck

L STREET JOURNAL, Tuesday, November 24, 1959

Hal Roach, Jr., 2 Banks, Guild Films Enjoined In Sale of Stock

Judge Issues Order After SEC Charges Sale of 50,000 Shares Of Guild Wasn't Registered

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

NEW YORK—U.S. District Judge Sylvester J. Ryan issued a preliminary injunction against Guild Films Co., Inc., two California banks and Hal Roach, Jr., a former official of F. L. Jacobs Co., violating the registration provisions of the Federal securities laws.

Guild Films, Santa Monica Bank, Southwest Bank of Inglewood and Mr. Roach have been charged by the Securities and Exchange Commission with selling stock of Guild Films without registering it with the commission.

Judge Ryan said he was issuing the order because of the Santa Monica bank's "declared intention" to sell its holdings of Guild Films "in the face of the considered opinion of the commission." He also said the bank showed "complete indifference" to the advice of the S.E.C.

In its court papers filed earlier in the case, the S.E.C. had stated the Santa Monica Bank approached a New York brokerage firm to sell about 50,000 shares of Guild Films common stock. The commission said the shares represented collateral posted by Mr. Roach on a $120,000 personal loan from the California banks. The S.E.C. said the bank sought to sell the shares because the loan was in default. No registration statement on the sale had been filed with the S.E.C., the agency charged.

The S.E.C. contended in the same papers that Mr. Roach received the 50,000 shares of Guild Films last January under an agreement in which a subsidiary of Hal Roach Studios, Inc., promised to sell certain film properties to Guild in exchange for 400,000 shares of Guild common stock. According to the S.E.C., the agreement specified that the shares were to be for investment only and were not to be distributed.

Mr. Roach took over as president of F. L. Jacobs Co. and its then related concerns—Scranton Corp., Mutual Broadcasting System and Hal Roach Studios—last February after Alexander L. Guterma had resigned in the wake of an S.E.C. investigation into his complex financial dealings. Mr. Roach later resigned.

Mr. Roach's loan from the California banks originally was backed, the S.E.C. said in its earlier filing, by 30,000 shares of F. L. Jacobs, common stock. The 50,000 Guild Films shares were substituted after some delay for the Jacobs stock, the S.E.C. said.

Santa Monica Bank and Southwest Bank of Inglewood said they would file an appeal this week on Judge Ryan's order.

Aubrey E. Austin, Jr., president of Santa Monica Bank, said he still believes the bank has a right to sell the stock without registering it since it is collateral on a defaulted loan.

IDEAS

THE WHITE HOUSE LINE

PLEASE ADDRESS REPLY TO
AUSTIN BURTON
149 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 6, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: CORTLANDT 7-8033

August 9, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Pawling, New York

Re: My ltr Jan. 26, '59
Your Call-Girl review

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I enjoyed the LOOK portrait of your $1.69 assessment of NAM.

As you probably know, some dame who owned one-share of CBS got up in last spring's annual meeting of CBS and tried to make you look ridiculous. Assuming this caper was pulled off by the NAM, I returned the compliment by making an appearance at the annual meeting of PanAmerican World Airways May 26th at the Sheraton-East. I also own one share.

To make a rather hectic meeting short, I asked Juan Tripp, Pres. of Pan Am if Chas. A. Ward, Pres. of Brown & Bigelow (who yearly charge Pan Am $100,000 over-charge on their calendars) furnished Juan Tripp with the services of any call-girls. Then I read the July 7, '47 Drew Pearson column on Ward, and the Mar. 30, '55 column of Westbrook Pegler on Ward into the minutes of the meeting.

Before the mud-slinging had stopped, Ward had dropped dead (obit enclosed) and to add injury to insult the Ward obituary appeared alongside the PanAm annual report in one of the N.Y. papers.

Since Ward's wife (who divorced another ex-convict to become Ward's housekeeper) has managed to take over the Presidency of Brown & Bigelow, I think you might be interested in the copy of my letter to John Cowles (attached) on the subject. As a madame in charge of the Brown & Bigelow call-girl set-up, she should be doing a thriving business by the time you return from your sabbatical.

Yours sincerely,

Austin Burton

Austin Burton

P.S. Now if NAM still doubts your source, read Alfred Hitchcock Specification #6 of my attached ltr to 1. (This the same client that dropped dead over the PAN AM exposé)

Shareowner

May 6, 1959

Mr. Drew Pearson
Washington Merry-Go-Round
1313 Twenty-ninth St., N.W.
Washington 7, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pearson:

Thank you for your letter of May 4th concerning which I have enclosed a copy of my letter to Mr. Latham. As soon as I hear from him, I will immediately pass the word on to you.

Inasmuch as PanAm released a nationwide advertisement today stating: "PAN AM CUTS CARGO RATES AS MUCH AS 54%", I think the time has come to blow the whistle on Chas. Ward and Brown & Bigelow who for the past decade have consistently charged PanAm from $75,000 to $100,000 more each year for their calendars than the same quality calendars could be obtained from competitive lithographers. Collectively this adds up to about a million bucks over-charge. Now you will ask: Why no competitive bids? Ward has in his employ a two-bit lobbyist (whose picture is shown in the attached PanAm article of the Ward controlled Hudson Star-Observer) by the name of Stephen H. Harrington who lives in St. Paul. I don't even think he is registered in Wash. D.C. as a lobbyist, but he and Ward managed to influence the awarding of some air routes to PanAm - at least PanAm thinks they did. To check this story why don't you pick up the phone and call Samuel F. Pryor, V.P. and Ass't to the Pres, PanAm, 135 E. 42nd St., N.Y. 17 and ask him: "What is your connection with Steve Harrington"(Ward's influence man) Ask him if "he got Harold Ambrose (a Wash. D.C. postal clerk who stole and sold first run stamps to highly placed stamp collectors) and the nephew of Wyoming's Mike Mahoney and just what was Ambrose's connection with Chas. Ward?" Harrington incidentally is reported to have stolen the Treasury of the Independent Labor Party of Minnesota and the Commissioner of Int. Revenue should definitely take a peek at Harrington's returns from '44 to '50 even tho the statute of limitations have run out. There may even be criminal conspiracy in Ward's attempt to stack Northwest Airlines so that PanAm can take them over. Key Northwest personnel keep showing up on the Brown & Bigelow executive staff - the B & B Treasurer, M.B. House (whose wife suddenly committed suicide recently) is a former Northwest executive.

I also am a one share stockholder of PanAm whose annual meeting is May 26 at the Sheraton-East Hotel, N.Y.C. at 2:30 P.M. Who do you think I should designate to represent my interest and bust open this scandal which is sure to involve some very highly placed officials?

Yours sincerely,

Austin Burton

WHEN
DEATH
OCCURS
CALL
Frank E. Campbell
THE FUNERAL CHURCH INC.
New York's Most Respected
Funeral Institution
MADISON AVE. AT 81st ST.
BUTTERFIELD 8-3500

WALTER B. COOKE INC
COMPLETE FUNERALS from $250
TEN MODERN FUNERAL HOMES
MANHATTAN (East) LE 5-1500
MANHATTAN (West) TR 7-9700
BRONX .....CY 5-0700
BROOKLYN .....UL 6-4800
QUEENS.....JA 6-6670

Deaths

Notices Accepted Until 1:00 P.M. Monday Through Friday for Publication Same Day. (Up to 10 A.M. Saturdays.)
Phone BArclay 7-3211, Ext. 409

Koch, Charles K. Mundy, James J.
Mason, Henry J. Van Alstyne, Ward

KOCH—CHARLES K., on May 26, 1959. Retired Senior Parole Officer, N. Y. C. Beloved husband of Anna C. (nee Cosgrove). Loving brother of Minnette Koch, Louise and Carolyn Koch. Relatives, friends Walter B. Cooke Funeral Home, 65 E. Tremont Ave. Thursday 8 P.M. Funeral Friday 1 P.M. Interment Long Island National Cemetery.

MASON—HENRY J., on Belleville, N. J., on May 24, 1959. Devoted husband and father. Reposing at Stanton's Funeral Home, Nutley, N. J. Requiem Mass St. Mary's R. C. Church, Nutley, Wednesday, May 27, at 10 A.M.

MUNDY—JAMES J., on May 25, 1959. Beloved husband of Elizabeth Mack, brother of Mrs. Marion Weiss, Joseph and Edward. He was a member of the Bellmore Volunteer Fire Dept., Veterans of Foreign Wars and Lions Club. Funeral from Belmore Funeral Home, 20 Bellmore Ave., Bellmore, L. I., N. Y. Requiem Mass St. Barnabas Roman Catholic Church, Bellmore, Friday, May 29, 9 A.M. [illegible] flowers [illegible] to Boys Town.

Charles A. Ward Services Friday

Printing Firm Head Felled by Heart Attack

Special to World-Telegram and Sun.

BEVERLY HILLS, Calif., May 27.—Charles Allen Ward, 72, president and general manager of Brown & Bigelow, world's largest producers of calendars and other printing and advertising specialities, died of a heart attack Monday night in the Beverly Hills Hotel. The firm has its headquarters in St. Paul, Minn.

Services will be held at 2 p.m. Friday in the Quality Park Farm No. 1 Mr. Ward owner near Hudson, Wis.

Mr. Ward started as a bench hand at $25 a week with Brown & Bigelow in 1925, when he was 39. He was serving a 10-year term for possession of narcotics in Leavenworth Penitentiary when he became a cellmate of Herbert H. Bigelow, head of Brown & Bigelow, who was in jail for income tax evasion.

Mr. Ward had been a seaman, prospector for gold in Alaska, soldier with Pancho Villa in Mexico, cowboy and general drifter, but Mr. Bigelow saw promise in his cellmate and agreed to give him a job on his release.

Mr. Ward became a foreman in a year, superintendent, general superintendent and in 1929 was named assistant general manager. Elected vice president of the firm in 1931, he became president and general manager in 1933 on the death of Mr. Bigelow, who drowned in a North Woods accident.

Mr. Ward had employed many ex-convicts in the firm, giving them a chance to rehabilitate themselves.

His wife, two daughters and a son survive.

Charles A. Ward as he appeared in 1941.

Benjamin Locke, [illegible]

Eric W. Neason, Oil Broker, 48

Special to World-Telegram and Sun.

SCARSDALE, May 27.—Private services will be held Friday for Eric W. Neason, 48, president of Neason Petroleum Inc., 551 Fifth Ave., New York, international oil brokers.

Mr. Neason, who lived at 52 Tunstall Rd., died of a heart attack Monday in London. He was a Boy Scout district commissioner and secretary of the board of trustees of the Scarsdale Community Baptist Church.

Surviving are his wife, Mrs. Norma Coe Neason, and a son, Grant C. Neason.

Joe Kelly, 60, Quiz Kids' Quizzer

Special to World-Telegram and Sun.

CHICAGO, May 27.—Joe Kelly, 60, who served as quiz master on the old Quiz Kids radio program from 1940 to 1956, died yesterday of heart disease.

Mr. Kelly also was chief cowbell ringer on the National Barn Dance radio program. He had been doing a children's program on WTTW-TV here for the last [illegible]

William Spring, Catholic Editor

Special to World-Telegram and Sun.

YONKERS, May 27.—A Solemn Requiem Mass for William A. Spring, 52, assistant editor of the Catholic News, 255 Fourth Ave., New York, will be offered at 10 a.m. Friday at Our Lady of the Rosary Church.

Mr. Spring, who lived at 87 N. Broadway, died Monday night in St. John's Riverside Hospital. He was also editor of the Empire State Bulletin, magazine of the Knights of Columbus. He joined the Catholic News, weekly newspaper of the Archdiocese of New York in 1941.

Mr. Spring was sports editor of the Yonkers Herald-Statesman until 1936, when he became public relations director for Catholic Youth Organizations in New York. He was a former national secretary of the Anchor Club and former grand knight of La Rabida Council, Knights of Columbus.

Surviving are his wife, Mrs. Anne Mulcahy Spring; two daughters, Mrs. George Keppler and Mrs. David McCarthy, and a brother.

Glenn M. Clovis, Of N. Y. Telephone

Special to World-Telegram and Sun.

RAMSEY, N. J., May 27.—Services for Glenn M. Clovis, 66, retired Manhattan division traffic superintendent for the New York Telephone Co., will be held tomorrow in the Van Emburgh funeral home.

His wife, Mrs. Ada Ornoff Clovis, survives.

James J. M[illegible] Mining Fir[illegible]

Special to World-Tele[illegible]

BELLMORE, [illegible]—A Solemn R[illegible] for James J. M[illegible] sistant secretary [illegible] Metal Climax, I[illegible] way, New York, [illegible] will be celebrated [illegible] Friday in St. Ba[illegible] olic Church.

Mr. Mundy, wi[illegible] 130 Linden St., di[illegible] in Doctors Hospita[illegible]

Surviving are h[illegible] Elizabeth M. Bed[illegible] a sister and two [illegible]

Mrs. E. C. R[illegible] Irvin Cobb D[illegible]

A Solemn R[illegible] for Mrs. Elizabe[illegible] ers, 56, author [illegible] of the late Irv[illegible] humorist, novelis[illegible] story writer, wi[illegible] at 11 a.m. Friday [illegible] Chapel of St [illegible] Cathedral, Fifth [illegible] St.

Mrs. Rogers, w[illegible] 340 E. 57th St. an[illegible] Conn., died Mond[illegible] New York Hosp[illegible] brief illness. She [illegible] her maiden name [illegible] "My Wayward [illegible] biography of her [illegible] was once an edito[illegible] Fair and Bookman[illegible]

Surviving are [illegible] Patrizia Cobb, C[illegible] actress known as [illegible] a son, Tom Cobb [illegible] her mother, Mrs. [illegible] Cobb. She had [illegible] and divorced th[illegible] 1948, she was d[illegible] R. Cameron Ros[illegible]

An Open [illegible]

BUT LOVED MAGNIFICENCE

Ward, Once a Waif, Befriended Penniless

Death Monday night ended the legendary story of Charles A. (Charlie) Ward, industrialist and humanitarian.

Starting as a street waif in his native Seattle, Wash., peddling papers, shining shoes and doing odd jobs around the saloon where his family lived, he ran away at 17.

He became a sailor, dog team driver, gold miner. He was a captain and quartermaster for Pancho Villa, Mexico's robber-soldier.

At Brown & Bigelow, St. Paul speciality advertising firm, he started as a benchhand in 1925 and rose to the presidency in nine years.

He pulled the company out of a $250,000 deficit and made it the largest and most successful of its kind in the world.

Like Harunal - Raschid, the famed Bagdad caliph of **the ninth century portrayed in the Arabian Nights, he loved magnificence.**

When he had attained wealth he liked to "hold court," surrounded by admiring associates and friends. He delighted in befriending the unfortunate, saying he knew what it was to be penniless and friendless.

And because he spent some time in a federal reformatory, on what he described as "trumped up" narcotics charges, he was especially considerate of former convicts. Many of them found work at his plants.

Mr. Ward's courage was attested by his adventuresome life in the southwest, where he lived among gamblers and other gun-toting adventurers who learned they should not attempt to "put anything over" on him.

In Mexico he made his first "stake" of $70,000. But that quickly disappeared.

Then came the darkest chapter in his life, although he turned it into several successful episodes.

He was convicted in federal court at Denver, Colo., in 1921 on a narcotics count and sentenced to 10 years H. H. Bigelow, multi-millionaire president of Brown & Bigelow, who was serving a sentence for income tax evasion.

Fellow convicts, resentful of Bigelow's wealth, conspired to make prison life doubly arduous.

Mr. Ward, a trusty in high favor, was in charge of the prison power plant with 150 men under his supervision. He obtained for Bigelow better prison garb, better cell and other favors.

Mr. Ward later said he went from prison to St. Paul on Bigelow's invitation, but that Bigelow tried to give him the "cold shoulder."

When this failed, Mr. Ward said, Bigelow tried to make him sick of St. Paul by giving him the worst job in the plant.

But Mr. Ward was determined to "collect" on his **prison favors. He slaved and studied and made himself so valuable that Bigelow came to lean on him. His successive promotions to the executive ranks were achieved by means of the hardest kind of work.**

When Bigelow drowned on a fishing trip in 1933, Mr. Ward became president on request of the board of directors.

Mr. Ward lived by the business motto, "When you stop being better, you stop being good."

With that impetus the company did a business in excess of 50 million dollars last year. Recently Mr. Ward visualized a "billion dollar business" for the company.

Most of Mr. Ward's charities never were publicized. They included his raising of $350,000 to rehabilitate the Litte Sisters of the Poor home, St. Paul; his pioneering in the work of the National Polio foundation, and his Christmas parties for St. Paul orphanage children.

Mr. Ward was a Shriner and a member of Knights Templar and the Elks. He belonged to the Minnesota club, St. Paul Athletic club.

Charles Ward Dies on California Trip

Ward, Once a Waif, Befriended Penniless: Page 2B.
Pictures on Page 1B

Charles A. Ward, head of Brown & Bigelow specialty advertising company of St. Paul, died today in the Beverly Hills hotel, Los Angeles, Calif. He would have been 73 years old Friday.

Mr. Ward, accompanied by his wife, left Friday for a business trip to Los Angeles. He was chairman of the board of Western Lithograph Co., Los Angeles, a Brown & Bigelow subsidiary.

He had been reading in bed, company officials were informed. When Mrs. Ward went to bid him goodnight she discovered he had fallen asleep and died apparently of a heart attack.

None of their three children was along on the trip.

The coroner's office certified the death as "natural" following routine check by the police department and examination of the body by a coroner's physician.

Funeral arrangements are expected to be completed after return of the body to St. Paul late today or Wednesday.

Mr. Ward had built Brown & Bigelow to a corporation with sales of more than 50 million dollars last year. He left no obvious successor, however, having been his own general manager and general sales manager, in addition to president and chairman of the board.

In a statement, William H. Oppenheimer, corporation counsel, member of the board of directors and close associate of Mr. Ward for 34 years, said, "I feel sure that his associates will honor him and his memory by continuing a successful operation at Brown & Bigelow."

E. C. Peterson, executive vice president for administration and finance at Brown & Bigelow, said "Charlie Ward was Mr. Brown & Bigelow to his associates here and to thousands of people all over America."

★ ★ ★ ★

CHARLES A. WARD
Died in Los Angeles

His death, Peterson said, "is a blow to all of us. In many ways he cannot be replaced, but he built solidly and well and his fine work will be continued."

Another executive, K. B. Priester, senior vice president for manufacturing, said, "Our best friend and the man

WARD
Turn to Page 2B

CC: Edward R. Murrow

August 8, 1959

Dear Mr. Cowles:

Congratulations on your Minneapolis Star cartoonist Justus making the N.Y. Times last Sunday, August 2nd, the second time in recent weeks. In the same edition, the N.Y. Times Magazine featured an article "Uneasy Year 29 of the Trujillo Era" which your brother Gardner should read since he did a similar item in LOOK, Sept. 2, '47 on your Twin City "Benefactor", entitled "The Most Generous Man in the World." I understand that the Commissioner of Int. Revenue has other ideas about the late Chas. A. Ward.

Frankly, after I read the N.Y. Times article, it became rather obvious to me that your local "benefactor" stole all his thunder, lock, stock and barrel, from the "Most Excellent Doctor Generalissimo, Benefactor of the Motherland, and The Restorer of the Financial Independence of the Republic." Your local "Great White Father" even adopted Trujillo's five year term of office, for which sucker Brown & Bigelow stockholders are still paying your "benefactor" altho he has "risen." I am inclined to agree with Westbrook Pegler's attached column of July 31st in which he states that "Trujillo's immodesty in making Ciudad Santo Domingo in his honor has precedent," in this country. I understand that your Twin City "Benefactor" had offered a considerable sum of money in an effort to get the State of Colorado to change the name of Pike's Peak to Ward's Peak, and even sent his daughter to enroll as a student at the Univ. of Colorado. Nor has the wife of your "Benefactor", Yvette Eva Peron Ward, given up, either. In the July 16, 1959 issue of her controlled Hudson Gazette by Yvette, a Mr. & Mrs. John D. Hooley - while driving high in the Colorado mountains - tuned in a Denver radio station which featured "a 15 minute spot devoted to the activities of Hudson's own Yvette Ward, now president of B & B," and your new "Benefactoress."

Had not Trujillo thrown the N.Y. Times correspondent out of the "Motherland" for revealing the foregoing unvarnished truths, we all may have been denied these revelations. However, on this delicate point, I think that perhaps even IKE should take the hint that it never pays to ride rough-shod over a news correspondent - especially when he is from the Des Moines Register. I assume that this week's LOOK item on Col. Moore was in retaliation for hurt feelings at recent press conferences.

Your old friend,

"Joe Smith"

Mr. John Cowles, Pres.
The Minneapolis Star & Tribune
Minneapolis, Minnesota

THESE DAYS:

'Call Girl' Product Of Loose Society

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

MONTHS AGO, I read an article by Anthony Harrigan of the "Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier" on surrender of privacy which was both true and interesting. He wrote:

"...The radio and television, the giant metropolitan newspapers which consider all human experience their province, the nationally-syndicated columns, the mass circulation magazines that emphasize 'inside' news of people, industry and government-inspired questionnaires and polls that probe areas of life considered private not long ago, credit bureaus and private detective organizations, wiretappers and security personnel reports—all these institutions, inventions, and developments have been employed in an assault on the walls raised to shield citizens from the public gaze."

SOKOLSKY

And now we have this extraordinary picture of C.B.S. putting on a show to describe the doings of the urban creature generally referred to as the "Call Girl." Edward R. Murrow, who reads broadcasts for Columbia, was the narrator, which in radio and television parlance usually means that the script was prepared in the word factory of this network by a team of often anonymous and sometimes accredited researchers and writers.

The sum and substance of the broadcast was that vice is a business, well-organized, efficiently managed and designed to get business for companies which employ ladies of the night for the purpose. As show business this broadcast may have had some value, just as a strip-tease has value for the vulgar. As an accurate presentation of data, I doubt whether much stated on that broadcast could be established in a court of law.

"Call Girls" are women, ranging from the age of perhaps 17 to 40 or so, who make themselves available to meandering men for a consideration, ranging from $50 a visit upwards to a diamond or a mink. Some "Call Girls" are prostitutes; some are conversationalists who keep an old man from falling asleep over his soup. Some of them end their days in poverty; some marry into the European nobility or men of wealth in this country, are received in Cafe Society and have their pictures printed in newspapers and magazines. In a word, some of them, having found a way to security, turn up their noses on their own past and at those who pursue the same course.

Downgrade Started in '20's

THAT THE BUSINESS is immoral is obvious, but our society has tended in the direction of looseness since the 1920's and has not improved during the current Era of Abundance. The Income Tax which forces businessmen to pad their expense accounts if they are to be saved from the tax collector encourages excesses of all kinds, particularly eating, drink-

institutions, inventions, and developments have been employed in an assault on the walls raised to shield citizens from the public gaze."

SOKOLSKY

And now we have this extraordinary picture of C.B.S. putting on a show to describe the doings of the urban creature generally referred to as the "Call Girl." Edward R. Murrow, who reads broadcasts for Columbia, was the narrator, which in radio and television parlance usually means that the script was prepared in the word factory of this network by a team of often anonymous and sometimes accredited researchers and writers.

The sum and substance of the broadcast was that vice is a business, well-organized, efficiently managed and designed to get business for companies which employ ladies of the night for the purpose. As show business this broadcast may have had some value, just as a strip-tease has value for the vulgar. As an accurate presentation of data, I doubt whether much stated on that broadcast could be established in a court of law.

"Call Girls" are women, ranging from the age of perhaps 17 to 40 or so, who make themselves available to meandering men for a consideration, ranging from $50 a visit upwards to a diamond or a mink. Some "Call Girls" are prostitutes; some are conversationalists who keep an old man from falling asleep over his soup. Some of them end their days in poverty; some marry into the European nobility or men of wealth in this country, are received in Cafe Society and have their pictures printed in newspapers and magazines. In a word, some of them, having found a way to security, turn up their noses on their own past and at those who pursue the same course.

Downgrade Started in '20's

THAT THE BUSINESS is immoral is obvious, but our society has tended in the direction of looseness since the 1920's and has not improved during the current Era of Abundance. The Income Tax which forces businessmen to pad their expense accounts if they are to be saved from the tax collector encourages excesses of all kinds, particularly eating, drinking, and hilarious parties after conventions and meetings.

The psychologists and sociologists may philosophize all they want to about why an educated, well-reared girl will enter upon such a profession but if they did not live in ivory towers, if they associated with human beings instead of statistics, they would discover that in a materialistic period, when morals and manners are loose, diamonds and mink coats become unduly attractive and as long as no religious scruples impede the desire to get something in the easiest way, there will be some who will get it that way. How much difference there is between a "Call Girl" and a woman who has four or five husbands in rotation, I do not know.

In a word, the "Call Girl" is a product of lack of religion, lack of respect, lack of decorum which appear early in life in this country, where a child will answer when a parent objects, let us say, to a costume of blue jeans and dirty white socks, "I must live my own life."

"Call Girls" are the feminine counterpart of the money bootlegger, the fellow who becomes a millionaire by tax evasion and tax avoidance, the banker and manufacturer who sells the assets of his country to its enemy, the politician who plays footsies with American Communists, the labor leader who organizes a strike which further accelerates the inflation and thereby robs the worker of his wages.

It is a period of moral degeneration and [illegible] Girl" is a characteristic of the age. A [illegible] account would provide names, dat[illegible] reporters never claim [illegible] for the truth.

January 22, 1958

Mr. Austin Burton
149 Broadway
New York 6, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Burton:

Thank you for your serious attention to my grave problem. It will be some time before we have finished processing the many letters of application. Should you be "lucky," you will be so notified.

Gravely,

Alfred Hitchcock

Mr. Murrow: - Since columnist Geo. E. Sokolsky has twitted you about not naming names, my attached letter to Hitchcock not only came true - but the names & places will stand up in court if you want that $1.69!

COPY - ED MURROW ✓

January 20, 1958

Mr. Alfred Hitchcock
Gravediggers, Inc.
R 89 Herald Tribune
230 West 41st Street,
New York 36, New York

Re: Your ad even date
"GRAVE DIGGER WANTED"

Dear Mr. Hitchcock:

Today's so called "Pillars of Society" being what they are, no doubt you have been swamped with well qualified applicants; but my client has such outstanding qualifications that his resumé is submitted for your perusal notwithstanding.

My client, a genteel murderer, pimp, dope peddler and jack of all crimes, for a price was billed in the Sept. 22, 1947 issue of LOOK magazine as "The Most Generous Man in the World". A graduate of Leavenworth prison, my client met such elite as booze peddler Sherman Billingsley, who after he got sprung rubbed shoulders with the right people in his Stork Club to the extent that the City of N. Y. granted him a "hard to get" pistol permit, and the State of New York issued a liquor permit, both of which are normally forbidden by law to ex-cons. On New Year's 1936, Billingsley managed to get J. Edgar Hoover into the Stork Club in the same room with Public Enemy #1 Terry Reilly. According to the Jan. 20, '52 New York Post, "This awful coincidence caused J. Edgar much embarrassment later. Winchell was there too. The Senate heard all about it later in a debate." Fortunately for Mr. Hoover, my client was unable to accept Mr. Billingsley's invitation for that fateful night.

Like Mr. Billingsley, my client learned to buy the right people under the Leavenworth experts where my client met and seduced the President of Brown & Bigelow, St. Paul, Minn. calendar house - Herbert Bigelow - who was doing a bit for income tax evasion. My client upbraided by a Federal judge in Denver for pimping where he was sentenced for dope peddling, drew ten years at the same Big House after the tongue lashing. My client subsequently followed Bigelow to St. Paul where Herbert Bigelow gave my client a job. To show his exact appreciation for this friendly gesture, my client murdered Bigelow and inherited the widow's property on a forged will. The foregoing is covered in much more detail by the Minneapolis Tribune, and mere mention of it here at this time is to show that my client is a suitable candidate for your position, with the proper background and qualifications in every respect.

RESUME

Alfred Hitchcock Specification #1 - "Must be close-mouthed"

My client is the only witness that ever refused to appear before a duly formed Senate Investigating committee, yet got away without even a reprimand. My client, instead, sent his mouthpiece before the committee which was investigating a $25,000 bribe that my client had given former tax commissioner Joe Nunan who was so sincere in helping others file their returns that he neglected his own.
Ref: Frederick Othman column on above investigation
Ref: Westbrook Pegler column published March 30, 1955
Ref: All Minneapolis and St. Paul papers

Alfred Hitchcock Specification #2 - "Experienced in all soils"

My client recently celebrated his 40th Anniversary of "Spade Work" apprenticed with Mexican bandit Pancho Villa at Columbus, Texas when the gang of murderers rubbed out scores of helpless women and children in a raid which General Pershing was unable to prevent. Subsequently, my client became a 'journeyman' gravedigger with the bandit gang and Pancho Villa advanced my client to the position of Captain of the Gravedigging detail and Quartermaster of "Shovel". When business was slow on the grave digging detail, my client was always willing and able to help out by plugging an innocent bystander. Currently, my client maintains private graveyards at his Seven Lazy T ranch at Camp Verde, Arizona; Rancho Roca Roja, Rimrock, Arizona; and Quality Park Farms #1 and #2 at Hudson, Wis. The Quality Parks, however, accept only solid silver caskets. Moreover, my client is not only experienced with all soils through-out the United States and Mexico, but has had vast experience in digging for gold in Alaska.
Ref: Columnist Westbrook Pegler - two columns early 1949
Ref: Columnist Westbrook Pegler - March 30, 1955
Ref: Columnist Westbrook Pegler - Pancho Vill Nov-Dec. 1957

Alfred Hitchcock Specification #3 - "Adept at Concealment"

Back in the fall of 1933, my client murdered his benefactor Herbert Bigelow who hired my client after his release from the Big House. My client had professional help, calling upon Murder, Inc. through the syndicate's west coast manager "Bugsy" Siegel to perfect the job. My client was so adept at concealment that Bigelow's body was never found. According to Mortimer Lait in Washington Confidential p. 230, "Bill O'Dwyer found a direct link between ------- ---- (my client) and Murder, Inc." . . . the item went on mention connection with THE Mafia and even Senator H. Humphrey. "Bugsy", however, was not so "adept at concealment." In 1938 Federal agents discovered that my client paid the Bug a total of $100,000 for concealment of the murder, as the columnist Drew Pearson reported, July 7, 1947 after the murder of the "Bug." When the Bug lost heavily on the Hotel Flamingo, the price of concealment went up. My client refused to pay and again, adept at concealment, had "Bugsy" rubbed out. The sordid details appeared in the Minneapolis Tribune. In order to save face publicly, my client paid Look magazine a considerable fee to do an impressive article entitled "The Most Generous Man in the World."
Ref: The book WashingtonConfidential; Minneapolis Tribune
Ref: Drew Pearson column July 8, 1949; Westbrook Pegler, Mar. 30, 1955

RESUME - CONTINUED

Alfred Hitchcock Specification #4 - "Should be six feet deep"

My client, each year on the anniversary of the murder of his benefactor, Herbert Bigelow, appears over the empty grave which is exactly six feet deep - with an armload of roses. Possibly you may rightfully feel that after what my client did to Bigelow, he "should be six feet deep" in that empty coffin! After my client murdered Bigelow, he cut off the rightful Bigelow widow from her legacy through a will forged by T. J. Rurik, ex-forger, pimp, and currently a Vice President of the Creative Dept. of Brown & Bigelow. My client only two years ago sold the stolen Bigelow real estate to the captive stockholders of Brown & Bigelow for a sum of $400,000. This was not an original idea, however, since boyhood pal and recent convict Dave Beck had visited my client in St. Paul back in 1950 when real estate agent Beck explained how he hoodwinked the captive Teamsters in similar capers. REF: GILES BARER (RURIK ITEM)
REF: B&B HOUSE ORGAN '50, STOCKHOLDERS REPORT.

Alfred Hitchcock Specification #5 - "Sixty Minute Man"

My client has exceeded your requirements in this respect. When he dangled a $25,000 stock bribe before the eyes of tax man Joe Nunan, it took Joe a little less than sixty minutes to make four illegal phone calls that put the St. Paul branch of Murder, Inc. on the Big Board! Ref: Time magazine recorded the above incident in 1947 as:
"From the Big House to the Big Board."

Alfred Hitchcock Specification #6 - "But Genteel"

My client believes in the principle of genteel sexual integration of top business executives with high priced call girls, the affair being recorded by movie camera and sound track. "But Genteel", of course(! Should the customer threaten to take his business elsewhere, the sound track and film will always change his mind - if he has a jealous wife. When my client's salesman, Frank A. Cavanaugh, 11840 E. McNichols, Detroit 5, Mich. refused to lure a top General Motors executive into such a "genteel" arrangement, he was promptly fired. Senator Wiley, who eleven years ago told columnist Westbrook Pegler that he frustrated my client's attempt to get his own night-watchman appointed U.S. Marshal in St. Paul, recently fell for my client's "But genteel" trap. As a result Senator Wiley gladly accepted my client's financial support last election.

In appreciation for your fine public service in offering such useful employment, my client has personally instructed me to purchase in your name one share of his company's stock, Brown & Bigelow (the Twin City branch of Murder, Inc.) which death certificate will be forwarded to you on cyanide paper signed with poison ink. The dividendes of .25¢ per qrtr will be paid to you in the equivalent of a .25¢ ice pick which my client guarantees will meet Murder, Inc. standards of violence in all respects. Easy pickings - Mr. Hitchcock - and dig deep!, remembering, of course, that truth is often spoken in jest and is much stranger than fiction.

Yours sincerely,

Austin Burton, 149 B'way, N.Y. 6, N.Y.

Mr. Alfred Hitchcock X
R 89 Herald Tribune
230 West 41st St.,
New York 36

Mr. Westbrook Pegler
King Features Syndicate
235 East 45th St.,
New York 17

The Hon. Kenneth B. Keating, M.C.
House Office Building
Wash. D.C.

Mr. Drew Pearson
The Daily Washington Merry-Go-Round
1313 Twnety-Ninth St., N.W.
Washington 7, D.C.

Mr. Frederick Othman
Washington Daily News Building
1013 13 St., N.W.
Wash. 5, D.C.

Aurelia Brooks
653 East 14th St.,
New York 9, N.Y.

Mr. Fendall Yerxa, City Editor X
N.Y. Herald Tribune
230 West 41st St.,
New Yor 36

Mr. John Bott, City Ed.
New York Post
75 West St.,
New York, N.Y.

Mr. Bert Mac Donald
N.Y. World-Telegram & Sun
125 Barclay St.,
New York N.Y.

Mr. Joseph M. Segel, Pres.
~~Exxxexzzgzlxzxxx Trxzx.~~
The Adv. Specialty Inst., Inc.
4730 Chestnut St.,
Philadelphia 39, Pa.

Hon. John M. McClellan,
Chairman Senate Rackets Committee
The Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Mr. John D. Thornton
Thornton Company, Inc.
1389 Peachtree Building
Atlanta 9, Georgia

James D. Horan
N.Y. Journal American
220 South St., N.Y. 15

Mr. Lee Mortimer
N.Y. ~~Exxxy~~ Mirror
235 East 45th St.,
New York 17, N.Y.

New York News
Harry Nichols, City Editor
220 East 42nd St.,
New York, N.Y.

ret.

~~Exxxbxxxxxxxxxx~~
Mr. J. Russell Wiggins, Man. Ed.
Washington Post Times Herald
1515 L. St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Herbert Corn, Man. Ed.
The Washington Star
1101 Penns. Ave.,
Washington, D.C.

Roy Alexander, Man. Ed.
Time Magazine
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, N.Y.

Mr. Barreaux
Fawcett Publications
67 West 44th St.,
New York, N.Y.

ret.

January 22, 1958

Mr. Alfred Hitchcock
Gravediggers, Inc.
R 89 Herald Tribune
230 West 41st Street,
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Hitchcock:

Pardon the explosion, please, but Sherm "Lemon Ball" Billingsley just blew his top because the New York Herald Tribune dared to mention that Lt. Col. J. Philip Cahill "King of Scofflaws" was a member of the New York Athletic Club of which Sherm is a pillar. The New York Times agreed not to mention this fact in the attached report of unusual naughtiness.

Inasmuch as the traffic judge stated that

"a stiff sentence is indicated"

undoubtedly everyone concerned would appreciate your *contacting Colonel without unnecessary delay.

Yours sincerely,

*and contracting

Austin Burton
149 Broadway
New York 6, N.Y.

Mahle, G. C.

G. C. MAHLE
INVESTMENT COUNSELOR

123 NORTH WASHINGTON AVENUE • DANVILLE, ILLINOIS • PHONE 898

February 24, 1959

WCIA - Television
Champaign, Illinois

Gentlemen:

I don't know whether you saw the enclosed editorial from the Chicago Tribune on the broadcast by one Edward R. Murrow.

I fully agree with the Tribune and you may care to tell the sponsors of this Murrow program that I look at it just long enough to find out who sponsors a program such as this and then make a mental note to never buy products that are so sponsored.

Yours very truly,

G. C. Mahle

GCM:h

G. C. Mahle

An Oak is an Invested Acorn

Chicago Daily Tribune
THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER
FOUNDED JUNE 10, 1847
Part 1—Page 8 R Sat., Jan. 24, 1959

IS THE G. O. P. LOST?

The Republican national committee has completed another of its seminars in soul searching at Des Moines, Ia. The 21st party congress of the soviet Communist party will open in Moscow next Tuesday. Offhand, you might say that there is no relationship between these two facts, and, if that is your inclination, we shall be frank to say that we agree with you.

The distinction is that the Communists know who they are, where they are going, and are a party on top. The Republicans don't know who they are, where they are going, and recognize that they are a party on the bottom.

We do not suggest that the Republicans should emulate the soviet Communists in any particular except that of discovering a mission in life and charting steps to reach their objective. Certainly the Republicans cannot profit by continuing to emulate the Democrats, who have borrowed essential features of state socialism which characterize the communist dogma.

The ambiguity of Republicanism after repeated infusions of New Deal "liberalism" and internationalism caused a certain restiveness in the ranks at Des Moines. Thus Mrs. Katharine Kennedy Brown of Ohio, who has suffered along with the party for 27 years as national committeewoman, was moved to protest.

She said that she was fed up with the activities of a "group of people who have been experimenting with the Republican party for a long time." She traced the beginning of this process to the nomination in 1940 of Wendell Willkie, a converted Democrat, as Republican candidate for President.

Getting down to instant symptoms, she stated that the stealing of the 1952 nomination from the late Sen. Taft by the same elements had cut the heart out of the Republican party and bequeathed it a war hero suitable for framing but for little else.

Rep. Richard M. Simpson of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House campaign committee, next on the batting order, expressed himself as "sick and tired"

public should benefit from better service at lower cost.

Opposition by the teamsters union, of course, could slow the trend. It is encouraging to note that there is one official of the union who recognizes the possibility of progress and that his union must accept it.

WHO GETS DIRTIED?

The propriety and good taste of a radio "report" called "The Business of Sex" have occasioned some comment. This was offered last Monday night over facilities of the Columbia Broadcasting system with Mr. Edward R. Murrow supplying the continuity. It was rebroadcast the following evening.

The unpleasant purpose of this program was to suggest that prostitutes play an important role in the world of business. Interviews with a series of anonymous voices purporting to speak for call girls, madams, and business men implanted the idea that feminine companionship is often provided by companies to help sell merchandise.

Murrow stated that prostitutes who were interviewed said that they were often kept on retainers running to thousands of dollars, that their incomes might range up to $25,000 a year, paid by big corporations, and that their assignments brought them "in contact with the highest levels of business."

All this was dressed up as a social and economic documentary "recommended for adult listening only" and with a clergyman to offer appropriate observations.

While it might seem that the obvious purpose of a program of this nature was to capitalize on pruriency, a question or two about the ultimate intention may be in order. Specifically, who was hurt? Prostitutes and their purveyors obviously have no reputation to lose, especially when they are cloaked in anonymity and presented as disembodied voices.

But business, and especially big business, which was singled out by particular reference, stands to suffer damage as an economic entity. It is somewhat curious that a smear of this kind should materialize at a time when Sen. Kefauver and various other New Dealers are busy trying to work up a case against big business.

Nor is there any opportunity to offer a defense. No big corporation is going to buy time on the air to say, "None of our executives operate in this way, either providing or accepting opportuni-

repeated intrusions of New Deal "liberalism" and internationalism caused a certain restiveness in the ranks at Des Moines. Thus Mrs. Katharine Kennedy Brown of Ohio, who has suffered along with the party for 27 years as national committeewoman, was moved to protest.

She said that she was fed up with the activities of a "group of people who have been experimenting with the Republican party for a long time." She traced the beginning of this process to the nomination in 1940 of Wendell Willkie, a converted Democrat, as Republican candidate for President.

Getting down to instant symptoms, she stated that the stealing of the 1952 nomination from the late Sen. Taft by the same elements had cut the heart out of the Republican party and bequeathed it a war hero suitable for framing but for little else.

Rep. Richard M. Simpson of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House campaign committee, next on the batting order, expressed himself as "sick and tired" of going around the country and being unable to answer Republicans who inquire, "For what does the Republican party stand?"

Mr. Simpson called upon the White House for a declaration stating the long range purpose of the party, but we cannot see how that would be particularly helpful. Mr. Eisenhower only discovered himself as a Republican in 1952 and he has been trying to find out ever since what philosophy and ideas he supposedly adopted. This ideological fog, conveniently identified as "Eisenhower Republicanism," has never lifted.

We should hazard the guess that the main affliction of the Republican party is that, in the attempt to make the best of two worlds, it has succeeded in losing both. It adopted the defeatist notion after the long New Deal-Fair Deal sway that it was permanently a minority party which could only gain ground by appealing to Democrats and leftward-inclined "independents." So it adopted the basic assumptions and programs of the opposition. In so doing, it lost its own character as a conservative party and it lost the faith of its traditional following.

What we have is a hybrid some of whose leaders privately concede that there is no essential difference between parties, except that the so-called Republican party still believes to a degree in individual effort and responsibility, while the Democrats unabashedly stand for paternalism and the dispensatory state.

This Republican outlook represents not only a continuing prescription for political defeat but a contribution to accelerating national deterioration. Liberty will follow the disappearance of character, and, as matters stand, neither party has any character left. When the [illegible] narrowed the

mended for adult listening only" and with a clergyman to offer appropriate observations.

While it might seem that the obvious purpose of a program of this nature was to capitalize on pruriency, a question or two about the ultimate intention may be in order. Specifically, who was hurt? Prostitutes and their purveyors obviously have no reputation to lose, especially when they are cloaked in anonymity and presented as disembodied voices.

But business, and especially big business, which was singled out by particular reference, stands to suffer damage as an economic entity. It is somewhat curious that a smear of this kind should materialize at a time when Sen. Kefauver and various other New Dealers are busy trying to work up a case against big business.

Nor is there any opportunity to offer a defense. No big corporation is going to buy time on the air to say, "None of our executives operate in this way, either providing or accepting opportunities of immorality." When the deputy police commissioner of New York called upon Mr. Murrow for information which might serve to clean up the conditions the broadcast purported to disclose, the commentator took refuge in the contention that he had pledged anonymity to his informants. Not long ago the United Nations summarily dismissed a headquarters officer who adopted that same position for the laudable purpose of protecting the families of Hungarian refugees who had testified to communist atrocities in the suppression of the revolt in Hungary.

Mr. Murrow does not choose to put up or shut up. He is satisfied with promoting an indiscriminate smear against the business community and offering nothing to support it. Would he consider equal time to show that the same sort of sex bribery might influence union bosses or politicians? Somehow we doubt it.

Mr. Murrow is a "liberal" of the left, of a type admired by Americans for Democratic Action. Some of his more conspicuous television shows were dedicated to defaming the late Sen. McCarthy for his anti-communist activities, defending Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer after he had been denied loyalty clearance by the atomic energy commission, attacking the McCarran-Walter immigration act, and defending Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, a government worker, who was portrayed as a "victim" of McCarthy. Just a couple of months ago federal loyalty review authorities conceded that Mrs. Moss had been, as McCarthy said, a Communist, but Mr. Murrow did not correct the allegations he had made four years earlier.

We doubt if the Murrow show was intended as a contribution to sociological understanding. Until some proof is offered to support its representations, we shall regard it as political propaganda.

Collingwood, Chas

February 4, 1959

Dear Charlie:

I have only had time to glance at the documentation contained in yours of January 26, but I will try to do my homework in the course of the next couple of weeks. This merely serves to emphasize again the urgency of my request that you sit in on that session. I really think it is essential to the success of the whole undertaking. Again, many thanks, and do let me have a cable saying you will do most of the work.

The last couple of weeks around here would have amused you. The National Association of Manufacturers uttered a classic blast, including an announcement of their belated support of McCarthy. The Journal-American headlined the sex show as a hoax, whereupon the Company assembled all its well-calloused consciences, debated for a full day about issuing a statement, and finally decided to keep silent. Big sponsors were moaning that I had destroyed their reputation in the community, and I have just informed Miss Campbell and Miss Hogg that the collective wisdom of this corporation is not capable of running even a moderately successful whorehouse.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Mr. Charles Collingwood
CBS News
26 Hallam Street
London W. 1

News from the
NAM
National Association of Manufacturers

6-B-19

Public Information Department
Leslie Avery, Director

2 East 48th Street, New York 17
MUrray Hill 8-4200

EDITORIAL FOR NAM NEWS JANUARY 30, 1959 (release p.m.'s Jan. 26)

THE BUSINESS OF SEX

Mr. Edward R. Murrow, the social philosopher of the Columbia Broadcasting System, has proved himself to be a past master of innuendo, smear, snide implication, and unsupported accusation -- tactics which he alleged were used by the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, a man whom he pilloried unmercifully and unfairly.

In a nationwide broadcast over the CBS Radio Network, entitled "The Business of Sex," Mr. Murrow sought diligently to implant in the minds of his listeners the thought that American business and industry, habitually and as a matter of policy, employ prostitutes to help put across big deals. The supporting "evidence" for this clearly implied allegation was in the form of anonymous, tape-recorded voices supposed to be those of call girls, madams, and the businessmen who use their services. None was identified and one New York newspaper, the Journal-American, asked plainly in a front-page headline "Was the Murrow Expose a Hoax?" The paper quoted a theatrical press agent as saying that CBS representatives approached him when the program was in preparation and asked for his help in locating vice queens. He told them it couldn't be done and advised them to hire professional actors and actresses, and said that in his opinion this is what they did.

Editorially, the Journal-American called the program a "reckless smear" and pointed out that it would be a "prize package for the propaganda machine of international Communism." The paper said that Murrow owes American business an apology.

Another newspaper, the New York World-Telegram, censured Mr. Murrow editorially and quoted Chief Magistrate John M. Murtagh as saying that the broadcast seemed "primarily designed to exploit immorality for the purpose of audience interest." The paper said it echoed this view.

While it would be idle to deny that, in business as well in virtually every other human activity, unscrupulous individuals have used, are using, and will continue to use commercialized sex to further their purposes, for Mr. Murrow to convey the impression, as he plainly sought to do, that big corporations go in for this as a matter of policy, even to the extent of maintaining "one or two call girls on their payrolls as part of the public relations staff," is a blow below the belt which is unworthy of Murrow and of CBS.

The question arises as to the motivation for this sort of thing. If Mr. Murrow is honestly interested in carrying on a social crusade, why doesn't he tape record the voices of some of the 125,000 people who wrote letters to the McClellan Committee describing how they were slugged, beaten, intimidated and denied the right to earn a living by some of the arrogant czars of the labor movement? He could do a very dramatic program by broadcasting the stories of some of the widows whose husbands were killed by union goons, or of some of the working people who were beaten and crippled because they stood up for their rights, or of some of the millions of faceless men and women who have told in their letters of oppression, coercion, and exploitation at the hands of those who are supposed to represent their nterests.

We are afraid, on the basis of Mr. Murrow's previous history, that this sort of social reporting is not for him. On the other hand, he seems all too ready to spring to the microphone or the television camera at the slightest hint that businessmen have been guilty of wrong-doing or anti-social activity. He doesn't even need proof, it seems -- just anonymous allegation.

The chief beneficiary, of course, of Mr. Murrow's excursion into the business of sex will be the labor unions, who desperately need something to divert the public spotlight from their own wrong-doings to the sins of business, even if, as in this case, the "sins" turn out in the end to be mostly a hoax.

Already union leaders are clamoring for the McClellan Committee to turn its attention from their activities to the use of sex ~~of~~ by business, which perhaps is the purpose of the program presented by Mr. Murrow.

- mmc -

Osborn, Alex F.
Business & Sex

January 29, 1959

F.

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

Confidential

This is a strictly personal communication. It has nothing to do with BBDO. And it is meant to be constructive.

Since I have long been an admirer of yours, I hope you will take this in the spirit which prompts it.

If you were right in your condemnation of big business, I have been deaf and blind throughout my 45 years of dealings with the country's largest corporations.

Never have I even heard of the practices reported to be prevelant.

ALEX F. OSBORN, RAND BUILDING, BUFFALO 3, N. Y.

In my more than 5,000 days and nights on the road, I have worked and lunched and dined with executives of more than 100 of the nation's leading companies.

I repeat -- never have I even heard of those practices.

If I am right, I hope you will retract. This would be an heroic service to the nation because our country would be better off if the public were to think as well of big business as the facts warrant.

I am not letting anyone know that I have written this to you.

Cordially,

Alex F. Osborn

ALEX F. OSBORN, RAND BUILDING, BUFFALO 3, N. Y.

~~Separd. Jan~~
Special Program -
"Business of Sex"

RECEIVED
1959 JAN 27 AM 9:35
C B S TELETYPE ROOM N.

LONG

WU001 NL PD

TDSJ SUNNYVALE CALIF JAN 26

ARTHUR HULL HAYES

CBS

DEAR ART, CONGRATULATIONS ON THE COLUMBIA RADIO PROGRAM "THE BUSINESS OF SEX". IT WAS BRILLIANTLY CONCEIVED AND EXECUTED. IT WAS NOT SENSATIONAL NOR EMOTIONAL NOR ALARMIST. IT MADE NO ACCUSATION AGAINST ANYONE BUT SIMPLY DESCRIBED A SITUATION THAT DOES EXIST. WHAT PROMPTS THIS NIGHT LETTER WAS A NEWS ARTICLE IN OUR LOCAL PAPER TODAY. A UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL RELEASE. IT WILL APPEAR IN ALL THE PAPERS I SUPPOSE. THIS NEWS ARTICLE QUOTES NAM AS CHZRGING THAT MR MURROW ACCUSES AMERICAN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY OF EMPLOYING PROSTITUES AS MATTER OF POLICY. I MADE A TAPE OF THE PROGRAM.THE CHARGE SEEMS UNFAIR EVEN LUDICROUS. I HOPE NO ONE WILL TAKE IT SERIOUSLY BECAUSE THE PROGRAM WAS A PERFECT EXAMPLE OF THE KIND OF PUBLIC SERVICE THAT RADIO AND ONLY RADIO CAN OFFER, IT CARRIED TREMENDOUS IMPACT. EVERYONE HERE THAT HEARD IT WAS AMAZED THAT THE GIRLS, THE CUSTOMERS AND THE MIDDLEMEN JUSTIFIED THEIR ACTIONS BCAUSE THEY WERE DONE FOR MONEY. THERE WERE NO INUENDOES NO SNIDE IMPLICATIONS EVERYTHING WAS CLEARLY STATED. IT WAS A WONDERFUL JOB AND I AM PROUD OF YOU AND OF CBS

JAMES A MARA S J ALMA COLLEGE

914A..

TO Dr Brown

FROM

Thought you should see this.

Father Mara is the Professor of Theology of Alma (a Jesuit) College.

Jim

1/28/59

Stanton-Sex

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: MR. MURROW cc Mr. Mickelson

from: Dr. Stanton

January 27, 1959

You may want to be familiar with
the attached correspondence.

FRANK STANTON

ww

DUPONT

E. I. DU PONT DE NEMOURS & COMPANY
INCORPORATED
WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

January 20, 1959

Mr. Frank Stanton, President
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Frank:

I was astonished to read in The New York Times and The Washington Post today that the Columbia Broadcasting System last night lent its radio network to a wholly irresponsible attack on business and especially the large corporation, in a 55-minute program narrated by your top commentator, Edward R. Murrow, and entitled "The Business of Sex".

Granted that isolated cases of almost any sort of unsavory practice can be found in business as elsewhere, I simply do not believe that the use of prostitutes is tolerated by any responsible companies, large or small. Yet every large corporation was held up to public contempt by CBS with its frequent references, according to The Times, to "the highest levels of business," "the largest corporations in the United States," and so on.

To me, knowing as I do something of CBS' standards, this was a well-nigh incredible thing to do, and I feel I should be remiss in my duty were I not, on behalf of the du Pont Company, to make this formal protest.

So far as the du Pont Company is concerned, I cannot of course answer for the morals and ethics of each of its 85,000 employees, but I can assure you that any employees found to have engaged in such practices would be instantly dismissed.

At this stage, I confess I do not know exactly what CBS can do to set the record straight, for harm has been done beyond any curing to every company innocent of this kind of thing. Something has been put in the record that antibusiness propagandists can and will make use of for years to come, quoting CBS as authority for the statement that this kind of thing is typical of American big business. Partly because of this, and partly as a simple act of decency, I believe that you will want to do what you can to set the record straight.

Sincerely,

Charles H. Greenewalt

C. H. Greenewalt
President

CHG:mh

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

[illegible] Place [illegible]

January 26, 1959

Mr. C. H. Greenewalt, President
E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company Incorporated
Wilmington, Delaware

Dear Crawford:

Following our conversation in Washington, I went to Los Angeles and have just returned to read your letter of January 20. While you prepared me for your reactions, I am most unhappy that in your opinion the CBS Radio Network program, "The Business of Sex," constituted a "wholly irresponsible attack on business and especially the large corporation."

This, of course, was not at all the purpose of the program, which resulted from thorough and most carefully documented research by the staff of CBS News, backed by the reports of more than 150 stations affiliated with the CBS Radio Network. The intention was to reveal the callousness among our citizenry toward an age-old evil involving the exploitation of human beings.

I am sure you would, as you say, dismiss instantly any du Pont employee found to have engaged in such tawdry practices as were reported on the program. So would other fine and responsible men at the top management of this country's large and respected corporations. But the fact is that making expensive call girls available to important customers is more prevalent than most top executives apparently realize among sales personnel of even some of our largest and best known corporations, usually -- but not always -- without the knowledge of the executive heads of the companies involved.

You realize, of course, the great dangers in any attempt by CBS management to censor the efforts of the alert and responsible journalists who

make up CBS News. But with the benefit of hindsight, I now wish language used in the program could have been more precise in defining the areas of American business. That is, when the phrase "big business" is used, people tend to think of it as meaning the top management of America's major corporations. If we were to do anything now "to set the record straight" on this point, I am afraid we would merely aggravate the situation.

Sincerely,

w

P. S. As an example of the wide divergence of opinion about this broadcast, I am enclosing a copy of a letter which has just been received from the Council on Christian Social Progress of The American Baptist Convention.

YOUNG & RUBICAM, INC.
Advertising

SIGURD S. LARMON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

January 22, 1959

Dear Frank:

The Business of Sex was pretty close to an all time low in yellow journalism on the air.

Sincerely,

S. 9

Dr. Frank Stanton
President
Columbia Broadcasting
Systems, Inc.
New York, New York

January 27, 1959

Dear Sig:

I found your note about the CBS Radio Network broadcast, "The Business of Sex," when I returned from Los Angeles yesterday.

I am most unhappy because I prize your respect so highly. The material for the broadcast was, in fact, carefully prepared and it was intended to be neither "yellow" nor sensational, although I confess it has been so labeled.

The small comfort I get from reactions such as those which I am enclosing does not begin to make up for my distress about your disapproval.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Mr. Sigurd S. Larson
Chairman of the Board
Young & Rubicam, Inc.
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

CEIVED
1959 JAN 27 9:35
C B S TELETYPE ROOM N

LONG

WU001 NL PD

TDSJ SUNNYVALE CALIF JAN 26

ARTHUR HULL HAYES

CBS

DEAR ART, CONGRATULATIONS ON THE COLUMBIA RADIO PROGRAM "THE BUSINESS OF SEX". IT WAS BRILLIANTLY CONCEIVED AND EXECUTED. IT WAS NOT SENSATIONAL NOR EMOTIONAL NOR ALARMIST. IT MADE NO ACCUSATION AGAINST ANYONE BUT SIMPLY DESCRIBED A SITUATION THAT DOES EXIST. WHAT PROMPTS THIS NIGHT LETTER WAS A NEWS ARTICLE IN OUR LOCAL PAPER TODAY. A UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL RELEASE. IT WILL APPEAR IN ALL THE PAPERS I SUPPOSE. THIS NEWS ARTICLE QUOTES NAM AS CHZRGING THAT MR MURROW ACCUSES AMERICAN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY OF EMPLOYING PROSTITUES AS MATTER OF POLICY. I MADE A TAPE OF THE PROGRAM THE CHARGE SEEMS UNFAIR EVEN LUDICROUS. I HOPE NO ONE WILL TAKE IT SERIOUSLY BECAUSE THE PROGRAM WAS A PERFECT EXAMPLE OF THE KIND OF PUBLIC SERVICE THAT RADIO AND ONLY RADIO CAN OFFER, IT CARRIED TREMENDOUS IMPACT. EVERYONE HERE THAT HEARD IT WAS AMAZED THAT THE GIRLS, THE CUSTOMERS AND THE MIDDLEMEN JUSTIFIED THEIR ACTIONS BCAUSE THEY WERE DONE FOR MONEY. THERE WERE NO INUENDOES NO SNIDE IMPLICATIONS EVERYTHING WAS CLEARLY STATED. IT WAS A WONDERFUL JOB AND I AM PROUD OF YOU AND OF CBS

JAMES A MARA S J ALMA COLLEGE

914A..

Editorials

Radio Report on Sex and Business

A RADIO PROGRAM documenting the use of call girls by businessmen, produced by the Public Affairs Department of CBS News and aired over the CBS network on January 19, has stirred up so much discussion that AMERICA readers may welcome a few words of comment and clarification.

In preparing the program, CBS set aside time for a moral appraisal of the practices its researchers had uncovered. On approaching a Jesuit member of the Fordham University faculty, CBS officials were referred to one of our associate editors, the Rev. Benjamin L. Masse, S.J., who has been dealing with business and industrial relations for many years. At first, Fr. Masse was understandably reluctant to participate in the program. He agreed to do so only after he was persuaded 1) that CBS was sincerely interested in combating a disgusting moral abuse in our society, 2) that it had gone about the job in a serious and professional way, 3) that it intended to present its findings with tact and restraint, and 4) that the program would be scheduled late in the evening when youngsters would presumably not be listening.

Since none of the newspaper accounts of the broadcast which have come to our attention has reported Fr. Masse's remarks in anything but the most fragmentary fashion, we are reprinting them here in full. After having been presented to the listening audience by Edward R. Murrow, the narrator of the program, which was all on tape, Fr. Masse said:

> Throughout history unprincipled men have exploited sex to swing business deals and all sorts of other deals. If there is anything novel here, it is the suggestion—and it is only a suggestion—that this immoral conduct has become something of a pattern, a more or less accepted way of doing business that even otherwise good men are obliged to follow, or at least to wink at, if they would remain competitive.
>
> To the extent that this is true, we are confronted with a type of unfair competition more vicious than anything forbidden by State or Federal law. Indeed, we are faced with a threat to the whole moral fabric of business. The spread of this filth and hypocrisy means the end of idealism of any kind; it means that the honorable activity of supplying the material and cultural needs of the community, for a legitimate reward, degenerates into a lustful, uninhibited pursuit of money. It is scarcely necessary to detail the corrosive effects such a flouting of divine and human law would have not only on the moral character of businessmen, but on the society which bears their stamp.
>
> It is my impression that the vast majority of businessmen scorn this foul way of operating. The point is that the job of curbing the rotters cannot be left to the police and the Bureau of Internal Revenue alone. It's a challenge to the business community, too.

AMERICA joins Arthur Hull Hayes, president of CBS Radio, and other CBS executives in hoping that their exposure of this nauseating traffic, which on the whole we thought tactful and dignified, will have the constructive effects they aimed at. Already there is some reason to believe that it will.

New Look at the Test Ban

LAST SUMMER a group of scientists designed what was presumably a reliable world-wide network for detecting atomic blasts. The crucial problem of sorting out artificially induced earth tremors from a background of natural quakes and random earth noises was the chief factor determining the number of control posts in the proposed inspection system, as well as their mode of operation.

These expert recommendations, up until January 5, formed the technical foundation of our negotiations at the Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons. On January 5 the President's Science Advisory Committee released a new verdict on testing: "It is more difficult to identify underground explosions than had previously been believed." This statement at once undermined the main scientific basis of the Geneva treaty negotiations. It also left us open to the Soviet charge that we were deliberately scuttling the effort to outlaw weapons testing. The Soviet delegation lost no time in accusing us of a step backward.

It seems that the original panel of experts based its recommendations largely on one underground test of September, 1957. These recommendations must now be drastically modified in the light of seismic studies made on several underground explosions that took place last October. The impact of the new data on our current bargaining position is roughly this: 1) the proposed network of some 180 control posts is rather grossly inadequate as a monitoring system, unless we achieve dramatic advances in seismic recording and interpretation; 2) the reliability of the proposed network can be salvaged by greatly increasing the number of control

COUNCIL ON CHRISTIAN SOCIAL PROGRESS

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION

152 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Telephone MUrray Hill 4-4100

JOHN W. THOMAS
Executive Secretary

MIRIAM R. CORBETT
Associate Secretary

MRS. GEORGE B. MARTIN
152 Maple Street
Summit, New Jersey
Accredited Representative
at the United Nations

January 22, 1959

Accept
Appropriate action
Bring back
FYI File JSM
Note & return
Phone
Reply direct
Return to sender
Other
Suggestions
To discuss
Comment & recommendation
Copy to
URGENT

Mr. William S. Paley, Chairman
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Paley:

I write to thank the Board of the Columbia Broadcasting System for making available to the public the excellent program on January 19 concerning Call Girls and their relationship to the business world. I think it was conducted with sensitivity and good taste and yet did not avoid discussion of the real issues which are involved. There is a fine line between this and cheap sensationalism and your program maintained the positive approach.

While it is not your assignment to work for the church in our world, that kind of presentation is very meaningful for it leads to discussion among all sorts of people and reminds them of their ethical challenges which they usually do not even recognise in their daily work. Each of us in one way or another exploits others though it may not be in the stark manner of prostitution.

The discussions even in the building here at Baptist Headquarters have been more than interesting as a result of this program and from what a salesman told me, it created quite a positive sensation in his business.

I suppose that there will be those who are critical of the program and if there is any further way in which organizations such as ours can support you in the future, please do not hesitate to let us know.

Yours sincerely,

Miriam Corbett

Miriam R. Corbett
Associate Secretary

MRC/gh

(270)

NEW YORK, JAN. 26 (AP)-THE NATIONAL ASSN. OF MANUFACTURERS TODAY ATTACKED CBS COMMENTATOR EDWARD R. MURROW FOR A RADIO PROGRAM LINKING PROSTITUTES TO BIG BUSINESS DEALS.

THE ASSOCIATION SAID THE PROGRAM MAY HAVE BEEN DESIGNED TO DIVERT THE ATTENTION OF THE SENATE LABOR RACKETS COMMITTEE FROM UNION ACTIVITIES TO "THE USE OF SEX BY BUSINESS."

NO COMMENT BY MURROW WAS IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE.

THE PGORAM, "THE BUSINESS OF SEX," WAS BROADCAST ON THE DBS RADIO NETWORK LAST MONDAY NIGHT. ANONYMOUS PARTICIPANTS, DESCRIBED AS HIGH-PAID CALL GIRLS AND BUSINESSMEN, ASSERTED THAT PROSTITUTES WERE EMPLOYED TO HELP SWING BUSINESS DEALS AND THAT SOME COMPANIES PUT THEM ON A PUBLIC RELATIONS PAYROLL OR PAID THEM A MONTHLY FEE FOR THEIR SERVICES.

IN AN EDITORIAL FOR THE JAN. 30 EDITION OF THE NAM NEWS, THE ASSOCIATION SAID THE CHIEF BENEFICIARY OF THE PGORAM WILL BE THE LABOR UNIONS, "WHO DESPERATELY NEED SOMETHING TO DIVERT THE PUBLIC SPOTLIGHT FROM THEIR OWN WRONGDOINGS TO THE SINS OF BUSINESS, EVEN IF, AS IN THIS CASE, THE 'SINS' TURN OUT IN THE END TO BE MOSTLY A HOAX."

THE ASSOCIATION SAID UNION LEADERS WERE ALREADY "CLAMORING FOR THE MCCLELLAN COMMITTEE TO TURN ITS ATTENTION FROM THEIR ACTIVITIES TO THE USE OF SEX BY BUSINESS, WHICH PERHAPS IS THE PURPOSE OF THE PROGRAM PRESENTED BY MR. MURROW."

THE PROGRAM STIRRED UP A FUROR IN THE BUSINESS WORLD. SOME BUSINESSMEN HERE CLAIMED IN GENERAL THAT THEY HAD NEVER HEARD OF COMPANIES USING CALL GIRLS TO INFLUENCE CONTRACTS.

THE NAM EDITORIAL SAID:

"WHILE IT WOULD BE IDLE TO DENY THAT, IN BUSINESS AS WELL AS IN VIRTUALLY EVERY OTHER HUMAN ACTIVITY, UNSCURUPULOUS INDIVIDUALS HAVE USED, ARE USING, AND WILL CONTINUE TO USE COMMERCIALIZED SEX TO FURTHER THEIR PURPOSES, FOR MR. MURROW TO CONVEY THE IMPRESSION, AS HE PLAINLY SOUGHT TO DO, THAT BIG CORPORATIONS GO IN FOR THIS AS A MATTER OF POLICY. . .IS A BLOW BELOW THE BELT WHICH IS UNWORTHY OF MURROW AND OF CBS."

From the Desk of

G. W. (JOHNNY) JOHNSTONE

Ed:

Attached for your information

Johnny

johnny 1/26/59

NX25

NEW YORK, JAN. 26.--(UPI)--THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS CHARGED TODAY THAT EDWARD R. MURROW'S CBS RADIO EXPOSE, "THE BUSINESS OF SEX", WAS MOSTLY A HOAX AIMED AT DIVERTING THE ATTENTION OF THE PUBLIC FROM LABOR RACKETEERING.

IN AN EDITORIAL IN ITS OFFICIAL PUBLICATION, THE NAM NEWS, THE BIG BUSINESS ORGANIZATION SAID MURROW IN HIS NATIONWIDE BROADCAST LAST MONDAY "SOUGHT DILIGENTLY TO IMPLANT IN THE MINDS OF HIS LISTENERS THAT THOUGHT THAT AMERICAN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY, HABITUALLY AND AS A MATTER OF POLICY, EMPLOY PROSTITUTES TO HELP PUT ACROSS BIG DEALS."

"MR. EDWARD R. MURROW, THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHER OF THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, HAS PROVED HIMSELF TO BE A PAST MASTER OF INNUENDO, SMEAR, SNIDE IMPLICATION, AND UNSUPPORTED ACCUSATION--TACTICS WHICH HE ALLEGED WERE USED BY THE LATE SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, A MAN WHOM HE PILLORIED UNMERCIFULLY AND UNFAIRLY," THE NAM SAID.

THE EDITORIAL SAID IT WOULD BE IDLE TO DENY THAT SOME UNSCRUPULOUS BUSINESS INDIVIDUALS USE COMMERCIALIZED SEX TO FURTHER THEIR INTERESTS. BUT IT SAID MURROW HIT A BLOW BELOW THE BELT WHEN HE SOUGHT TO CONVEY THE IMPRESSION THAT BIG CORPORATIONS HIRE CALL GIRLS AS A MATTER OF POLICY, TO THE EXTENT OF MAINTAINING THEM ON THEIR PAYROLLS AS MEMBERS OF THE "PUBLIC RELATIONS" STAFF.

"THE QUESTION ARISES AS TO THE MOTIVATION FOR THIS SORT OF THING," THE NAM SAID. "IF MR. MURROW IS HONESTLY INTERESTED IN CARRYING ON A SOCIAL CRUSADE, WHY DOESN'T HE TAPE RECORD THE VOICES OF SOME OF THE 125,000 PEOPLE WHO WROTE LETTERS TO THE MCCLELLAN COMMITTEE (SENATE INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE) DESCRIBING HOW THEY WERE SLUGGED, BEATEN, INTIMIDATED AND DENIED THE RIGHT TO EARN A LIVING BY SOME OF THE ARROGANT CZARS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT?"

THE EDITORIAL SAID THAT "ON THE BASIS OF MR. MURROW'S PREVIOUS HISTORY" THIS SORT OF SOCIAL REPORTING COULD NOT BE EXPECTED OF HIM. BUT THE SLIGHTEST HINT OF WRONG-DOING OR ANTI-SOCIAL ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF BUSINESSMEN FINDS MURROW "ALL TOO READY" TO SPRING TO THE MICROPHONE OR TELEVISION CAMERA WITHOUT PROOF--JUST ANONYMOUS

MONDAY "SOUGHT DILIGENTLY TO IMPLANT IN THE MINDS OF HIS LISTENERS THAT THOUGHT THAT AMERICAN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY, HABITUALLY AND AS A MATTER OF POLICY, EMPLOY PROSTITUTES TO HELP PUT ACROSS BIG DEALS."

"MR. EDWARD R. MURROW, THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHER OF THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, HAS PROVED HIMSELF TO BE A PAST MASTER OF INNUENDO, SMEAR, SNIDE IMPLICATION, AND UNSUPPORTED ACCUSATION--TACTICS WHICH HE ALLEGED WERE USED BY THE LATE SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, A MAN WHOM HE PILLORIED UNMERCIFULLY AND UNFAIRLY," THE NAM SAID.

THE EDITORIAL SAID IT WOULD BE IDLE TO DENY THAT SOME UNSCRUPULOUS BUSINESS INDIVIDUALS USE COMMERCIALIZED SEX TO FURTHER THEIR INTERESTS. BUT IT SAID MURROW HIT A BLOW BELOW THE BELT WHEN HE SOUGHT TO CONVEY THE IMPRESSION THAT BIG CORPORATIONS HIRE CALL GIRLS AS A MATTER OF POLICY, TO THE EXTENT OF MAINTAINING THEM ON THEIR PAYROLLS AS MEMBERS OF THE "PUBLIC RELATIONS" STAFF.

"THE QUESTION ARISES AS TO THE MOTIVATION FOR THIS SORT OF THING," THE NAM SAID. "IF MR. MURROW IS HONESTLY INTERESTED IN CARRYING ON A SOCIAL CRUSADE, WHY DOESN'T HE TAPE RECORD THE VOICES OF SOME OF THE 125,000 PEOPLE WHO WROTE LETTERS TO THE MCCLELLAN COMMITTEE (SENATE INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE) DESCRIBING HOW THEY WERE SLUGGED, BEATEN, INTIMIDATED AND DENIED THE RIGHT TO EARN A LIVING BY SOME OF THE ARROGANT CZARS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT?"

THE EDITORIAL SAID THAT "ON THE BASIS OF MR. MURROW'S PREVIOUS HISTORY" THIS SORT OF SOCIAL REPORTING COULD NOT BE EXPECTED OF HIM. BUT THE SLIGHTEST HINT OF WRONG-DOING OR ANTI-SOCIAL ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF BUSINESSMEN FINDS MURROW "ALL TOO READY" TO SPRING TO THE MICROPHONE OR TELEVISION CAMERA WITHOUT PROOF--JUST ANONYMOUS ALLEGATION, IT SAID.

"THE CHIEF BENEFICIARY, OF COURSE, OF MR. MURROW'S EXCURSION INTO THE BUSINESS OF SEX WILL BE THE LABOR UNIONS, WHO DESPERATELY NEED SOMETHING TO DIVERT THE PUBLIC SPOTLIGHT FROM THEIR OWN WRONGDOINGS TO THE SINS OF BUSINESS, EVEN IF, AS IN THIS CASE, THE 'SINS' TURN OUT IN THE END TO BE MOSTLY A HOAX," THE NAM SAID.

"ALREADY UNION LEADERS ARE CLAMORING FOR THE MC CLELLAN COMMITTEE TO TURN ITS ATTENTION FROM THEIR ACTIVITIES TO THE USE OF SEX BY BUSINESS, WHICH PERHAPS IS THE PURPOSE OF THE PROGRAM PRESENTED BY MR. MURROW."

CM517A

AMT

(270)

NEW YORK, JAN. 26 (AP)-THE NATIONAL ASSN. OF MANUFACTURERS TODAY ATTACKED CBS COMMENTATOR EDWARD R. MURROW FOR A RADIO PROGRAM LINKING PROSTITUTES TO BIG BUSINESS DEALS.

THE ASSOCIATION SAID THE PROGRAM MAY HAVE BEEN DESIGNED TO DIVERT THE ATTENTION OF THE SENATE LABOR RACKETS COMMITTEE FROM UNION ACTIVITIES TO "THE USE OF SEX BY BUSINESS."

NO COMMENT BY MURROW WAS IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE.

THE PGORAM, "THE BUSINESS OF SEX," WAS BROADCAST ON THE DBS RADIO NETWORK LAST MONDAY NIGHT. ANONYMOUS PARTICIPANTS, DESCRIBED AS HIGH-PAID CALL GIRLS AND BUSINESSMEN, ASSERTED THAT PROSTITUTES WERE EMPLOYED TO HELP SWING BUSINESS DEALS AND THAT SOME COMPANIES PUT THEM ON A PUBLIC RELATIONS PAYROLL OR PAID THEM A MONTHLY FEE FOR THEIR SERVICES.

IN AN EDITORIAL FOR THE JAN. 30 EDITION OF THE NAM NEWS, THE ASSOCIATION SAID THE CHIEF BENEFICIARY OF THE PGORAM WILL BE THE LABOR UNIONS, "WHO DESPERATELY NEED SOMETHING TO DIVERT THE PUBLIC SPOTLIGHT FROM THEIR OWN WRONGDOINGS TO THE SINS OF BUSINESS, EVEN IF, AS IN THIS CASE, THE 'SINS' TURN OUT IN THE END TO BE MOSTLY A HOAX."

THE ASSOCIATION SAID UNION LEADERS WERE ALREADY "CLAMORING FOR THE MCCLELLAN COMMITTEE TO TURN ITS ATTENTION FROM THEIR ACTIVITIES TO THE USE OF SEX BY BUSINESS, WHICH PERHAPS IS THE PURPOSE OF THE PROGRAM PRESENTED BY MR. MURROW."

THE PROGRAM STIRRED UP A FUROR IN THE BUSINESS WORLD. SOME BUSINESSMEN HERE CLAIMED IN GENERAL THAT THEY HAD NEVER HEARD OF COMPANIES USING CALL GIRLS TO INFLUENCE CONTRACTS.

THE NAM EDITORIAL SAID:

"WHILE IT WOULD BE IDLE TO DENY THAT, IN BUSINESS AS WELL AS IN VIRTUALLY EVERY OTHER HUMAN ACTIVITY, UNSCRUPULOUS INDIVIDUALS HAVE USED, ARE USING, AND WILL CONTINUE TO USE COMMERCIALIZED SEX TO FURTHER THEIR PURPOSES, FOR MR. MURROW TO CONVEY THE IMPRESSION, AS HE PLAINLY SOUGHT TO DO, THAT BIG CORPORATIONS GO IN FOR THIS AS A MATTER OF POLICY. . .IS A BLOW BELOW THE BELT WHICH IS UNWORTHY OF MURROW AND OF CBS."

SJ819AES

What Did Radio Sex Show Prove?

CBS Radio dropped a bombshell January 19. It put on a program called **The Business of Sex.** The theme was that big business uses prostitutes to help along sales of its products. Anonymous witnesses, both call girls and executives, testified that corporations use call girls as a sales technique and often charge them off for tax purposes as "entertainment."

* * *

Edward R. Murrow was the narrator, aided by the anthropologist, Margaret Mead; New York Commissioner of Corrections Anna Kross, psychologist Harold Greenwald and associate editor of "America," Fr. Benjamin Masse, S.J.

* * *

The New York Police Commissioner took action immediately. He asked the narrator, Mr. Murrow, to produce his witnesses but he refused. The stand of the police was that the practice exists in business but only on a very small scale.

Businessmen questioned the day after the program by reporters indignantly denied any knowledge of that practice. CBS was accused of staging the program for the purpose of creating a sensation. Some listeners said the program was "shocking," others said "enlightening."

The episode brings a number of questions to mind. First, does Mr. Murrow have a right to withhold information about the witnesses from the police? As a general rule, anyone who has information about a crime has a duty to report it.

* * *

It is altogether possible that Mr. Murrow has some valid reasons for holding back the names of his witnesses. If so, he should explain what the reasons are. Especially so since CBS is being accused of putting on the program merely for sensational purposes.

* * *

Secondly, was it prudent to give the facts over the radio to the general public? Some listeners called the program a "shocker." I listened to the program, but it seemed to me to be reporting nothing but a condition that adults know to exist—though not to the degree implied by the program.

It was not nearly as shocking as what appears every day in the New York tabloids. As for children, they should not have been listening. The program began at 10 p.m. and they should have been in their beds.

What impressed me, however, was the power of radio to rouse a listless public. I think the program proves that radio can serve a great purpose in fighting social evils. It can do this more effectively than TV.

* * *

I don't think TV can crusade against evils as effectively as radio can because TV distracts. Its message does not penetrate as deeply as radio because the listener's attention is drawn to the picture on the screen and away from the evil that is being described. If the picture is pleasant, the listener will probably have a favorable reaction to the evil.

* * *

For instance, during the Kefauver investigation a few years ago, some of the proceedings were televised. Notorious criminals and vice queens of the underworld passed in review across the TV screens in living rooms. They looked like "nice people." TV glamorized them.

What the investigators were saying about them was counteracted by the attractive physical appearance of the criminals. In the case of radio, however, the listener is not distracted by a pretty face or handsome profile. He can give all his attention to the evil thing itself.

* * *

It's like the matter of portraying history. Robert L. Shayon, in the "Saturday Review" (April 12, 1958) said that radio can give you the feel of history better than TV can. To give you the picture of a historical scene, as TV does, is not enough. For history is what went on in the minds and hearts of the men who made history. Mr. Shayon says that radio can get inside a character more effectively than TV.

* * *

He cited as an example **The Stalin Myth,** a radio program on WBAI-FM. As he says, this program did not give you the faces of the red revolutionaries but it did "lay bare the minds of these revolutionary despots in all their apocalytic fervor, dedication, deceit, cunning and terror."

The excitement over the recent CBS programs as I see it, points up the fact that radio has a new role: that of social crusader. The sleeping public needs to be shocked into a realization of the low state of public morals.

From the Desk of

G. W. (JOHNNY) JOHNSTONE

PERSONAL

Attached is to complete your file

(I hope!).

Best personal wishes,

Johnny 2/4/59

johnny - "The
Voice of the Minority
(at NAM)".

CBS Explains The Murrow "Sex" Broadcast

With regard to an editorial in this newspaper last week concerning a recent CBS radio report entitled, "The Business of Sex," narrated by Edward R. Murrow, the NAM herewith publishes, for the benefit of its members, a letter addressed to the editor from Mr. Arthur Hull Hayes, president of CBS Radio, a Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., and a reply by NAM's vice president in charge of Public Relations, Mr. Edward I. Maher, relating to the incident.

By special permission of the correspondents, the letters follow:

MR. HAYES' LETTER

CBS Radio
A Division of Columbia
Broadcasting System, Inc.

January 27, 1959

"Dear Mr. Marron:

"I have seen news reports this morning of your editorial charging that a radio report on THE BUSINESS OF SEX was a 'hoax' perpetrated by Edward R. Murrow to 'smear' business by 'unsupported accusations' and 'aimed at diverting the attention of the public from labor racketeering.'

"The report narrated by Mr. Murrow was not a hoax. Nor was it unsupported accusation. It grew out of most painstaking and carefully documented research by the staff of CBS News, backed by the reports of more than 150 stations affiliated with the CBS Radio Network.

"The purpose of the broadcast report was to 'smear' nobody, but to reveal the callousness among many groups of American people toward an age-old evil involving the exploitation of human beings.

"We at CBS have great respect for American business management at its best. We are sure that if responsible heads of corporations, large or small, were aware that their employees were engaging in such tawdry practices as were reported on the program, the employees would be promptly discharged.

"The fact is, however, that making expensive call girls available to important customers is more prevalent throughout the whole country than most men in top management apparently realize. Usually, but not always, it is carried on without knowledge of the executive heads of the companies involved.

"The motives you attribute to Mr. Murrow are entirely false. He did not himself engage in, or supervise, the months-long research on which the broadcast was based. The CBS News organization did that research. Mr. Murrow did adopt the findings for the radio report. In light of the authenticated data produced by the research, it should be emphasized that the treatment was restrained and in no way distorted or slanted.

"Sincerely, (signed) Arthur Hull Hayes, President of CBS Radio."

MR. MAHER'S LETTER

"Dear Mr. Hayes:

"As the writer of the editorial appearing in this week's NAM News relating to the Murrow broadcast, I am glad to get your letter of January 27. I would like to have your permission to reproduce this in our next issue in order to clear the record for our members.

"In case you have not seen the full editorial, I am enclosing a clipping. You will note that we did not charge that the broadcast was a hoax but only stated that a New York newspaper had raised that question. We do not, of course, believe for a moment that the management of CBS Radio would knowingly allow a hoax to be perpetrated, any more than American business management would tolerate the use of call girls as company policy.

"Unfortunately, the statement to the latter effect contained in your letter was not brought out in the broadcast, but rather the implication was created that such practices were a standard and accepted policy of business, particularly of 'big corporations.' Had this subject been presented in proper perspective, I can assure you the editorial would never have been written.

"As far as we are concerned, we are only too glad to have the matter straightened out and to clear up such misunderstanding as may have occurred by publishing your letter for the information of our members. Upon receipt of permission, we will do so. Meanwhile, we trust that no incident of this nature will occur in the future to mar the good relations which have always existed between our organizations.

"Sincerely, (signed) Edward Maher, Vice President, Public Relations, NAM."

NAM Members

Approximately 83 percent of NAM member companies employ less than 500 persons each.

Some 46 percent of NAM's membership have less than 100 employees.

Twenty-eight percent employ fewer than 50.

The Association has members in every state of the Union, Puerto Rico and Hawaii.

Industry Concerned By Soaring State Budgets

Local public affairs programs within industry loom more and more important in view of rising state budgets, many of which, on a regional basis, appear more pertinent than the alarums and excursions attending the battle for the Federal budget.

According to an Associated Press survey released last week, of the budgets which have assumed definite forms in 16 states, 13 are higher and 11 have reached record proportions.

Urge Private Incentive Program for Inventors In Space Technology

More than 130 members of NAM's Patents Committee, representing both legal and technological segments of American industry, last week recommended amendments in the Space Act which would eliminate Federal or other government patent controls so that the full incentive of the patent system may remain effective to advance space technology.

In general, however, the participants agreed that Government must retain, subject to the laws of military security, the rights to top priority to utilize inventions in the field of space developments.

Leading the discussions was Elmer F. Gorn, Patent Counsel of the Raytheon Manufacturing Company, chairman of the Astronautics Subcommittee of NAM's Patents Committee. Robert C. Watson, U. S. Commissioner of Patents, and Senate Patents Subcommittee Counsel, Robert L. Wright, participated.

Along toward the end of the day-long meeting word was received Commissioner Watson had been selected to receive the 1959 Charles F. Kettering Award for "Meritorious Work in Patent, Trademark and Copyright Research and Education." The honor is bestowed annually by the PT&C Foundation of George Washington University for outstanding work in this field.

READING MATERIAL FOR BUSINESSMEN

"Tomorrow's Corporate Marketing Operations," a symposium based on material presented at the NAM's Sixty-third Congress of American Industry last December, features Walther H. Feldmann, president of Worthington Corporation; Fenton B. Turck, president of F. B. Turck & Co., Inc.; Boone Gross, president of Gillette Company; William H. Lang, assistant vice president of U. S. Steel Corporation; Clarence H. Linder, vice president, engineering, G. E. Co.; J. Keith Louden, executive vice president of Lebanon Steel Foundry; and J. A. McIlnay, vice president, marketing, Electric-Storage Battery Company. Copies are available on a first come first served basis at no cost or obligation, write: Economic Problems Department, NAM, 2 E. 48th St., N. Y. 17, N. Y.

* * *

"Legislative Threat to Marketing," a dramatic presentation by Edmund P. Hennelly, legislative consultant, Socony Mobil Oil Co., Inc., emphasizing danger areas in Government's encroachment in the fields relating to the marketing process. Copies are available on a first come first served basis at no cost or obligation, write: Economic Problems Department, NAM, 2 E. 48th St., N. Y. 17, N. Y.

* * *

"Favorable Business Climate," subtitled, "A desirable alternative to Federal Government 'aid' to depressed areas," third in a popular series of five publications prepared for the Economic Problems Department of NAM. Copies are available at fifty cents each with special rates for quantity purchases. Four sections, each devoted to improving the business climate without resorting to Federal aid for so-called depressed areas. NAM Economic Problems Department, 2 E. 48th St., N. Y. 17, N. Y.

* * *

"Research and Its Evaluation for the Small Business," fourth in the popular five-series presentations of the Economic Problems Department of the NAM. Prepared under the guidance of Dr. Joseph W. Barker, chairman of Research Corporation and chairman of the NAM's Committee on Research. Includes material on "Manpower," by R. W. McNamee, chairman of Union Carbide Corporation; "Industrial Research Education," by S. D. Kirkpatrick, chairman of McGraw-Hill Publishing Company; and, "Government Cooperation," by E. Duer Reeves, chairman, Esso Research and Engineering Co. Available at 50 cents per copy, with special rates for quantity purchases. Write: NAM Economic Problems Department, 2 E. 48th St., N. Y. 17, N. Y.

* * *

"Union Power and Labor-Management Relations." a publication containing selected proceedings from the NAM's 63rd Congress of American Industry last December. The booklet which carries texts of papers on current issues in the areas of organized labor and collective bargaining, is divided into two major parts:

1. Union Power—A talk by Victor Riesel entitled "Inside the House Labor," an address and a symposium on the theme "Organized Labor and the Future," and,

2. Labor-Management Relations—A panel of top spokesmen discuss key contractual commitments in seven bellwether industries.

Together, the papers provide a full-dimensional look at labor relations today and tomorrow in America. Copies may be obtained at fifty cents each by writing the NAM Industrial Relations Department, 2 E. 48th St., N. Y. 17, N. Y.

Leading discussions at last week's NAM Patents Committee were (l. to r. at right): Hugo A. Kemman, Patent Counsel for Sharples Corp.; Robert L. Wright, Counsel to the Senate Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks and Copyrights; Elmer J. Gorn, assistant General Counsel for Raytheon Manufacturing Company; Rudolph F. Bannow, president of the Bridgeport Machines, Inc., and chairman of NAM's Patents Committee; Reynold Bennett, NAM staff; H. R. Mayers, General Patent Counsel, G. E. Company; George S. Hastings, vice president and Patent Counsel of American Machine and Foundry Company; and Robert C. Watson, U. S. Commissioner of Patents. At top: partial view of the attendance which exceeded 130.

"THE MISSING CLASS OF '59"

January 21, 1959

The account of Norfolk, Virginia action of shutting all schools rather than permitting 17 Negro students to sit with 10,000 Whites.

Lost Class of '59

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: Miss Williams

from: Sheila Hogg

January 16, 1959

Here are copies of Mr. Murrow's correspondence with Carroll Walker of Norfolk, Virginia, which I think Dr. Stanton would probably like to see.

With regard to Mr. Arnoux' letter, I understand Dr. Stanton has already received a copy of his second letter telling of his further discoveries in the matter of the bad check.

January 14, 1959

Mr. Carroll H. Walker
1117 Rockbridge Avenue
Norfolk 8, Virginia

Dear Mr. Walker:

I write to thank you for your gracious letter of January 7. It is true that we have had a camera team filming in Norfolk for the past several weeks. The reporter was Arthur Morse, a young man of wide experience and proven integrity. I have shown him your letter and attach a memorandum from Mr. Morse which I believe covers most of the points raised in your communication.

Permit me to say that, in filming a report of this type, we shoot roughly 1,000 ft. for every 100 ft. that appears on the air. I have edited the drugstore scene to which you refer and I think when you see the program, which will be presented from 8 - 9 p.m. on January 21, you will agree that it is in no sense derogatory to anyone and does in fact represent a true reflection of what occurs in Mr. Gray's drugstore. Indeed, I am hopeful that you may feel that we have done an accurate and unbiased job of reporting the school situation in Norfolk. I would value your comments on the program, should you have an opportunity to view it.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

enc.

To Murrow —
From: Arthur Morse —

3. ~~[illegible]~~
I did not attempt to reach Mr. Arnoux until we had a ~~definite show and time~~

Soon after we had arrived in Norfolk it became apparent that ~~there~~ we were involved in an issue of great delicacy with passionate feelings on both sides of the controversy. The Northern press, we were told, had antagonized the local people by inaccurate reporting, by ~~[illegible]~~ taking conversations with local reporters out of context and by failing to dig to the source for material. We were endeavoring to win the cooperation of the segregationists and the "back to school" group and we found that both groups were hostile to ~~the~~ what they considered the "hands off" policy of WTAR. There was an organizational relationship between the station and the two newspapers (one of which was strongly segregationist, the other integrationist). We had no definite air time, we ~~[illegible]~~ had little material and I consciously avoided involving the CBS affiliate in our problems.

Once we had won over the disputing factions in the community and had a definite air time and program I tried to reach Mr. Arnoux, both at the station and at home. To the best of my recollection he was out of town during one of my calls. A second time I did speak to his secretary and since he was not in, she switched me to Mr. Solinger, whom she identified as in charge of programming. We had a lengthy conversation, I briefed him on the program and offered to meet him and/or other station personnel ~~[illegible]~~ to give more detailed information. He said it was not necessary, that CBS Press would provide anything he needed. ~~[illegible]~~

On another occasion I met the sales manager of WTAR ~~[illegible]~~ (I think his name was Moore) at Dr. Forrest White's home and we had a lengthy conversation about the program. ~~[illegible]~~

[redacted]

I felt (and perhaps my intuition was faulty) that our best hope for success within the community was to avoid entanglements [redacted] and the impression that we were aligned with any particular point of view. I regret that the only [redacted] hostility we appear to have engendered in Norfolk in with our own affiliate and I would like to assure Mr. Arnoux that this was not intentional.

To: Fred Friendly

From: Arthur Morse

Re: Bad checks, Carroll Walker and Campbell Arnoux

1. No checks were cashed by any member of our crew during the Norfolk assignment.

2. Gray's Pharmacy is the leading high school social spot in Norfolk. As Mr. Walker points out in his letter,"it is a neat, clean, attractive-looking establishment of long standing in this community, operated by a man of excellent reputation, and adjoining one of the best residential sections in Norfolk".

Normally, the Norfolk high schools are in session until 3 p.m. With the schools closed, youngsters who are in or out of the interim tutoring groups come to Gray's from 1:15 p.m. until about 5. I visited the store with our camera crew the day before filming, and obtained the permission of Mr. Gray to film the students at tables and at the counter in their usual activities, i.e. sipping Cokes and sodas and chatting. There is no jukebox in Gray's, and there is no dancing.

Since it is a fact that there has been no rise in the incidence of juvenile delinquency since the schools were closed, we filmed nothing which would imply such a state.

We had excellent relations with Mr. Gray and his son, as can be established by a telephone call to him at Madison 2-1661. The enclosed clipping from the Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch covers the sort of rumor which Mr. Walker's letter might have stimulated. [Mr. Walker told Mr. Gray afterward that he does not allow his daughter to go anywhere after school. She apparently went to Gray's with classmates and angered her father.]

The students and the Grays were told precisely how we intended to use this material. The store is crowded every day and the fact that one boy in the tutoring group heard that we were filming the store and passed the word to classmates did not materially affect the sequence. / It happens that we informed the students that we had heard one of them refer to "dice" and we told them that the mike was live and to engage in normal conversation which would not embarrass them.

It happens that I ordered ~~the stopping of~~ a halt to the filming because we had overheard a boy joking about a dice game. ~~We~~ I told the students that our microphone was "live" and we did not want them to be embarrassed by their humor. They then engaged in the normal conversation which we recorded for use in the sequence.

January 13, 1959

To: Mr. Murrow

From: Arthur Morse

Gray's Pharmacy is the leading high school social spot in Norfolk. As Mr. Walker points out in his letter, "it is a neat, clean, attractive-looking establishment of long standing in this community, operated by a man of excellent reputation, and adjoining one of the best residential sections of Norfolk".

Normally, the Norfolk high schools are in session until 3 p.m. With the schools closed, youngsters who are in or out of the interim tutoring groups come to Gray's from 1:15 p.m. until about 5. I visited the store' with our camera crew the day before filming, and obtained the permission of Mr. Gray to film the students at tables and at the counter in their usual activities, i.e. sipping Cokes and sodas and chatting. There is no jukebox in Gray's and there is no dancing.

Since it is a fact that there has been no rise in the incidence of juvenile delinquency since the schools were closed, we filmed nothing which would imply such a state.

We had excellent relations with Mr. Gray and his son, as can be established by a telephone call to him at Madison 2-1661. The enclosed clipping from the Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch covers the sort of rumor which might have led to Mr. Walker's letter.

The students and the Grays were told precisely how we intended to use this material. The store is crowded every day and the fact that one boy in the tutoring group heard that we were filming the store and passed the word to classmates did not materially affect the sequence. It happens that I ordered a halt to the filming because we had overheard a boy joking about a dice game. I told the students that our microphone was "live" and we did not want them to be embarrassed by their humor. They thus engaged in the normal conversation which we recorded for use in the sequence.

Carroll H. Walker
1117 Rockbridge Avenue
Norfolk 8, Virginia

January 7, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Corporation
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

One of the very bright spots in the dull world of television has been your excellent program "See It Now", a well documented program of high calibre and intelligently presented. I might also add that it is one of the rare programs, conditions permitting, that I ever make any effort to see. There has, however, come to my attention the fact that there is a group of men operating in Norfolk, allegedly associated with you, who are working on a possible television story of Norfolk's closed schools. From the reports I have received, it would appear that this group does not seem to be too much concerned with your usual standard for truth and accuracy, which I find most disturbing and which, I am sure, you are not fully acquainted with. I should like to bring this matter to your attention.

I was informed that on Tuesday of this week, the 5th, the men in question were looking for a possible habitual "hangout" of children affected by the closed schools, the impression being conveyed that they were looking for the typical type of unsavory juke box dive commonly manufactured for television and movie audiences, where teenagers might gather and whose behavior at such places might be open to censure. Unable to find such a place, these men were compelled to fall back upon the expedient of conjuring up such a place.

I was told they had two locations in mind, but that they finally picked a place known as Gray's Pharmacy, a neat, clean, attractive looking establishment of long standing in this community, operated by a man of excellent reputation, and adjoining one of the best residential sections in Norfolk. Why such a place was picked is a puzzle to me, for it has no utter resemblance in any way, shape or form to a juke box dive; and Mr. Gray absolutely tolerates no misconduct or nonsense of any kind on the part of anyone in the store. I was informed that when the person in charge of the camera crew approached Mr. Gray with the object of securing permission to shoot some scenes in his store, he stressed the fact that he was looking for a "hangout" of teenagers. Mr. Gray, so I am informed, quickly and emphatically informed him that he wanted it understood right then and there that his store was not a "hangout" for anyone, and that he also wanted no further reference made to his place as such, especially on television. This was agreed to.

While the Norfolk Division of William & Mary College is, literally speaking, just across the street from Gray's, with many of its students frequenting the store, I was told there were not as many customers in the store as usual at the time the pictures were to be taken. Therefore, in order to try to fill the place up with the necessary teenagers, the person in charge of the camera crew contacted a certain person, who, so I understand, in turn, arranged for some children in the tutoring groups at two nearby churches to come to the store after classes, around one-thirty, "to have their pictures taken". I understand about twenty-five went.

Upon arriving at Gray's, some of them placed their books on the tables, opening them up, some looking at their lessons. In abject horror, the person in charge of the camera crew quickly remonstrated with them, and requested that they take the books off the tables and place them on the floor so they would not be seen, "as this was not a school". He then proceeded to televise these children, who actually did not

know what to do with themselves. I was told that one boy, for the want of something definite to do, jokingly said "Let's get out the dice." You can well appreciate that should this particular scene and words be telecast there would be a horrible misunderstanding on the part of the television audience as to what was actually going on; that this would be a gross reflection on the characters of the children there as well as an unjust misrepresentation of the kind of establishment Mr. Gray operates.

To the best of my knowledge, these children from the tutoring groups do not use Gray's as a "hangout"; in fact, I understand they are not consistently seen there, for Mr. Gray informed me that while he is familiar with many of the faces of the youngsters frequenting his store, he was aware that he was not so familiar with many of those in the tutoring groups present. These children all come from respectable families living in a very good section of town. Should this particular scene be telecast, I can only say that it will be a damnably despicable, deceptive act on the part of the group taking the picture, and it certainly not redound, as I am sure you will readily admit, to your credit or to the glory of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

My interest in the subject is that my daughter, age 15, was one of the students in the tutoring group that went to Gray's, unaware of what might be involved or how she was to be used. I would not have permitted it, had it come to my attention earlier. What I emphatically want to point out to you, Mr. Morrow, is that my daughter does not "hangout" at Gray's, or any other place. Upon leaving her tutoring class, she comes directly home, where she attends to her lessons and assigned household chores. Later on some of her friends may come over, or she may visit some of them. Occasionally they may even walk up to Gray's for a Coke, which is nothing unusual. But she spends little time there, and is home before dark. This may be mere trivia to you, but it is very important in one's household where there are children.

One of the things my daughter reported to me was that the supervisor of the camera crew was much disappointed because Gray's did not have a juke box. She was also one of the students who put her books on the table and then ordered to place them out of sight on the floor. I was told this person was somewhat unpleasant. I also understand that Mr. Gray now feels he did not act wisely in permitting these men to use his place.

It is not my intention to enter into a controversy with you regarding the general subject. My main purpose in writing to you is to protest vigorously the deliberate distortion of truth as practiced by the person in charge of the camera crew, for I, Mr. Murrow, strongly resent the inference that my daughter, a young lady of excellent character and reputation, and a good student, will be adversely misrepresented in the scene in question, and this unnecessarily so. What Mr. Gray may wish to do in a court upon the realization that he has unwittingly placed the reputation of his place in jeopardy, should this particular scene be televised, I do not know; but I do know that in the event my daughter is shown anywhere in the film in an unsavory light, I shall be in a most unpleasant frame of mind, and will feel that I should take some steps towards considering a possible course of action, which I would prefer not to do. I might add that this has been discussed with the Mayor of Norfolk, some city officials, and many others.

I am sure you will appreciate my position in this matter and will want to make an investigation accordingly. If the men involved were representing you, I shall appreciate your having the objectionable and false scene referred to deleted from your program.

I shall appreciate the courtesy of a reply from you. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

chw:s

copies:

Governor H. Lindsey Almond, Jr.
Executive Mansion
Richmond, Virginia

Mayor Fred W. Duckworth
City Hall
Norfolk, Virginia

Dr. Frank Stanton
President, Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: MR. MURROW cc Mr. Mickelson

from: Dr. Stanton

January 13, 1959

In Mr. Mickelson's absence, I want to send you the attached letter from Cam Arnoux. It tells its own story. Coming on the heels of the Carroll Walker letter, I thought you would want to know about it immediately.

What about the charges in the Walker letter?

FS

FRANK STANTON

ww

WTAR
AM - TV
WTAR RADIO CORPORATION
OFFICES and STUDIOS, 720 BOUSH ST., NORFOLK 10, VA. ★ MAdison 5-6711

CAMPBELL ARNOUX
PRESIDENT

January 12, 1959

Accept Regret
Appropriate action
Background?
FYI File JSM
Note & Return
Phone FS
Reply direct
Return to sender
Status?
Suggest Reply
To discuss
Comment or recommendation
Copy to FS
URGENT file

Dear Frank:

Although I have discussed the subject matter of this letter with CBS-TV Station Relations, I would like to bring it directly to your attention since, in my opinion, it constitutes a top policy matter as it touches the friendly and efficient inter-relationship of CBS and its affiliates. Several weeks ago, representatives of Ed Murrow and Fred Friendly visited Norfolk and spent quite an extended stay here, building a documentary on "Norfolk's Lost Class of 1959".

These men came into town and went about their business of interviewing leading citizens and educators; school children, black and white; and filming scenes and episodes - during which time we were not advised that they were in Norfolk either by them or by CBS.

The first inkling I had that they were here was when I learned it at a cocktail party from friends who seemed to know all about it, but who had no connection with our station. The first information John Peffer, our Vice-President in charge of Operations, had of it was when a Norfolk merchant called him to ask what he could do about a bad check the merchant claimed one of the Murrow cameramen had passed.

On numerous occasions we were asked what the men were doing here, and had to tell them we did not know. It was very difficult for our friends to understand why the CBS station was in ignorance of CBS activities in our city, and it was extremely embarrassing to us and did nothing to increase our prestige in our own community as you can, I think, readily understand.

I would like to suggest that when Mr. Murrow and his men undertake an activity in the community of an affiliate, that the management of the affiliate be advised in advance of what is to take place.

In this case it was particularly unfortunate, from our point of view, inasmuch as the subject matter of the Murrow documentary was most critical and delicate.

While I understand that Mr. Murrow is not an employee of CBS, nevertheless his program is sponsored by and presented by CBS - and to that extent is in the public mind a CBS undertaking.

We, of course, would not have expected to participate in the creating of the documentary in any way, but we do think that our failure to be informed was a very serious breach of courtesy; and I hope that it won't be permitted to happen again, either to us or to any other of your loyal affiliate stations.

Kindest regards and best wishes.

Cordially,

Cam

Dr. Frank Stanton
President
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

CA/mm

1/30/59

MISS HOGG:

Dr. Stanton has seen the attached material, and I am returning it for your files.

W. Williams
ww

Morse, Arthur
Va.

January 13, 1959

To: Mr. Murrow

From: Arthur Morse

Gray's Pharmacy is the leading high school social spot in Norfolk. As Mr. Walker points out in his letter, "it is a neat, clean, attractive-looking establishment of long standing in this community, operated by a man of excellent reputation, and adjoining one of the best residential sections of Norfolk".

Normally, the Norfolk high schools are in session until 3 p.m. With the schools closed, youngsters who are in or out of the interim tutoring groups come to Gray's from 1:15 p.m. until about 5. I visited the store' with our camera crew the day before filming, and obtained the permission of Mr. Gray to film the students at tables and at the counter in their usual activities, i.e. sipping Cokes and sodas and chatting. There is no jukebox in Gray's and there is no dancing.

Since it is a fact that there has been no rise in the incidence of juvenile delinquency since the schools were closed, we filmed nothing which would imply such a state.

We had excellent relations with Mr. Gray and his son, as can be established by a telephone call to him at Madison 2-1661. The enclosed clipping from the Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch covers the sort of rumor which might have led to Mr. Walker's letter.

The students and the Grays were told precisely how we intended to use this material. The store is crowded every day and the fact that one boy in the tutoring group heard that we were filming the store and passed the word to classmates did not materially affect the sequence. It happens that I ordered a halt to the filming because we had overheard a boy joking about a dice game. I told the students that our microphone was "live" and we did not want them to be embarrassed by their humor. They thus engaged in the normal conversation which we recorded for use in the sequence.

From the Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch
January 10, 1959

Many rumors have been popping. One of the rumors had it that the camera crew tried to fake a scene at a local drugstore and had an angry exchange of worlds words with the druggist.

It wasn't true. "There has been a lot of conjecture out here as to how they will use the pictures they took", explained D.D. Gray, Jr. of Gray's Pharmacy. "But they came in, took their pictures and left. That was all there was to it".

Gray was told that the pictures of his store will represent students from a tutoring group relaxing in a drugstore after school. Students appearing before the camera in the store were from the tutoring group at Larchmont Methodist Church.

"Some people in the store have said they could use the pictures they shot in a number of ways", said Gray, "but they told me they wanted to depict the youngsters relaxing after class".

Actually the shots in the drugstore may not be used at all. While in Norfolk cameras shot about 50,000 feet of film, enough to run six hours.

To: Mr. Murrow

From: Arthur Morse

Soon after we had arrived in Norfolk, it became apparent that we were involved in an issue of great delicacy with passionate feelings on both sides of the controversy. The Northern press, we were told, had antagonized the local people by inaccurate reporting, by taking conversations with local reporters out of context and by failing to dig to the source for material. We were endeavoring to win the cooperation of the segregationists and the "back to school" group and we found that both groups were hostile to what they considered the "hands off" policy of WTAR. There was an organizational relationship between the station and the two newspapers (one of which was strongly segregationist, the other integrationist). We had no definite air time, we had little material and I consciously avoided involving the CBS affiliate in our problems.

Once we had won over the disputing factions in the community and had a definite air time and program, I tried to reach Mr. Arnoux, both at the station and at home. To the best of my recollection, he was out of town during one of my calls. A second time I did speak to his secretary and since he was not in, she switched me to Mr. Solinger, whom she identified as in charge of programming. We had a lengthy conversation, I briefed him on the program and offered to meet him and/or other station personnel to give more detailed information. He said it was not necessary, that CBS Press would provide anything he needed.

On another occasion I met the sales manager of WTAR (I think his name was Moore) at Dr. Forrest White's home and we had a lengthy conversation about the program.

I felt (and perhaps my intuition was faulty) that our best hope for success within the community was to avoid entanglements and the impression that we were aligned with any particular point of view. I regret that the only hostility we appear to have engendered in Norfolk is with our own affiliate and I would like to assure Mr. Arnoux that this was not intentional.